AN

INSTITUTION

OF

General Hiſtory:

OR THE

HISTORY

OF THE

WORLD.

The FOURTH PART.

CONTAINING

The Original and Kingdoms of the *Heruli*, *Goths*, *Lombards* and *Franks* in *Italy*; the Affairs of *Britain*; the Original of the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, their Heptarchy; the Monarchy of the *Engliſh Saxons*, that of the *Danes*, with its end in reſtoring of the *Engliſh Saxon* Line down to that of *William* the *Norman*, with the Polity, Cuſtoms, Laws and Language then in uſe.

AND ALSO

That of the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire, from the Promotion of *Nicephorus* to the Death of *Conſtantine Ducas XII. A. D. MLXVII.* being the Year after the Conqueſt of this Nation by Duke *William* the *Norman*.

By WILLIAM HOWEL, LL. D. *ſometime Fellow of* Magdalen College *in* Cambridge.

LONDON,
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TO

The High and Mighty PRINCE

JAMES II.

KING of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland*,
Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

GREAT SIR,

AMONG the Crowds of Loyal Counties and Corporations that Addreſs themſelves unto Your MAJESTY, vouchſafe to permit a deſolate Widow to approach into Your Sacred Preſence to Congratulate Your Happy and moſt Juſt Poſſeſſion of the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, by laying a ſmall Preſent at Your Royal Feet.

Which is due to Your MAJESTY by a double Title, both by right of Succeſſion to our late Gracious Sovereign, by whoſe Royal Bounty this Work was encouraged; and alſo by deſignment of the Authour, who intended, had not his Death prevented it, to have Dedicated this Book *To His Royal Highneſs* JAMES *the Duke of* York, which I now moſt humbly offer *To the Sacred Majeſty of King* JAMES *the Second.*

Whom I beſeech the King of Kings long to preſerve beloved of all his Subjects, dreaded by all his Enemies, and renowned to all Poſterity in the Hiſtory of Future Ages.

So prayeth with due Reverence

Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subject

Mary Howel.

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

READER

Giving an Account of this VOLUME.

WHICH *contains the History of the Kingdom of the* Heruli *in* Italy *to the Conquering thereof by the* Goths, *then their Original and Kingdom to the Destruction and Ruine thereof by* Narses *the* Roman *General and the coming in of the* Lombards, *with the Original and Kingdom of them down to the Conquering of it by* Charles *King of the* Franks, *who Governed there, and was Crowne Emperour by* Leo *Bishop of* Rome: *Next the Affairs of* Britain *from the departure of the* Romans *out of the Island to the Destruction thereof, and forcing the Inhabitants into the Mountainous places by the* Picts, Scots *and* Saxons: *the Original of the* Saxons, Angles *and* Jutes *that seized on this Land, their Heptarchy, which was united in the Monarchy of the* English Saxons, *and carried on till Conquered by the* Danes, *their Original and Kingdom here to its end, in restoring of the* English Saxon *Line to the end thereof, being Conquered by Duke* William *the* Norman, *giving an Account of the Polity, Customs, Laws and Language then in use, taken from the Original Tongue, with other critical Remarks suitable to the nature and usefulness of such an Undertaking.*

With the Constantinopolitan Roman *Affairs from the Deposing of* Irene *and Promotion of* Nicephorus (*where the Third Part ends*) *to the Death of* Constantine Ducas XII. *Ann. Dom. MLXVII. being the year after the Conquest of Duke* William *the* Norman, *setting forth the several Actions, Polities, Laws and things of Moment during*

ring the Reign of each Emperour, with such Kingdoms as fell off from the Roman *power and protection, and those that started up to the terrour of it and all its Neighbours, all linked together in such manner and method as never was yet Extant, being the Labour and Study left under his own hand in Writing by the Authour, whereof we have been Eye-witnesses.*

H. London.
Tho. Roffen.
Sy. Patrick, *D. D.*
Will. Denton, *M. D.*
Rich. Ashfeild, *Gent.*

A N

AN

INSTITUTION

OF

General History:

OR

The History of the World.

The Fourth Part.

BOOK I.

Of ſuch Kingdoms and Principalities as were Founded by Barbarous Nations in the Late *Roman* Provinces now contemporary with the *Conſtantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdoms of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards *and* Franks *Erected in* Italy.

SECT. I.

The Kingdom of the Heruli *in* Italy,

The ſpace of Eighteen years.

Odoacer King *of Italy* and *Rome.*

I. ODOAGER King of the *Heruli* and *Turcilingi* having, as we have formerly ſhewn, Conquered and deſtroyed *Oreſtes*, and depoſed *Auguſtulus* his Son, became Maſter of *Italy*, and of *Rome*, formerly the Miſtreſs of the World, which hereby was alſo degraded, together with *Auguſtulus*, the Imperial Diadem being plucked from her Head, and the Robe torn from about her Shoulders. The Conquerour viewing the Remains of her Ancient Majeſty, and contemplating the Lines of that Beauty wherein ſhe had ſurpaſſed all Rivals, as much as the Light of the Moon doth that of the obſcure and twinkling Stars, was confounded and amazed, could ſcarcely believe what he had done, or where he was; and conſcious of the Extravagancy of his own Fortune, as well as of the viciſſitude of humane Affairs in general,

Sect. I.

neral, durst not, it seems, be so bold as to take up and assume the Imperial Ensigns which now lay at his Feet, but contented himself with an Inferiour Dignity. Thinking the Imperial Robe now to be threadbare or infected with some deleterious Quality, which of late had suffered none to wear it long, though he might have chosen another, which by its newness might have been both warm and safe, yet he onely changed the Imperial for Royal, the Title of Emperour for the more modest and less envied one of *King of Italy*, refusing utterly all Ensigns of Royal Majesty. The Ancient Lady in her great affliction was pleased to see this humility in a barbarous Robber, comforted her self with the good Fortune of her Daughter, which still in the East retained her Imperial Dignity, he purposed to remove lower down towards the River, and quit those seven on which she had been so much and so often exposed to Northern Blasts, and she had thoughts of taking another Course, which should be honourable as well as the former, gain her more applause and more suitable to her Age, and the Gravity of her present Aspect, to change the Title of Prince for that of Priest, and the Imperial Diadem for a Pontifical Miter.

2. Our new King of *Italy* as he thought to establish a new Kingdom, which should call him Founder, so of fixing the Seat thereof at some new Place, and of building a new City which he intended to call after his own Name *Odoacria*. But either finding the Vanity of this Project, or being diverted from it by greater Cares, he took other Courses, for securing his Interest. The *Goths* which had been called into *Italy* by *Valentinian*, to defend the Countrey against the *Hunnes*, he endeavoured to oblige by bestowing on them those Lands which formerly, but ineffectually, had been promised them. He granted to *Eurich*, King of the *Visegoths*, that part of *Gall* lying betwixt the *Alpes* and the River *Rhodanus*, and onely remaining under the Authority of the *Romans*. With *Gundobade* King of the *Burgundians* he made a League and Alliance. On the *Italians* he laid Taxes and Impositions sufficient to maintain an Army against foreign Invasions. Then to prevent intestine broils, he deprived the *Roman* Senate of its ancient Authority, and took away at first the use of *Consuls*, that he might diminish the *Roman* Spirit and Courage, by abolishing such Rites as put them in mind of the great Performances of their Ancestours. As to other matters, he retained the old Names and Offices of Magistracy, and maintained the Church in its ancient Rights and Immunities. When he had done these things, and as he thought laid lasting Foundations of his new Dominion, he left *Rome* to the Government of *Basilius* the Prefect and *Patritian*, and removed his Court to *Ravenna*. There he had not been long setled, when *Zeno* the Emperour, hearing how his matters succeeded, envied his good Fortune, grudged him his new Possessions, and utterly refused to own, acknowledge or ratifie his Kingly Title to *Italy*. Such therefore was the Reverence as yet born to the Imperial Name, that this got him the Repute of an Usurper, a Tyrant and an unlawfull Prince; which made him enter into new Councils for strengthning himself, and add Fear and Awe to that Love which hitherto he had especially desired to gain from his Subjects. For an Example of terrour he put to death at *Ravenna Brachilus* a *Comes*, who some say spurned against his Government. Hereby it was perceived that he knew his measures, and understood how to manage his Affairs, and thereupon he began both to be feared and respected at home and abroad; insomuch that *Genserich* King of the *Vandals* in *Africk* desired his Friendship, and to obtain it granted *Sicily* to him to be held in Tribute.

Takes Courses to secure his interest.

Vide Sigonium de Occidentali Imperio.

He fixes his Seat at *Ravenna*.

He puts to death *Brachilus*.

3. *Odoacer*, as we said, refused to name any *Consul* for the West, and it happened for several years that sometime one single one was created in the East, and sometime there was none at all. The *Italians* resented it, that by the willfulness of their present Master, they should be deprived of that highest Office of Magistracy and Honour, and therefore to please them, he preferred *Basilius* the Prefect to that Name and Dignity, which he also executed without a Collegue, in the year of our Lord CCCCLXXX, in the seventh of the Emperour *Zeno*, and the fifth of *Odoacer*. Now was it five years since *Julius Nepos*, being deposed from the Empire of the West, lived quietly in *Dalmatia*, by the knowledge and approbation of *Odoacer*, who wished him all repose and security imaginable. But at this time *Viator* and *Ovida*, who had the Title of *Comites*, bearing him malice, circumvented him at his Countrey-house, set upon him and murthered him. *Odoacer* whether acted by generosity of Nature, or by Jealousie, and apprehension of so evil an Example, took it in great Disdain, and the year following, for which he named *Placidius* Consul, sent some Forces against them, and having

He makes *Basilius* Consul.

He put *Ovida* to death for the Murther of *Julius Nepos.*

having easily overcome them put *Ovida* to death. This same year the Inhabitants of *Liguria* complained to him by *Epiphanius Bishop of Pavia*, that *Pelagius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* had doubled the Impositions upon the Countrey. By the Intercession of the said Bishop they obtained a Relaxation, and this Prelate having bestowed much cost and pains in repairing the Churches formerly ruinated in his City by the Wars, obtained also of *Odoacer* a Remission of Tributes for five years, as an incouragement to the Citizens to rebuild their Private-Houses.

Odoacer conquers the *Rugi.*

4. After this, *Odoacer* found an occasion for employing his Arms, and it was against the *Rugi* a Northern People. He did it with such success, as we are told, that he took Prisoner *Phœbas* their King, together with his Wife, and led them in triumph to *Rome*; but *Frederick* their Son made his Escape, and went to *Theodorich* King of the *Ostrogoths*, who then lay in *Mœsia*, and by this time had his thoughts so much upon *Odoacer* and *Italy*, that he presently shewed they were very serious and active. This *Theodorich* had been some time in *Zeno*'s Court at *Constantinople*, and was, it's said, highly honoured by him, insomuch that he made him *Consul*, and not long after he took a resolution to invade *Italy*. But as to the Inducement there are two different Assertions. The one is of those who affirm that *Zeno* had always a great Kindness for *Theodorich*, and freely granted *Italy* to him to reign there, after he should have driven out the *Heruli* with *Odoacer* their King. The other makes *Theodorich* to have been ingratefull towards the Emperour, from whom he endeavoured to wrest the Empire of the East, to have brought into danger the City of *Constantinople* by Fire, and burnt many other Places. Having missed of his Aims there, he turned himself upon *Italy*, envying the prosperous Estate of *Odoacer*, who had lately overthrown the *Rugi*. From what *Euagrius* writes, one may guess that *Zeno* was not always his friend; but what should be the occasion is uncertain. *Eustathius* an Historian it seems laid the blame upon the Emperour, and *Marcellinus* on *Theodorich*. The Writers that were his Countrymen will have him sent by the liking, well wishes, and incouragement of *Zeno*: we shall present the Reader with the Story cloathed with such Circumstances as we find it.

Theodorich purposeth to conquer him.

Two several opinions as to the Inducement.

5. Whilst *Theodorich* therefore solaced himself with the Pleasures of *Zeno*'s Court, his *Ostrogoths* lived at a quite different Rate, being by a League tied up from making any Depredations in the *Roman* Dominions; and not sufficiently provided for by the pay which the Emperour had agreed to give them, They curse the League, cry out against their King's Alliance, and to *Constantinople* they send Messengers, who with tears in their Eyes complained to him of the Poverty and Necessities to which they were reduced, and desire him to quit those pleasures wherein he had intangled himself, and, if he regarded his own Interest, and their Preservation, to return to them with speed; for else they must enter into some new Course, and seek out other Habitations. Now say the *Gothick* Historians, and those that follow them, *Theodorich* moved herewith betook himself presently to *Zeno*, to whom he laid open the sad Estate of his Countrymen, and told him that seeing *Italy* was overrun by the *Turcilingi* and *Rugi*, and *Rome* the late Mistress of the World, and ancient Seat of the Empire, was now inslaved to the *Heruli*; if he pleased to give him order to redeem and recover it out of their Hands, he would doe his utmost endeavour, and therein employ his idle and indigent *Ostrogoths*. If he should accomplish his Designs, the Honour and Renown would belong, as due, to his imperial Majesty; and if he miscarried, he would be rid of so many Stipendiaries, and save his money in his Coffers. This *Zeno* heard with Trouble, being very unwilling to part with him, but as well to give him content, as in Compliance with the publick Interest, he gave him leave, and dismissed him with great presents, to his designed Expedition.

His Army mutinies.

6. Thus writes *Jordanus* the *Goth* from the relation of *Cassiodorus*, or out of respect to his Countrymen, and such as follow him. But *Sigonius*, all relations considered, closeth with that of *Marcellinus*, that *Theodorich* now satiated with the Honours and Favours heaped upon him, consented to the Petition of his Countrymen, and returning into *Mœsia* made war upon the Emperour, whilst his men were fresh, and their appetites were sharpned by the prevalent Power of necessity, and expectation. He marched as far as *Constantinople* and *Melanthias*, and wasting the Countrey round about returned to *Novæ* a Town of *Mœsia* from which he had set forth. At this time *Odoacer*, being told that *Frederick* the Son of *Phœbas*, or *Feletheus*, King of the *Rugi*, was after his flight returned home into his own Countrey, sent *Onulfus* his Brother with a strong party of men against him. Hereupon *Frederick* not able to endure the shock retired to *Novæ*, and made his

 appli-

Sect. 1.

Onulfus removes the *Rugi* into *Italy*.

application to *Theodorich*. *Onulfus* easily conquered the *Rugi*, whom he constrained to pass into *Italy*, and then the *Lombards* under Conduct of *Gudeach* their King seized on their Countrey. *Zeno* all this while, as *Sigonius* tells you, was highly sensible of the Affront done him by *Theodorich*, but prudently considered there was no dealing roughly with such a Spirit; and therefore in the year when *Dinamius* and *Siphodius* were *Consuls*, or the CCCCLXXXVIII of Our Lord, he wrote to him most loving Letters, and kindly invited him to return to Court. *Theodorich*, if thou wilt look into it, Reader, notwithstanding all the Mischief he had done, closed with his invitation, went to *Constantinople*, and there excused his Misdemeanours by that necessity to which his *Goths* had been reduced. *Zeno* was as ready to give as he was to ask Pardon, and to grant him any other thing for the employment of his Men, and the raising of his own Fortunes. Animated by this Reception, he moved the Conquest of *Italy* to him, using such Arguments as we formerly mentioned, inculcating that it would be more seemly, that he his faithfull Servant, and his Son, should possess that Countrey; than *Odoacer* keep the Senate and Common-wealth in slavery. *Zeno* to free *Illyricum* from the *Goths* was very willing he should try his Fortune, and by an Authentick Writing passed *Italy* over to him, bestowed on him a sacred Cap, and recommending to him the *Roman* Senate and People gave him leave to depart and begin his Journey.

Theodorich overthrows the *Gepidæ* and *Bulgari*.

7. *Theodorich* and his *Goths* were ready for their march, when an unexpected Accident diverted them, and for some time retarded their Expedition. *Transilla* King of the *Gepidæ*, and *Busa* of the *Bulgari* either jealous of his growing greatness, or solicited by *Odoacer*, who desired to remove the danger from his own Doors, indeavoured to crush his Design by falling upon him on a sudden, when he little expected such Treachery. Yet was he not at all daunted with the great danger which impended, but boldly attaching them when they were divided, in one ingagement overthrew *Transilla*, and in another battel defeated the *Bulgari*, a sort of People newly come out of *Scythia*. Animated by his Success as an *Omen* of his future Grandeur, with greater vigour he prepared for his *Italian* voiage, and when all things were ready, set forth from *Mœsia* in the middle of Winter, in the Consulship of *Probinus*, and *Eusebius* in the CCCCLXXXIX year of Our Lord, as is evident from the *Chronicon* of *Cassiodorus* who lived at this time, though *Sigonius* casts this Expedition into the following year. From *Mœsia* the whole Multitude of *Ostrogoths* removed with their Wives, Children and Baggage, and travelling through *Syrmium* and *Pannonia*, came by Land to the Borders of *Italy*, for they had no Ships to transport them in the nearest passage. Proceeding as far as the River *Sontius* which runs not far from *Aquileia*, they there made a hault and incamped, because of the convenience of pasture. Here *Odoacer* presented himself on the farther side, resolving to stop their progress, and for that purpose he secured the Bridge, where at this day is seen a Town called *Goritia*. But notwithstanding all he could doe, *Theodorich* forced his way over, and presently giving him battel drove him back into his Camp, which to storm he made all Preparations. *Odoacer* perceiving his Intentions, and that he was unable to maintain it, quitted the place, and taking advantage retired to *Verona*, for there was no Fort nor Garrison near at hand; the Devastations made by *Attila* not being yet repaired. Whilst he was thus employed in defending his Borders against the *Goths*, *Gundobade* the King of the *Burgundians*, pretending he was circumvented in a League made with him, took the Advantage now offered, and invading *Liguria* and *Æmilia*, wasted and plundered the Countrey; then hearing of *Theodorich* his Success and Progress, he hastily retreated with his Booty into *Burgundy*.

Invades *Italy*.

Beats back *Odoacer*.

8. *Theodorich* having taken order for securing the Borders, as he saw agreeable to his own Interest, followed *Odoacer*, and sate down before *Verona*. *Odoacer* had by this time rallied his dispersed Forces, and recruited them so with new Levies, that seeming to himself as able to grapple with him as before, he came out of the Town and gave him battel; wherein he was again overthrown with great slaughter of his Men, and forced to betake himself to his heels; and a great number of his Soldiers, which escaped the Fight, took the River *Athesis* in desperation and haste, and were swallowed by the Floods. *Verona* was quickly delivered by the trembling Citizens to the Conqueror, who made no stay in the Town; but still pursued *Odoacer*, and near the River *Abdua* forced him the third time to ingage, with the same Success as formerly. *Odoacer* in so great Straits yet comforted himself a little in the City of *Rome*, of which if he continued Master, he hoped he might maintain his Reputation, and better endure the shock of

Defeats him again, and takes *Verona*.

A third time.

Odoacer kept out of *Rome.*

of Fortune, which he would fain believe could not be lasting, it was so violent and severe. He resolved therefore to hasten thither, but when he came he found the Gates fast locked and bolted, and the Walls manned against him, the Senate and People some think having intimation of the Emperour's pleasure concerning *Theodorich.* Inraged at this Repulse, he burnt and demolished as much of the Suburbs as the time would give him leave, and then made for *Ravenna* as his last Refuge. This City also one *Libitta* kept for *Theodorich*, and lay incamped before it for that purpose. But *Odoacer* acted by the indignation as well as extreme Necessity of his Affairs, resolved to drive him from his Post, and after a sharp conflict, wherein many perished on both sides, he slew *Libitta*, and took both his Camp and *Ravenna*, which he entred on the tenth of *July.* Here he labours to fortifie himself, when in the mean time *Theodorich* marches to *Milan*, which having got into his hands without much trouble, a great part of the *Italian* Soldiers there came to wait on him as the true and rightfull Lord of *Italy.* Amongst others was *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Pavia*, whom he received with great respect.

Theodorich takes *Milan.*

9. Here when he seemed to have conquered the greatest Difficulties, and to have arrived almost at the pitch of his good Fortune, an untowardly Accident plucked him by the sleeve, and put him in mind of the Inconstancy of humane Affairs. For his *Italians*, who so lately came to acknowledge him for their Prince and Sovereign, perswaded by one *Tuffa* a man of *Consular* Dignity, revolted again to *Odoacer*; which struck him with great terrour and amazement, and caused him to quit *Milan*, in the fidelity and strength whereof he could not so much rely, and go to *Pavia*, where he thought he could better secure himself and his Friends. *Odoacer* takes the opportunity, and sits down before the Town. *Epiphanius* the Bishop labours all he can to compose the Difference, and procure such Prisoners to be restored as were taken on both sides, without Ransome. Now whether by his Ghostly Counsel *Odoacer* was moved, or rather discouraged by the Valour and Success of the *Goths* whom Heaven seemed to favour, he raised his Siege and marched back to *Ravenna.* *Theodorich* spirited afresh by so unexpected a Retreat, resolved not to trifle in that manner with his Fortune, and slight his opportunities, but leaving the Women and Baggage at *Pavia* followed the Enemy to *Ravenna*, which he blocked up in three several Places, not being well able for the situation to get up and storm it. For the City lying two Furlongs distance from the Sea is hardly accessible on any part: the Haven full of Rocks and Shallows, the ground about it fenny and waterish, as well by the flowing in of the Sea, as Rivers taking their Course thorough it. Therefore *Theodorich* took up one Post at *Pinetus* three Miles from the Town, placed another Party at *Palatiolum*, and had a third Guard at the Bridge of *Candidianus*, waiting for such opportunities as the Siege should produce. *Odoacer* perceiving he was over matched in Valour and Conduct, if not in numbers, was unwilling to make any Sallies, yet constrained to do something for his Reputation, he issued out, and fell upon the Party lying at the Bridge, where he was so warmly received, that he found it expedient to make a quick retreat into the City. *Theodorich* foreseeing, that the Siege was likely to be drawn out in length, would not spend all his time in so lazy an employment, but leaving sufficient Guards to maintain his Posts, marched to other Towns possessed by the Enemy, became Master of them, and having taken *Ariminum*, improved the Advantage offered him thereby of stopping all Provisions from being carried by Sea to *Ravenna.* These things got him such Reputation, that *Gundamund* King of *Africk*, (the Successour of *Hunerich* that *Arian* Persecutour who was eaten up of worms) sent Ambassadours, made peace with him, and left off wasting *Sicily*, which he had invaded.

Odoacer besieges him in *Pavia*, but rises presently.

Theodorich besieges *Odoacer* in *Ravenna.*

Takes *Ariminum* and other Cities.

10. The Siege was carried on very gently; few considerable Acts of Hostility intervening, onely light skirmishes which the Besieged made to exercise his men, and tire out the Enemy, till *Theodorich* returned from his Expedition against the other Cities. Having taken them all, *Cæsarea* excepted, which *Odoacer* had furnished with a very strong Garrison, he returned to his former Post at *Palatiolum*, on the twenty ninth of *August*, and removing his Family thither from *Ticinum* or *Pavia* vigorously renewed the Siege. Hereby *Odoacer* was so straitned for want of Provisions, that having made many ineffectual Sallies, at last, armed by Necessity and Desperation, in the silence of the Night he led out his whole Army, which *Theodorich* was not so negligent as not to perceive, and therefore drew his Forces together, and made himself ready to receive him. Here evidently appeared what influence Necessity and Passions have upon humane Actions. Such as formerly were

Sect. I.

Driven to his Camp by *Odoacer*.

were not able to receive a charge from the *Goths*, now bow them all down before them, and compelled him who had been wont to give them the chase to take him to his heels, and fly amain towards his Camp. Hither when he came, his Mother presented her self in the Gate with intention to stop him, asked him whither he was going, and told him there was no place of safety for him, except she should take up her Clothes, and receive him into that part from whence he was brought forth into the World; with these words he was both ashamed and irritated to such a Degree, that rallying as many of his Men as he could get together, he charged the Enemy with such violence, that he drove him back into the Town, and reinforced the Siege as strong as ever.

But he reinforces the Siege.

11. Now were all the Difficulties and Hardships, which usually attend a tedious League, renewed both to those without and them within: in the City great sterility bordering upon extreme Famine, in the Camp wearinesS and Impatience contracted by so many fruitless labours and skirmishes. The Bishops fail not to interpose their Indeavours for an amicable composure; through their Intercession Messages are sent from both sides, and at length, at the desire of *Theodorich*, *Odoacer* consents that he shall reign with him in equal Authority and Power as King also of *Italy*. Hereupon on the twenty seventh of *February* the Siege is raised, and *Theodorich* entring *Ravenna* lived friendly and peaceably with *Odoacer* his Collegue for some little time. But then he grew weary of that Fellowship, of which the Throne is wont to be impatient, and having invited him to a Feast, when he demanded his share consigned to him by the League, pretending some Conspiracy against his own Person, he caused him to be slain together with his Son and the Principals of his Friends, about seventeen years after the Deposing of *Augustulus*, A. D. CCCCXCIII. *Procopius* plainly writes that he was treacherously slain, but *Cassiodorus* and *Jordanus* seem to make it more than a pretence of *Theodorich*. Nay the * former says that *Odoacer* did really plot against his life, and the † latter barely relates that he put him to death. But the one was in great favour with him, and executed the place of Secretary in his Court, though a sober and grave Writer; and the other being a *Goth*, and his Countryman might be cautious of saying any thing which might reflect upon his Nation. But *Odoacer* so died, and *Theodorich* easily made himself Master of *Italy*, whose Government we are now to relate. But forasmuch as the *Goths* made now, and had made such a noise and bustle in the World, had done such things, made such Conquests and founded several Kingdoms, its highly requisite that we premise something concerning the Original and first Motions of this People, taking in also those of other Northern Nations in the way as they fitly present themselves. For out of the North they swarmed like so many *Vultures*, *Kites* and other *Birds of Prey*, fell upon the *Eagle*, and after sore bickering, having spoiled him of his Western Plumes, at length outed him of the *Nest* it self, and so held it and the Regions about it, till a Cock of generous breed, though also of Northern extraction, cleared *Italy* and other Countries of them, and trimming himself with the Western Plumes, set up, and was owned, for a Western *Eagle*.

An Agreement that they shall reign together.

Odoacer slain.

* *Hoc Cons. (i. e. Albino) Theodoricus Ravennam ingressus Odoacrem molientem sibi insidias interemit:*

† *Postmodum hac luce privavit.*

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

The Original of the Goths *and other Barbarous Nations, that invaded and seized* Italy.

Sect. II.

From *Scandia* the *Goths* and other Nations issued.

1. THE Northern *Clime* out of which these *Goths* and others derived their Descent, who invaded the Southwestern Parts of the *Roman* Empire, was that Tract of ground which the Ancients thought an Island, but since has been found to be a *Peninsula*, known by the Names of *Scandinavia*, *Scandia*, *Scanza*, *Scanzia* and *Scantia*, because the Inhabitants made use of high and steep Rocks in the Room of Castles which they called *Scanzen*, to which the Word being added which signifies Land, thence came that of *Scandinavia*. The *Greeks* called it *Baltia* from the inward Sea, for an Irruption of the Sea it signifies; and *Procopius* thought it to be *Thule*. It's a great space of ground compassed on the North, and the East by the Sea; and the *Botnick* Bay and the *Baltick* Sea fence it on the West and South; as also by Rivers which pour themselves out into the *Botnick* Bay, and the *Russian* or *white Sea*.

Vide Grotii Prolegomena in Histor. Gothorum, Vandalorum, &c.

Two Kingdoms therein of the *Sueones* and *Sittones*.

2. *Tacitus* placeth two Kingdoms in this Tract, *viz.* of the *Sueones* and the *Sittones*. The former are also variously called *Suiones*, *Suethani* and *Suethidi*, by our English Writers *Suedi* and *Suethedi*, by others *Suithonæ*, *homines Suetici*, and *Sueci* worst of all. The *Sueones* or *Suethi* were so called as laborious and getting their livings by *the sweat of their brows*; and the *Sittones*, on the contrary, from a *sitting sedentary or idle Course of Life*. The Kingdoms were divided by the Mountain *Seno* so named *from the seven Hills*; and the Countrey of the *Sittones* was called *Norwegia* or *Nordwege* because situate to the North. After *Tacitus* his time other Nations might peirce themselves into *Scanzia*, as did the *Heruli* and *Rugi*, and afterwards the *Dani* who had been a Colony of the *Suedi*, but retained and possessed themselves of part of the Countrey not long before *Justinian's* time, *Procopius* and *Jornandes* being the most ancient Writers that mention them, and the latter saying that they drove the *Heruli* out of the Seats which they had possessed in *Scanzia*. Now besides the *Sueones* and *Sittones*, several other People are found to have been Inhabitants of *Scanzia*, as the *Goths* which from their Habitations Eastward and Westward, carried the Names of *Ostrogoths* and *Westrogoths*, by the Latines corruptly called *Visigothi*. They had the Name of *Goten* or *Guten*, which signifies *Good*, from Strangers for their great humanity to such as they entertained. That the *Goths* inhabited *Scanzia* is evident from all sorts of Writers and other Testimonies, and there had their Name, as other People for their inhumanity to Strangers received contrary appellations, as the *Zuadi Witti* and *Thaifali*. Of the *Goths* other Nations descended, or were the same with them, and from some Accidents received other Names as the *Longobards*, and *Wandals*. And these Names they took after the Migrations of those *Scanzian* Nations which they made far and wide, and thereby made themselves so considerable as to be known both by their old and new Names, and much more by the Effects of their victorious Arms.

Ostrogoths and *Westrogoths*.

3. For their first Motion or Expedition we are in the dark, and as in the Originals of all Nations, some truth is involved in many and great Fictions and Poetick Romances, so we may probably conjecture in this of theirs. One story we are to mention, because a late learned and ingenious Writer hath taken much pains to make it probable. And it hangs upon this hinge of Truth, that the *Goths* or *Getes* in most ancient times out of *Scandia* made Inroads not onely into the *Chersonesus*, the Islands of the *Baltick* Sea and the more Northern Parts of *Germany*, but into several Parts both of the *Asian* and *European Sarmatia* and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants they there seated themselves, as well as in *Thrace* and several other Provinces. Upon this Foundation the Northern Writers raise particular stories, which we cannot tell how to call false as to the main of them, but are very Romantick in their Circumstances. As into other Regions, they say the *Goths* pierced (in very old time it must be) into that Part of the *Asian Scythia* where there was a City afterward called by them *Asgard*, the

Sheringham in Disceptat. de Origine Gentis Anglorum.

the Inhabitants whereof *Asgardiani* are by some thought the same with those whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aspurgiani*, both sorts of Authours placing them near to the Lake *Mæotis*, where the River *Tanais* with great fury empties himself into it. Some think *Ptolemy* the Geographer called the City by the very Name of *Ascard* or *Asgard*. The Countrey in which it stood was in a peculiar way called *Asia* by *Strabo*, and the People *Asæi* and *Asiotæ* by other Writers, being also called *Turcæ* whom *Mela* makes the same with the *Tyrsagetæ*, those whom at present we call *Turks*, having long time after entered into those quarters after they were deserted by the *Goths*, upon their return back into *Europe*. These *Aspurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia* within *Imaus*, where the *Ausones*, *Syebi* and *Iotæ* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aspurgiani*.

A Colony out of *Scandia* to *Asgardia*.

4. Of this *Asgardia* or *Aspurgia* in process of time was King one *Othin*, who had many other Names, according to the several *Gothick* Dialects, but that whereby he is commonly known is *Woden*, from which the third day of the week is called *Wodensday*. Now most wonderfull things are said of this *Woden*, no more Famous and Romantick stories being told of any *Heroe*. What wonderfull Power he had in *Magick* in transforming himself and other things, is not fit here to be related; his ways of enchanting were peculiar. Of his Government fine things are told; as also his Acts and Conquests in the Eastern and Northern Parts are celebrated, he being said to be Lord of that part of *Scythia* lying toward the South. At what time the *Romans* grew terrible to the World, by his Magick knowing that he and his Posterity should for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the World, he committed to his two Brothers *Ve* and *Velir*, the Government of *Asgardia*, and went into *Russia*, whence he proceeded into *Saxony*, and thence into *Gothia Suetica* or *Suethland*. The Prince of this Countrey was one *Gyluo*, by whose consent he and his followers planted there. Here, by his Inchantments, Rhimes and Songs, he did such incredible things, that his Name became famous and reached all Countries, and afterward the *Suedi* and other Northern Nations sacrificed to him and his twelve Assistants, which he chose to keep him in Magical Rites and Government, and wickedly paid to him their Duty and Devotion which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone.

Woden.

Wonderfull things said of him.

5. Now to make a Judgment of this Story, it is very probable that some famous Man or Men there was of this Name, which indeed became wonderfully revered by the Northern and other *German* Nations. These Countries, as is observed and is sufficiently evident, have been much given to Magick and Inchantments; Charms and Tricks, many Monuments of their ancient Places of Burial, with their *Runick* Inscriptions sufficiently testifying enough of this matter at this very day. That some of the *Goths* were called *Turcæ* we hear, and it is not improbable, that in this return out of those *Scythian* Quarters some retained this Name, though the reason of it was in the dark. For in the County of *Lincoln* upon the River *Trent*, a few Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torksey*, which the *Saxons* in their Language knew by the Name of *Turkesigga* or the Island of *Turks*. In the Northern Countries many places bear the Name of *Woden*. It is not utterly to be neglected, that the Removals and Travels of the *Goths*, out of the more Northern Parts into *Germany*, and the adjacent Islands are said farther to be made out, both by the Inscriptions in *Runick* Characters, which are extant both in the said Islands and in *Sueden*, as well as by the Annalists of these Quarters. Moreover great Pillars were in *Sueden* not long since to be seen, which the Inscriptions upon them manifested to have been erected by them in Memory of their Worthies, which had lost their Lives in *Greece*, *Thrace* or other places. It's believed by some that from *Woden*, and his Companions who were *Scythians*, *Suedia* came to be called *Nova Scythia*, and the Inhabitants of the *Chersonesus* or the *Cimbri* to be termed by the *Greeks*, *Celtoscythæ*, being first known to them by the Name of *Cimmerii*, and why by this? but that because they were first in *Scythia* called *Cimmerii*, and into *Germany* and those parts travelled from the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*.

What Judgment is to be made of his Story.

6. To be sure the People inhabiting *Scandia*, had those of the same Names with themselves, living in the *Scythian* Regions, and which must necessarily be deduced from the same Original. That those three severally denominated People which invaded and conquered this our Island were of *Scandian* Original, none can doubt, *viz.* the *Jutes*, *Gutes* or *Getes* (the same with the *Goths*) the *Angli* and *Saxons*; and from *Ptolemy* the Geographer it appears, that in *Scythia* or *Cimmeria* there were three several People which were known by these very Names. He

speaks

ſpeaks of *Iotæ* lying upon the Sea of the *Rhiminii*. Of the *Saſones* under the *Maſſæan* and *Alan* Mountains. And though by name he mentions not the *Angles*, yet the *Suebi* he doth, or *Suevi*, part of which Nation the *Angli* are rationally thought to have been, being ſo called from the *Angle* or Corner on which they ſeized in *Germany*. This is accounted no ſmall Argument, that theſe People came into the Northern Parts of *Germany* at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of *Woden*, that before the time of his Expedition no ſuch Names as theſe do occur in Northern Writers, but after they became famous, eſpecially the *Saxons*. In the *Sacogothick* Annals, thoſe of *Norway* and *Denmark*, the memory of them flouriſhes; but amongſt the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Writers the *Saxons* are known, as alſo the *Jutes* by the Name of *Cimbri*, though the *Suebi* by that of their own. In *Sarmatia*, and eſpecially in *Livonia* are many Towns, the Names of which are *Saxon*. And for the Maritime Parts, they ſpeak the Language there at this very day; the ſame which about *Pontus* and thoſe Northern Quarters of *Aſia*, was ſpoken even in the time of *Ovid*, the Poet, who being baniſhed thither, became a Proficient in the Language of the *Getes*. Well, this might be when *Strabo* placeth the *Macropogones* or *Longobards* in *Cimmeria*, about *Syndica*, near to which *Woden* is ſaid to have reigned in *Aſpurgia*. In *Germany* there is *Triers*, in *Saxon Die Trier*, and ſuch there were in *Scythia* alſo. The *Chatti* alſo lived in *Germany*, not far from the *Suevi*, *Angli* and *Chamani*, and *Ptolemy* placeth them alſo in *Scythia* next the *Maſſagetes*, without the Mountains *Imai*. Sect. 2.

7. To theſe things might be added, that the Humours, Manners and Inclinations of the *Gothick* Nations or *Cimbri*, did much ſuit with thoſe of the *Aſiatick Scythians*. And all conſidered, that there were migrations there can be little doubt, the ſame People being found at ſo great diſtance. Now whether firſt theſe Nations paſſed from *Scandia* into *Scythia*, or out of *Scythia* into *Scandia*, may be ſome queſtion; but it ſeems not difficult to be reſolved, that ſetting aſide the firſt planting of the World, they firſt went from *Scandia*, becauſe the vaſt Tracts of that Countrey *Germany*, and the Iſlands ſpeaking that Language, challenge the other ſorts of People of the *Aſiatick Scythia* to have been their Colonies, for they were but few in number in compariſon of their Neighbours, who ſpake in Language and lived far differently from them. Admit it then as poſſible, that ſuch a man as *Woden* there might be, it would be of conſequence, if we had any light concerning his return into *Scandia*. A Tradition there was amongſt the *Saxons*, that they came by Sea into *Germany*, but it is urged that no Footſteps of any other Invaſion or Migration is to be found, but this of *Woden*. Some make it to have happened four and twenty Years before the Birth of Chriſt, about the time that *Pompey* waſted *Syria*; but if *Woden* delivered *Denmark* to his Son *Skiold*, whence the Kings of that Countrey were anciently called *Skioldinger*, this *Skiold*, according to the *Daniſh* Cronology, lived almoſt a thouſand Years before *Pompey*; and accordingly *Woden* with his *Aſiaticks* muſt have preceded the *Daniſh* Kingdom, and to *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Jutia* have given their proper Names. By this account *Woden* muſt have been ancienter than *Homer*; but how will this conſiſt with the Genealogies of our own Engliſh *Saxon* Kings, the Founders of the ſeven Kingdoms here, all which are derived in deſcent from *Woden*? But *Hengiſt*, the firſt that came into *Britain*, arrived not till about CCCCL Years after Chriſt's Birth, and he is ſaid to have been but the *Abnepos*, or Great Grandchild of *Woden*, as *Cerdic*, the Founder of the Kingdom of the *Weſtſaxons*, the Tenth from him: Whereas by the former account, *Woden* muſt have preceded the Birth of our Saviour above a thouſand Years.

8. To diſpatch therefore this Story of him, let us cloſe with the opinion of them, who think that as amongſt the *Greeks*, there were ſeveral there bore the Name of *Hercules*, but were all confounded together, and what was done by all was aſcribed to one. It fell out in the ſame manner as to the matter of *Woden*. It's thought that there were three which bore this Name, all deified by Idolaters. The firſt, deſcended from *Saturn* and the *Trojan* Kings, called *Aſianus*, and *Odin hiogainte* or *Woden* the Ancient, who never came into *Europe*, but his Name and Rites were hither brought by others. The ſecond of *Upſall*, to whom in *Swedeland* was a Temple dedicated ſhining with Gold, who was alſo called *Aſianus*, but a ſtranger of the *Scythians*. The third was called *Mathodin* or *Midlewoden*, of whom *Saxo Grammaticus* maketh mention, who, the other *Woden* being abroad, play'd tricks, and took occaſion to feign himſelf a God, but after his return fled into *Phaonia*, and there was ſlain by the Inhabitants. Some produce a fourth *Woden*, who being beaten by *Pompey* out of *Aſia* into the Northern Parts, taught

Wodens.

Sect. 2. the People the Arts and Laws of the *Asiaticks*, and was therefore had in especial Honour. And yet this flight from the *Romans* is ascribed to him of *Upsall*, though they lived in far different Ages. Let us take then or leave this Story of *Woden*, with the Migrations into *Asia*, and back again out of that Countrey, and returning also to *Scandia*, take notice of these Motions of the *Gothick* Nations, which are warranted by unquestionable History, or probable at least.

Ex hac igitur Scanzia insula quasi officina Gentium, aut certè velut vagina nationum cum Rege suo nomine Berig, Gothi quondam memorantur egressi. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis. c. 4.

9. It is not amiss to premise, that upon passing into other Countries, the same People got several Names; as either Strangers made terminations to their old ones, or as they observed something they thought most remarkable in them: According to the way of severally terminating words, and bringing them as near as can be to the *Genius* of a strange Language, the same *Goths* are in several Writers called *Gutæ*, *Gutones*, *Gothones*, *Gythones*, *Guttones* and *Guttonici*, as the same Countrey is termed *Gotthia* and *Gudlandia*. And in like manner, the *Franci* and *Francones*, *Vasci* and *Vascones*, *Frisii* and *Frisones*, *Suedi* and *Suemes* are the same. After the first migration of them North Eastward to the Lake of *Mæotis*, where even at this very day they retain both the Names, Manners and Language of *Goths*, as their Countrey that of *Gotthia*, they seem to have sent out that Colony which planted it self between the Rivers *Albis* (by those *Goths* called *Gotthelha*) and *Vistula*, where they preserved their Countrey Name. *Grotius* guesseth that above three Hundred years before our Saviour, they first went out of *Scanzia*, *Godonavia* or *Gothland*; and coming into the Continent of *Germany*, drove out the *Ulmirugi*, and there left a Colony which *Tacitus* calleth *Gotthones*. That the Islands adjoining they very anciently Peopled, there is no doubt, as also the Sea coasts, where the *Æstii* inhabited, who had this Name, and their Countrey that of *Æstonia*, from lying Eastward from them. Hence he believes they made Incursions as far as *Mæotis*, and into *Dacia*, but when he cannot say; but that it was before the time of the *Antonini*. He saith he learns this from *Spartianus*, who in the Life of *Caracalla* writes that the *Gotthi* were called *Getes*, as many others also have hinted, because the nearness of the Name deceived the *Romans* (though *Gete* be a Name of *Thrace*, and *Goth* a German word) and the *Goths* held those places which anciently bore the Name of the *Getes*. Hence in the Reign of *Philip*, *Jornandes* brings them into *Mœsia* and *Thrace*, and it appears that from this time, Part of the *Goths* remained in *Mœsia*, who by *Jornandes* are called *Gothi Minores*, and who receiving Letters from the *Greeks*, delivered them to the other *Gothick* Nations.

The Migrations of the *Goths*.

Capitaneatus Gothiæ dicitur in publicis monumentis, vide Grotium ubi prius ex relatu Josophati Barbari nobilis Veneti, qui in illis vixit Regionibus.

10. Amongst the *Roman* Writers, after *Spartianus*, he observes, that the first mention of the *Goths* is made by *Aurelius Victor* (published by *Schottus*,) in the Reign of *Decius*, at what time out of *Dacia*, they poured out themselves into the neighbouring *Thrace*, being by *Zosimus* and *Zonares* called *Scythians*, as by their Original they well might, and did pass for such. In the time of *Aurelian* and *Gallienus* they proceeded farther, and wasted *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Pontus* and *Asia*, several particulars being related by divers Authours. From others it appears that *Claudius* being Emperour they fell upon *Marcianopolis* in *Mœsia*, and then wasted both *Macedonia* and *Illyricum*, besieging *Cassandria* and *Thessalonica*. Both *Maximian* and *Constantine* the Great received them into friendship and society, and the latter made use of them against the *Sarmatæ*, and under *Theodosius* the younger, part of *Thrace* fell to their share. *Procopius* tells us that the *Goths*, called *Tetraxitæ*, lived near to the shore and straits of *Mæotis*, and farther from them, the *Goths* and *Visigoths*, and *Vandals*, and all the other *Gothick* Nations anciently named *Scythians*, as all the other Nations of those Parts with some difference, in some of *Sarmatians*, *Melanclænians* and other Names. On the other side of the Lake lived the *Cimmerians* or *Hunnes*, who it's said being perswaded by two young Men, that pursued a Stag, that the water was fordable (which they had not thought before) instantly took Arms and passed over. He adds that the *Vandals* were gone before and seated in *Africk*, and the *Visigoths* were in *Spain*. And so they fell upon the *Goths*, who dwelt in the Champian, killed many and chased away the rest. Such as escaped passed the River *Ister*, with their Wives and Children into the *Roman* Territory, where they did much mischief. Afterward the Emperour planted them in a Countrey of *Thrace*, and sometimes they aided the *Romans* in quality of Confederates, receiving yearly Pensions, whereby it appears that the *Goths* (so *Procopius* observes) came not as Men conquered, but upon the Articles of a League. Sometimes also they made causeless War upon the *Romans*, till under *Theodorich* they removed into *Italy*.

Their Invasions.

Hist. Gothic. lib. 4.

11. Great

11. Great Mischiefs did the *Goths* bring to the *Roman* Provinces by their Invasions and Inroads; but the greatest mischief of all happened by the Empire, its opening it self to receive them. I mean when *Valens* received them into *Thrace*, as we have at large related in our second Part, in the year CCCLXXVI. Having by his leave passed the *Danube*, whither they were driven from their own Seats by the *Hunnes*, they presently turned head against their Entertainer, and afterward proved so many Vipers in the Bowels of the Provinces, still taking occasion to stir, and could not be quieted by any Seats or Entertainment given them, no though the greatest of them were preferred to the greatest place of Magistracy and Dignity, till they made themselves Leaders or Kings, and travelling Southwestward, at length seized upon the Provinces as Lords and Masters thereof. This the Reader may remember, from what hath been copiously related to him in this work, concerning their Motions in the time of *Honorius*, the Invasion of *Italy*, and taking of *Rome* by *Alarick*, their Actions in *Gall* and in *Spain*. It is to be observed that the Story told by *Procopius*, concerning the Deer being pursued by the young men, and (what thereupon happened) the Invasion of the Seats of the *Goths* by the *Hunnes*, and their flying to the *Danube*, is by *Jornandes* made the same with their flight thither in the Reign of *Valens*, whom they petitioned to be received within the *Roman Pale*, what ever *Procopius* talk of the *Vandals* being now seated in *Africk*, and the *Visegoths* in *Spain*. It is also farther to be taken notice of, that the Migrations out of *Scandia* were in more ancient times, and that those irruptions which brought ruine to the *Roman* Provinces, and gave beginnings to the Principalities erected by these Barbarous Nations therein, were from the Eastern quarters. *Jornandes* distinguisheth thus of their Habitations: Those that abode in the first part of *Scythia* by *Mæotis*, are known to have had *Filimer* for their King; they that inhabited in the second soil of *Dacia*, *Thracia* and *Mœsia* had *Zamolxes*, whom most Writers of Annals testifie to have been a wonderfully learned Philosopher. Besides this he had formerly spoken of their planting in that part of *Scythia*, which bordered on the Sea of *Pontus*. But now at the time that they grew so terrible to the Empire, after that of *Valens*, they began to be known to the World, by the afterward terrible Names of *Visegoths* and *Ostrogoths*.

Sect. 2.

C. c. 24, 25.

Whence came the Names of *Ostrogoths* and *Westrogoths*.

12. They were known indeed more by these Names, after their parting into several Quarters of the Empire, but the Names were much ancienter. And that from their situation of West and East, they were first called *Westrogoths* and *Ostrogoths* in their own Countrey is most probable, and *Grotius* concludes it from *Jornandes* his Description of *Scandia* (who therein indeed mentions the *Ostrogoths* though not the other,) and from *Vopiscus*, who about the time of *Claudius* makes mention of the *Austrogoths*, with whom the *Ostrogoths* are the same. They were joined together till the Reign of *Ermaurick*, and that of *Valens*, the Emperour; but then the *Visegoths* or *Western Goths* departed from the *Ostrogoths*, and frighted by the *Hunnes*, asked *Valens* leave to pass the *Danube*. And the *Westerngoths* (corruptly called *Wisesigoths* and *Visigoths*) they were who being received, and treated ill as they pretended contrary to the Agreement defeated and killed *Valens*. After this they seized on *Thrace* and *Dacia Ripensis*, not by a precarious Right, but by way of Dominion, and even in the time of *Gratian*. Afterward part of them under Conduct of *Fridigern* invaded *Thessaly* and *Achaia*, and another part led by *Alatheus*, and *Safrack* fell into *Pannonia*, and compelled *Theodosius* to make a Peace. This Peace being not lasting, *Alarick* their King having wasted *Thrace* and *Greece*, after *Radagaisus* invaded *Italy* through *Pannonia*, as we have shewn at large, and first after the *Galli Senones* took *Rome* in the time of *Honorius*. He that succeeded *Athanese* did the like, and presently invaded *Gall*, which was forsaken by the *Wandals*. There the *Western Goths* setled a Dominion, and afterward transferred it over the Mountains into *Spain*, where they also erected a Kingdom. Of which Dominion and Kingdom we must treat particularly, and therefore here must leave the *Westrogoths* for a time.

Westrogothia confinis est Provinciæ Danorum quæ Sconia dicitur, à qua ferunt diebus septem perveniri usq; ad Civitatem Gothorum magnam Scaraxe. Deinde Ostrogothia protenditur juxta mare quod Balthicum dicitur usq; ad Byrkam. Adamus Bremensis apud Grotium Prolegomenis.

The Progress of the *Westrogoths*.

13. The *Ostrogoths* seem to have been the more considerable Party, the race of the ancient Kings, obeyed by both sorts till this Decession, proceeding from them, and namely the Family of the *Amali*, so much celebrated among them. *Amalus* (to pass by some other Kings more ancient, the Names of whom are to be found in *Jornandes*) was the Son of *Augis*, and it seems so eminent as to give a Name to his Successours. He was the Father of *Isarna*, and *Isarna* of *Ostrogotha*, who in the Reign of *Philip* the Emperour with his *Ostrogoths* (*Jornandes* yet knowing not, whether from him or their situation they received this Name,) for that

The Kings and Progresses of the *Ostrogoths*.

Amalus.
Isarna.
Ostrogotha.

Amali Cælestes.
Isar-na, ferro propinquus.
Oost, Angl. East, Latini hinc formarunt Austriam.

Sect. 2. that being Confederates of the Empire their Stipends were not paid them, passed the *Danube*, wasted *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, and forced *Marcianopolis* to compound with him, and redeem it self. The Nation of the *Gepidæ* seeing him thus victorious envied him this good Fortune, and made war upon their Kinsmen, as *Jornandes*, calls them, though by the word *Patrules*, and how they came to be their Kinsmen he tells you, he saith, in short if you ask the question. He puts his Reader in mind, that at the beginning of his Book, he shewed how the *Goths* proceeded out of the Island *Scanzia* with *Berick* their King, transported onely in three Ships to the Bank of the hither Ocean. Of these three Vessels, one, as often happens, sailing slower than the rest, gave Name to the People; (which landed in an Island of the River *Vistula*, and afterward proceeded farther) for in their Language *Slow* is signified by *Gepanta*. Hence came it to pass that by little and little, and corruptly it came to stick to them by way of reproach. For the *Gepidæ* without doubt derive their Original from the Stock of the *Goths*; but because, as was said, *Gepanta* signifieth *something slow and sluggish*, the Nickname of the *Gepidæ* thence arose, which I dare not believe, saith he, to be the falsest thing that is. For they are of a slow humour and disposition, and more heavy as to motion of the Body. Such is the Relation of *Jornandes* concerning the Name and Original of the *Gepidæ*. He agrees with *Procopius* herein, who declaring which were the greatest and most famous of the *Gothick* Nations, reckons the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Visegoths* and *Gepædes*. He adds, that anciently they were called *Sarmatians* and *Melanchlenians*; that they varied all in Names, and nothing else, being all fair bodied with yellow hair, tall and with good faces; that they had the same Laws, Customs and Religion, being all *Arians*, and all spake the *Gothick* Language. He supposes them to have been anciently one Nation, and their Names to have been distinguished afterward by their several Princes. Formerly, he saith, this People inhabited about the *Danube*; then the *Gepædes* held the Places about *Singedon* and *Sirmium* on both sides the River, where they were when he wrote his History.

The *Gepidæ* of *Gothick* Nation.

Malè Gepanta pro Gepaita nunc legitur. Est enim Gepait Germanis is qui moram fecit. Grot.

Vandal. lib. 1. ad initium.

14. There are other Testimonies sufficient to prove, that the *Gepidæ* were a *Gothoscanzian* Nation. They also as we have seen, invaded and wasted the *Roman* Empire. They were once Associates with the *Romans*, but joined with the *Lombards* and broke Truces, after which they made great stirs in the World till they were overcome, and in a manner destroyed by the *Lombards*, in the time of *Alboin*, who married *Rosamunda* the Daughter of *Cunimund* their King. But to return to our former Story: *Fastida* the King of the *Gepidæ* being puffed up with the good Success he had against the *Burgundians*, whom he almost destroyed, broke the League with the *Goths* his Kinsmen. He sent to *Ostrogotha*, to whom both the *Ostrogoths* and *Visegoths* were subject, to tell him, that he was too much straitned in room, and he must give the *Gepidæ* Land, or prepare for War. He answered he should be sorry to make War upon his Kindred, but he would part with no Land, and thereupon a bloudy Battel was fought, wherein the *Gepidæ* were shamefully beaten, and the *Goths* contenting themselves with Victory, moved not during the Reign of *Ostrogotha*. After his death, *Cniua* divided them into two Armies, and sending one into *Mæsia*, with the other consisting of seventy thousand Men, he himself fell on *Eustesium* or *Nonæ*; whence being removed by *Gallus*, a Captain, he went to *Nicopolis* a City *Trajan* had built upon overthrowing the *Sarmatæ*, near the River *Jater*. But *Decius* the Emperour marching towards him, he removed into the Parts of *Hæmonia* near adjoining, purposing for *Philippolis*. *Decius* intended to pursue him, and resting his Men at *Berrhœa*, *Cniua* with his *Goths*, fell like a Thunderbolt upon him, and forced him to fly into *Mæsia*. *Cniua* having long besieged *Philippolis*, at length got the Governour *Priscus* to join with him, and pursued *Decius*; where *Gallus* being Captain of the Limit had recruited his Army. And they came to an ingagement, wherein first the Son of *Decius*, and afterward the Emperour himself was slain, and ended his Life and Reign together.

Cniua.

15. After this the *Goths* invaded *Asia*, where having burnt the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, and demolished *Chalcedon*; they retired into *Thrace*, and wasted that Countrey. They assisted *Maximian* the Emperour against the *Parthians*, and *Constantine* the Great against *Licinius*, forty thousand of them serving under him, who continued in the *Roman* Army by the Name of *Fœderati*. These things they did under the Conduct of their Kings *Ararick* and *Aurick*, after whom came *Giberick* a notable Person. He overthrew the *Wandals* his Neighbours with *Visumar* their King, who was descended of the Race of the *Asdingi*, renowned amongst them. Such of the *Wandals* as remained after the Overthrow, begged *Pannonia* of

Ararick. Aurick. Giberick.

Ara-rick, honore pollens. Aur-rick, vetustate pollens. Haist-Dingen, celer in

of *Constantine* the Emperour, to whose Succession they were obedient forty years, till being invited by *Stilico* they fell upon *Gall*, but setled not therein. *Giberick* being dead, after some time *Hermanarick* was King, one descended of the most noble Family of the *Amali*. He conquered so many Northern Nations, that by some he was compared to *Alexander* the Great. Having subdued many (the Names of whom *Jornandes* gives us, but might have as well suppressed them; so strange they are) he could not omit the *Heruli*, but needs must fall on them also. The Historian tells us from a far better Authour, *Ablavius* whose work hath miscarried, that this Nation of the *Heruli*, dwelling near the Fenns of *Maotis* in waterish places, had its Name from them, which by the *Greeks* are called *Hebe*: a People, he adds, by how much more swift and agile, so much more abundantly proud; for there was then no Nation, which chose not its light armed Soldiers out of them. But formerly in the same work *Jornandes* writes, that they were driven out of their Seats by the *Dani*, which Seats were in *Scanzia*, for of the Inhabitants thereof he speaks in that Chapter. With him *Procopius* agrees, that they inhabited formerly beyond the River *Ister*, serving many Gods, and holding it no impiety to appease them with humane Sacrifices. He adds, that they had Laws different from other Men, when Men were grown aged or sick, they were not to live; but intreat their Kindred to put them out of the World. The Kindred made a Pile of wood and set the Man on the Top, and sent one who was a stranger to him in bloud to dispatch him, then set they the Pile on fire, and the flame being done gathered up his bones and buried them. When one of the *Heruli* died, his Wife (if she would be thought virtuous) was to strangle her self over her Husband's Tomb; otherwise she was esteemed infamous, and an Enemy to her Husband's Kindred.

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Hermanarick.

Judicio publico. Gib-rick, Donis pollens. Here, exercitus. Hereman, miles. Hermanarick. Militibus pollens.

The Original of the *Heruli*.

C. 3.

De Bello Goth. lib. 2.

16. In time they over-topped the bordering Barbarians in Populousness and Power, and vanquisht them in fight one by one, foraged their Countries, and kept them under. They subdued the *Lombards* being Christians, and made them pay Tribute either out of Covetousness or Vainglory, it being a thing not used by the Barbarians in these Parts. In the Reign of *Anastasius*, having none left to subdue, they remained quiet for three years, but for that reviling and provoking their King *Rodulph*, he made an unjust War upon the *Lombards*, not changing them with the breach of Treaties or any other Pretence. The issue was that many of the *Heruli* were slain with their King, and the rest flying were almost all cut in pieces. Upon this they left their Countrey, and passing through all the Land beyond the River *Ister*, sate down in the Countrey of the *Rugi* who had left it, and were gone with the *Goths* into *Italy*. But the Land being waste they removed to the *Gepidæ*, who at first permitted them to plant by them, but afterwards wronged and abused them, which moved them to pass *Ister*, to dwell by the *Romans* there. *Anastatius* received them, and afterward when they committed wicked Acts, he killed most of them, sending an Army, and would have destroyed them all, but their Leaders begged their Lives, and to be taken for Auxiliaries and Servants of the Empire, and so some escaped alive; yet neither aided nor served the *Romans*. *Justinian* coming to the Empire, gave them a fertile Countrey and Goods, made them also his Associates, and perswaded them to be Christians; upon which they grew civiler, and applying themselves to the Laws of Christianity, served the *Romans* as Auxiliaries. But still, saith *Procopius*, they are false to us and covetous, not thinking it any shame to wrong their Neighbours. They use impious Mixtures with Men and Beasts, being indeed the wickedest of all Men and Wretches, wretchedly to perish: Some of them continued the League with us, and the rest revolted upon this Occasion. To shew the savageness of their Nature, they killed *Ochon* their King suddenly; without alledging any thing, but that they would no more be under a King.

Their Wickedness.

17. And indeed their King before had onely the Name, otherwise little advantage above a private Man. All sate at meat with him, and put licentious Affronts upon him, the *Heruli* being the most indiscreet and lightest Men alive. But this foul fact they instantly repented, finding no possibility to live without Governours and Generals. After much consultation they resolved to send for one of the Bloud Royal, from the Island of *Thule*. For the *Heruli* being overthrown by the *Lombards*, and leaving their Native soil, some dwelt in *Illyricum*, but others past not the River *Ister*, but thought it better to plant in the uttermost borders of the habitable World. These conducted by many of the Bloud Royal, passed through the Nations of the *Slani*, a large desart Countrey, the *Varni*, and those of the *Danes* (the Barbarians using no violence against them) and coming to the

Sect. 2. the Ocean, and getting shipping arrived at the Island *Thule*, where they staid. Thus writes *Procopius* of the *Heruli*, who by *Thule* means the *Peninsula* of *Scandia*, which he calls ten times bigger than *Britain*, saith most of it was waste, but in that which was inhabited, were seated thirteen populous Nations, and over every Nation was a King. Amongst them the *Herulian* wanderers planted themselves; and those who continued amongst the *Romans*, having murthered their King, sent some of their chief Men to the Island of *Thule*, to bring over one of the Bloud Royal if they could find any there. From amongst many they brought one, who dying by the way of sickness, they went back and brought another named *Todasius*, accompanied with his Brother *Aordas*, and two hundred *Heruli*. They being long upon their Journey, the *Heruli* about *Singedon*, conceiveing it might be inconvenient to introduce a King from *Thule* without *Justinian's* consent, sent to the Emperour to *Constantinople* to give them what King he pleased. He sent them *Suartuas* one of their Nation, who had long lived at *Constantinople*, and him at first they received joyfully, adored him as King, and obeyed him in the usual Directions. But within few days hearing of the coming of the Ambassadours from *Thule*, they revolted from *Suartuas* (who had commanded them to goe out and kill them) to the New Comers, and he was forced to fly back to *Constantinople*. The Emperour set himself to restore him, and thereupon the *Heruli* revolted to the *Gepidæ*. So much writes *Procopius* of this People, of whom we often speak in the Course of our History upon occasion. It seems they lived beyond the River *Ister*, and afterward some of them passed into *Scandia*, from which possibly also they descended amongst other *Gothick* Nations; for amongst *Gothick* Nations *Procopius* reckons also the *Scirri* and *Alani*, amongst whom he puts *Odoacer*, as one of them, and saith he was of the Lifeguard to the Emperour; and him other Authours call King of the *Heruli*, who invading *Italy* were we suppose more Civiliz'd, than those of whom *Procopius* writes. *De Bello Goth. lib. 1. initio.*

18. Well! upon the *Heruli*, *Hermanarick* King of the *Ostrogoths* made war, and though their swiftness prevailed against other Nations; yet it submitted to the slowness and stability of the *Goths*, and they served *Hermanarick* amongst other Nations. After them he subdued the *Vaneti* who became his Servants, though afterward in the time of *Jornandes*, because of the Sins of his Age they raged every where, being, though sprung from one Root, germinated into three Names of *Veneti*, *Aules* and *Sclani*. By his prudential valour he conquered the *Æstri*, who inhabited on the longest bank of the *German* Ocean, and as if it had been effected by his own Labours, he commanded all the Nations, both of *Scythia* and *Germany*. Not very long after, as he relates from *Orosius*, the Nation of the *Hunnes* raged against the *Goths* with more than bitter fury; and to be revenged on them for that and their other Pranks, he gives you an account of their Original also, as he found it related by Antiquity. *Filimer* King of the *Goths* the Son of *Gandarick* the Great, being their fifth Prince after their going out from the Island of *Scandia*, having with his People entred into the *Scythian* Territories, found amongst them certain Witches, which in his Countrey Language he called *Aliorunnæ*, and having them suspected he thrust them away from his Company, and compelled them to depart into the Wilderness far from his Army. Unclean Spirits seeing these Women wandering in the Desart lay with them, and procreated this most furious brood, which at first continued in the Fenns small and inconsiderable, as it were a kind of Men, neither known by any other word than that which signified an Image of Mankind. From *Priscus* the Historian, he adds, that in the Fenn of *Maotis*, this Cruel Nation possessed the farther Bank being expert in hunting and no other labour, onely when it grew into Multitudes, with Frauds and Rapines it disturbed the neighbouring Nations.

The Original of the *Hunnes* according to *Jornandes*.

19. Concerning the Original of the *Hunnes* we must leave *Jornandes* to himself, but concerning their Seats his Relation is confirmed by other Writers. *Procopius* tells us, that the two Straits of Mount *Caucasus*, which let in the *Hunnish* Nations upon the *Romans* and *Persians*, were called the one *Tzar*, and the other the *Caspian Gates*. That the Countrey extending from Mount *Caucasus* to the *Caspian Gates* the *Alani* held, subject to none, but as Confederates they served the *Persians* against the *Romans* and all the World. That under Mount *Caucasus* dwelt the *Gabrian Hunnes*, and some other *Hunnish* Nations; and hence they said issued the *Amazons*, and made a Camp at *Themiscyrus* by the River of *Themidon*, near where in his Days stood the City of *Amisus*. But now, saith he are left no *Amazons* in the Countries about Mount *Caucasus*. *Strabo*, he adds, and some others have made *Hist. Goth. lib. 4.*

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made much discourse about them, but they seem to speak most truly, who think that there was never any such Mannish Race of Women; nor that Nature in Mount *Caucasus* onely swerved from its sacred Laws, but that the Barbarians of these Parts making an Expedition against *Asia*, brought their Wives along with them, whom they left in a Camp near *Thermedon*. That they themselves overrunning much of *Asia* were so encountred and defeated, that none escaped to the Camp; and that there their Wifes being sorely put to it by the fear of the People adjoining, and by want of Victuals, took on them Countenances of Men, and armed themselves with the Furniture left by their Husbands, and with the same performed some commendable Actions, compelled by necessity, till they were all slain. This is his opinion, and that the *Amazons* were Wives that went to war with their Husbands, the Experiment whereof, he saith, happened in his own time. And commonly the addictions which descend to Posterity, are the Images of those which were before. For the *Hunnes*, in their Inroad upon the *Romans*, often coming to a Battel wherein some of them were slain, and the *Romans* searching the dead Bodies, have found Women among them. Other Armies of Women were never, neither infesting *Asia* nor *Europe*. Neither was it ever heard that the *Caucasian* Mountains had all their Men wasted at any time. Afterward, speaking of several other Nations, he subjoins that beyond the *Sagini*, were many *Hunnish* People in a Countrey called *Eulysia*, possessed by these Barbarians in the maritime and in-land Parts thereof to the Lake *Maeotis*, and the River *Tanais*, which disembogues into the said Lake, and the Lake into the *Euxine* Sea. Anciently the Inhabitants were called *Cimmerii*, but in his time *Uturgurians*. But the Reader may remember how we have already spoken much of the *Uturgurian* and *Caturgurian Hunnes*, from the same *Procopius*, who gives another Character of the *Hunnes* in general than *Jornandes* doth; for speaking of the *Autæ* and *Sclani* amongst other things, he saith that they were remote from knavish Craft and Malice, being like to the *Hunnes* in this very Innocence also. At length they drove out the *Lombards*, and planted themselves in *Pannonia*. But let us hear what other dreadfull things *Jornandes* relates in his Account of the War betwixt them and the *Goths*.

The Occasion of feigning *Amazons*.

20. They being Hunters, some of them exercising themselves this way on the farther Bank of *Maeotis* found a Deer, and pursued her, as was said, before to the farther side; for here he brings in that Story. Having by this means discovered the way into *Scythia*, they fell like thunder upon several People he mentions, the Names of whom are hard to be understood, and amongst others they subdued the *Alani* equal to them in Valour and Skill but unlike, as to Humanity, Course of Life and Shape. For whereas possibly they could not by force have mastered them, having afrighted and astonished them by the Terrour of their Countenances, they scared them into flight. They were fearfully black to look on, but carried upon their Shoulders a deformed Lump (if it be fit to call it so) and no face which had rather little pricks or holes than any Lights or Eyes. Their ugly aspect betrayed the boldness of their minds, who were cruel against their own Children, the first day they came into the World. For they cut and mangled the Cheeks of their Sons, that before they should receive the Nourishment of Milk, they might be constrained to endure the pain of a wound. Hence they grew old and beardless, and became youths without Comliness, their faces being so furrowed with the Knife, that the scars hindred the growth of Hairs. They were little in shape, but active and nimble, and Excellent Horsemen, broad shouldered and fit for shooting and casting of darts; they had strong Necks, and proudly they bore them. In humane shape they lived in beastly Cruelty.

Jornandes his Description of an *Hunn*.

21. The *Getes* at the sight of a People the most active of all others, and the Controller of Nations were afraid, and consulted with their King how to be freed from them. *Hermanarick* though Conquerour of many Nations, yet when he deliberated concerning the coming of the *Hunnes*, was deceived by the treacherous *Roxolani*, who took occasion to shew their falsenes, though they served him amongst others. Punishing one *Sanilok* a Woman of that Nation, her two Brothers *Sarus* and *Ammius*, to revenge her death, gave him a wound in the side of which he languished; and thereat *Balamir* King of the *Hunnes* taking advantage moved against him. With thought of this and the anguish of his wound, as also old Age, he was overcome, and died in the hundred and tenth Year of his Age. The *Visigoths* now had left their fellows, though formerly they had been joined with the *Ostrogoths*, and against them the *Hunnes* prevailed upon his death,

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death, who were seated in the Eastern Coast and called *Ostrogoths*, the *Visigoths* being by the leave of *Valens* gone over the *Danube*, and received within the *Roman* Pale. The *Ostrogoths* after their departure continued in the same place subject to the *Hunnes*, and were governed by *Winithar* of the Posterity of *Amalus*, who imitating the Valour of his Grandfather *Ataulf*, though inferiour in felicity to *Hermanarick*, fought prosperously against the *Autæ*, and at first against the *Hunnes*, though *Sigismund* another great Man would not break his Faith, but joined with them. But in the third Ingagement *Winithar* was slain, and *Balamber*, King of the *Hunnes*, kept under the *Goths* in quietness, yet so as by his Consent they had still a *Regulus* of their own. After *Winithar* they were governed by *Hunimund*, the Son of the most potent *Hermanarick*, who fought prosperously against the *Suevi*, and was succeeded by his Son *Thorismund*. He obtained a great Victory against the *Gepidæ*, and is said to have been killed by a fall of his Horse. He died in the flour of his Age, and the *Goths* so lamented him, that for the space of forty Years they had no King in his place, his Kinsman *Wandalar* the Brother's Son of *Hermanarick* was famous for his three Sons descended of the Race of the *Amali*, viz. *Walamir*, *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, who loved each other with Brotherly affection. But they were subject to the Commands of *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, and neither they nor any *Scythian* Nation could be freed from his Dominion, but by his death so much desired by all Nations in common, and by the *Romans* too, a death which was as profitable as his life, had been wonderfull.

Winithar. *Hunnimund.* *Thorismund.*

Winit-hari Venedorum Dominus. *Hundreda contracte Hun Centuria Hunnimund centuriæ os sine Præpositus. Thoris-mund Ferox ore.*

22. After his Death his numerous, or as *Jornandes* calls them, innumerous Sons, fell out about his Conquests, and lost them all, being overthrown by *Ardarick* the King of the *Gepidæ* in *Pannonia*. For *Ellac* the Eldest was slain, and the rest after the Defeat fled to the shore of *Pontus*, where the *Goths* had formerly lived. Many Nations were joyfull to be freed from so grievous a Yoke, and several of them were kindly received by *Marcian* the Emperour, and had Countries distributed amongst them. The *Gepidæ* had the Seats of the *Hunnes*, and being Masters of all *Dacia*, required no more of the Empire but Peace and yearly Presents, as valiant and deserving Men; which he willingly granted, and which continued to be paid till the time of the Historian. The *Goths* seeing that the *Gepidæ* challenged the Territories of the *Hunnes*, and that the *Hunnes* also kept their ancient Seats, chose rather to ask Territories of the *Roman* Empire, than to indanger themselves by invading those of others, and received *Pannonia*, which being stretched out in a long Champian had on the East *Mœsia* Superior, on the South *Dalmatia*, on the West *Noneum* and the *Danube* on the North. The Countrey was adorned with many Cities, of which the Chief was *Sirmis*, and the last *Vindomina*. The *Sauromatæ* or *Sarmatæ*, the *Cemandri* and some of the *Hunnes* sate down in grounds assigned them at the Castle *Martena*. The *Sciri*, *Satagarii* and others of the *Alans* with their Captain *Candax* received *Scythia the less* and the *inferior Mœsia*, the Notary of which *Candax* the Grandfather of *Jornandes* was; and *Gunthages* the Son of his Grandfather's Sister was his *Magister Militum*, being descended also of the *Amali*. And he tells us that he himself though unlearned, had been a Notary before his Conversion. The *Rugi* obtained *Scandiopolis*. Of the Sons of *Attila* remaining, one planted in the utmost Part of the *Lesser Scythia*, and two others in *Dacia Ripensis*. And many of the *Hunnes* every where put themselves into the *Roman* soil. There were other *Goths*, who, as he saith, were called *Minores* or the *Lesser*, a vast People who had *Vulfilas* for their Bishop and Primate, who was said to instruct them in good Letters, and in this time of the Writer they were in *Mœsia*, inhabiting *Eucopolitana*.

The *Ostrogoths* have *Pannonia* assigned them.

The *Gothi Minores*.

23. We have now brought the *Ostrogoths* into *Pannonia*, and there *Jornandes* tells us that such as were subject to *Walemir*, and his two Brothers *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, though the Places of their Habitation were divided, yet their Councils were united. But the Sons of *Attila* now regarded them as so many Slaves run away, and came on purpose to look after them. They fell upon *Walemir* alone, his Brothers knowing nothing of it, but he gave them such Entertainment that few of those that attacqued him escaped with their lives, but *Hunnimund* Captain of the *Suevi* passing on to harrass *Dalmatia*, made bold with some of the Herds of Cattel belonging to the *Goths*, *Suevia* being Neighbour to *Dalmatia* and not far from *Pannonia*, especially that Part where the *Goths* then resided. *Theodemir*, the Brother of *Walemir*, thought this was not to be endured, not so much for the Cattel, as lest the *Suevi* should thence take heart, and grow more insolent; therefore he waylaid them by night, and taking them napping by so unexpected an Attacque so mastered them, that *Hunnimund* he took Prisoner, and such as escaped

Their Brothers and Kings, *Walemir*, *Theodemir*, *Widemir*.

Wal-mir Benè Princeps, Theud-mir Populis superans, Widemir latè Princeps.

ped the Sword he made Servants to the *Goths*. Yet he was so merciſull as to pardon what was paſt, and being reconciled to the *Suevi* adopted their King for his Son, and ſent him home with them. But *Hunnimund* was ſo ungrateſull, as forgetting the paternal obligation, he ſtirred up the *Sciri* who lived above the *Danube* to join with him, to take up Arms and invade the *Goths*, with whom they had lived in Peace. The *Goths* looking on both as Friends were ſurprized with the War, but compelled by neceſſity, betook themſelves to their Weapons and revenged the Injury. They had the miſhap to loſe *Walemir* their King, who in the Battel riding hard to animate his Men, his Horſe fell, and the Rider being caſt to the ground, was ſlain by the Lances of the Enemy. But to revenge his Death and themſelves, they managed the Fight with that earneſtneſs, that almoſt all the *Sciri* were cut off. Sect. 2.

Walemir ſlain.

25. *Hunnimund* and *Alarick* Kings of the *Suevi* fearing what might be the effect of this Succeſs, rallied the remainders of the *Sciri*, and with the aſſiſtence of the *Sarmatæ*, *Gepidæ* and *Rugi*, made War upon the *Goths*. *Walemir* being dead they betook themſelves to his Brother *Theodemir* as their Head, who calling to his aſſiſtence his Brother *Widemir*, gave Battel to the Confederates and obtained a notable Victory, killing ten thouſand of them upon the place. To be revenged on the *Suevi*, in the Winter he paſſed a Foot Army over the *Danube* upon the Ice, and fell ſuddenly into their Territories, which on the Eaſt had for neareſt Neighbours the *Barobari*, on the Weſt the *Franks*, the *Burgundians* on the South, and the *Thuringi* on the North. With the *Suevi* the *Alemanni* were Confederate and joined, but *Theodemir* overthrew, waſted and almoſt ſubdued them both, and then he returned into *Pannonia* where he joyfully received his Son *Theodorich*, whom the Emperour *Leo* had ſent from *Conſtantinople* with great Gifts. This *Theodorich*, being now in the eighteenth year of his Age, got together of his Father's Guard and ſuch as loved him, almoſt ſix thouſand Men, and without his Father's knowledge, paſſing the *Danube*, fell upon *Babai* King of the *Sarmatæ*, who was grown proud for a Victory he had got over *Camundus* a Captain of the *Romans*, killed him, and plundering his Houſe, and getting what other booty he could, returned with Victory. Then fell he upon *Singidonum*, a City which the *Sarmatæ* had ſeized, and getting it into his hands, reſtored it not to the *Romans*, but kept it in his own Dominion.

Theodorich doth wonders.

26. The neighbouring Nations were now ſo waſted that no more booty remained to be got, and the *Goths* being inured to War were ſo diſtreſſed in Peace, that they wanted both Cloaths and Victuals. With a great noiſe they all flocked to their King *Theodemir*, and prayed him to lead them out into what Quarter he pleaſed. He ſent for his Brother, and caſting lots appointed him to go into that part of *Italy* where *Glycerius* acted as Emperour, and he himſelf as the ſtronger would march againſt the ſtronger Empire, or that of the Eaſt. *Widemir* preſently invaded *Italy* and died, leaving for his Succeſſour *Widemir* his Son, whom with Gifts *Glycerius* perſwaded to quit that Countrey, and going into *Gall* there to join himſelf with the *Viſigoths* his Kinſmen; and with them he made up one Body, and ſo they held *Gall* and *Spain* that no other prevailed againſt them. *Theodemir* the elder Brother paſſed the River *Saus*, and threatened to make War upon the *Sarmatæ* and others if they moleſted him in his paſſage; and none daring to oppoſe him, he took *Naiſſus* the chief City of *Illyricum*, and ſent his Son and other Captains to other places, who became Maſters of *Ulprana*, with *Heraclia* and *Lariſſa*. *Theodemir* yet was not content with this proſperous eſtate of himſelf and his Son, but leaving *Naiſſus* with a Garriſon went and laid Siege to *Theſſalonica*, wherein he incloſed *Clarianus* a *Patritian* ſent thither by the Emperour with an Army. *Clarianus* ſeeing himſelf unable to grapple with him, ſent to him, and by Gifts procured him to remove the Siege. Now was a League made betwixt the *Romans* and him, whereby he had given up to him places to plant his *Goths* in, of hard Names; as, *Ceropeſſæ*, *Europa*, *Mediana*, *Petina*, *Bercum*, and others called *Sim*. There the *Goths* with their King lived in quietneſs; but not long; for *Theodemir* fell deadly ſick in the City *Cerræ*, and having called to him the *Goths*, and appointed *Theodorich* his Son to ſucceed him, departed this world.

Widemir dies.

Theodemir dies.

27. The Emperour *Zeno* underſtanding that *Theodorich* was King over his Nation was well pleaſed with it, and ſending for him to *Conſtantinople*, held him in great eſteem amongſt the chief Nobles of his Court. After ſome time *Jornandes* tells us farther, that he adopted him for his Son in way of Arms, or to increaſe his Martial honour, gave him a Triumph in the City at his own charge, and made him Ordinary Conſul, which was eſteemed the chieſeſt Good, and the firſt Digni-

Sect. 2. ty in the world; and not onely did he doe this, but erected also a Statue to the fame of so great a Man before his Palace. *Theodorich* thus enjoyed plenty and all good things, but knowing his *Goths* in *Illyricum* to be ill at ease, he chose rather to get his Living by labour according to the custome of his Nation, than to enjoy the good things of the *Romans* in idleness, when in the mean time his Countreymen fared meanly. He applied himself therefore to the Emperour, and humbly desiring liberty to speak, demanded what reason there was why the Western Parts, which had been subject to his Predecessour, should now lie under the tyranny of the King of the *Turcilingi* and *Rugi*. He prayed him to send him and his Nation thither, and thereby to rid himself of so great charge; and if by God's assistence he should succeed in his Enterprize, the Glory would be his. He told him it was better that he being his Servant and his Son, if he overcame should hold that Kingdom as by his Gift, than that one whom he knew not should under the yoke of a Tyrant oppress his Senate and part of the Commonwealth with a slavish Captivity. If he overcame he would hold it as his Gift, and as by his Favour; and if he miscarried, the Emperour should lose nothing but be a gainer by the bargain, being delivered from such expence as he was at. The Emperour hearing this, though he was sorry to part with him, yet would not displease him but granted his Request, commending to him the *Roman* Senate and People. Hereupon *Theodorich* departed to his *Goths*, and led them into *Italy*, as we have formerly shewn; where besieging *Odoacer* in *Ravenna*, he so straitned him, as this same Authour writes, that he begged pardon, which first he granted him, and afterward deprived him of Life. And in the third year after his Invasion of *Italy*, having privately advised with the Emperour *Zeno*, laying off the Habit of his Nation, he took Regal Ornaments, as one who reigned over both *Goths* and *Romans*.

Theodorich becomes Master of *Italy*.

28. Thus we have seen the Original of the *Goths*, and have drawn down their story to their coming to found Kingdoms in the *Roman* Empire. Concerning their Manners and Dispositions they had their Name from being *Good* as it imports, and *Grotius* hath taken some pains to prove that so they continued when in great power. Of this in the course of our History we have seen something, and more are to see e'er we have done with them. For their aukward Habit take it as *Sidonius Apollinaris* describes it. "They are red with Saffron, they are shod with high Shoes made of "Hair which reach up to their Ankle-bones: Their Knees, Thighs and Legs are "without any covering: Their Garment high and strait, of divers colours, scarcely "reaching to the Hamm stretched out: Their Sleeves onely cover the tops of their "Armes: Their Cassocks green, with a red Welt: Their Belts hang on their "Shoulders: Their Ears are covered with wreaths of Locks: they use hooked "Lances and missile Hatchets. Here we cannot but take notice that the *Wandals* and *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were of the same Original with the *Goths*. *Procopius* saith expresly that they were *Gothick* Nations as well as the *Gepidæ*, and he had reason to be instructed in their descent, being acquainted with *Gelomir* their King, and the Nobles brought Prisoners to *Constantinople*. He tells us the Language of the *Wandals* was *Gothick*, and doubts not but that they were anciently one People, distinguished in Names, but agreeing in Original and Manners. He relates that together with the *Goths* they came out of their ancient Countrey to the Fen of *Mæotis*, *Jornandes* reckoning up the People of *Scandia* mentions the *Vinoniloth*, which, as *Grotius* observes, signifies the Possession of the *Winoli*, for so they are also called; and *Winili*, and *Vinili* by some Authours. *Wandal* signifies a *Wanderer*, who continues not in one place; and so they seem indeed for some reason to have had the Name: and not onely they, but other people in *Germany* and elsewhere might be so called also for the same reason: but no where means those *Wandals* who for some time held *Spain* and *Africk*, as we have largely seen, and were subdued by *Belisarius*.

The Habit of a *Goth*.

The *Wandals* of the same original with the *Goths*.

29. Of those that were originally of *Scanzia*, part as was said in old time sate down with the *Goths* at the Fen of *Mæotis*. Of them who invaded *Spain* and *Africk* the Ancestours in the space of a year came from the Ocean where they inhabited, into *Dacia* so much vexed by Incomers. *Jornandes* saith these *Wandals* were called *Asdingi*. They came into *Dacia* in the Reign of *Aurelius Antoninus* the Emperour. In the time of *Aurelian* they inhabited at the *Danube*, and making a League with the *Romans*, promised them Succours. *Constantine* gave them part of *Pannonia*, and hence they poured out themselves into *Gall*, when *Honorius* was Emperour. Thence they proceeded into *Spain*, such of them as were called *Silingi* into *Bætica*, and the rest into *Gallæcia* and the neighbouring Regions, *Godigischus* being their King. *Gontharis* succeeded him, who subdued the *Alani* that then were potent in *Spain*. To *Gontharis* succeeded *Gowrick* commonly called *Genserick* the

the Conquerour of *Africk*, who confirmed his possession thereof by a League with *Valentinian* the Emperour. What things he did, and how far he reigned, the Reader may remember, as also what was done by, and happened to, his Successours out of that account we have given of them in our Second Part; for there being little of consequence concerning them, but what also involved the Affairs of the *Romans*, we thought it not fit to make a particular History of that their Kingdom in *Africk*, which was soon again reduced by *Justinian*. Now we shall onely add concerning them farther what *Grotius* hints, that some memory of the Dominion of the *Wandals* in *Spain* is still preserved in the Name of *Andalusia*, which anciently was *Wandalosia*, and in the *Wandalick* Tongue was *Wandaloth*. Sect. 3.

And the *Longobards*.

30. As there might be several People which had the Name of *Wandals*, from their changing of Seats and Habitations, so also in *Germany* and elsewhere, others to whom that of *Longobards* was given, from the length of their Beards. But those who made such a noise in the Empire, and seated themselves in *Italy*, from whom *Lombardy* still is so called, were of *Scandia* also, descended from the *Gepidæ*, of whom, if *Grotius* observe right, first mention is made in the time of *Theodosius*, by *Prosper Aquitanus*. From *Procopius* it appears, that with the *Gepidæ* their Parents, they had Seats on this side the *Danube*. *Paulus Warnotridus* writes that they were called first *Winili* before they had the Name of *Longobardi*. In the sixth year of *Justin* the Emperour the *Gepidæ* were utterly crushed by them, and their Kingdom came to an end. By these same *Longobards* was the Son-in-law of *Justin* and *Pandarius* overthrown. After *Tiberius* had succeeded *Justin* they came into *Italy* and made *Antarick* King over them. What progress their Arms made there in the times of *Tiberius* and *Mauritius* we have seen already, and how they founded a Kingdom, and that they held all *Italy*, in a manner, except *Rome* and *Ravenna*, and continued their Dominion for two hundred years, God willing, we are to see in the particular History of their Kingdom. But the *Goths* were their Predecessours therein, and their Kingdom first is to have place; for we have brought already *Theodorich* into *Italy*, and there placed him on the Throne of *Odoacer*.

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of the Ostrogoths *in* Italy.

The space of Sixty years.

1. *Odoacer* being dead, *Theodorich* easily made himself Master of *Italy*; which done, *Dalmatia* and *Rhætia*, formerly in the Hands of his Enemy, submitted also themselves to his Power. *Sicily* was something stubborn and unwilling to acknowledge her new Lord; but by the means of *Cassiodorus* his Lieutenant he brought her into subjection peaceably and without bloud-shed. There remained now onely one Rub to be removed, and that had been laid in his way by the rashness and folly of his own Men, who being left in *Pavia*, upon notice of his Success at *Ravenna*, transported with the News, flew out of that City to congratulate with him; which the *Rugi*, who had served *Odoacer* perceiving, took the advantage, and seizing on the Town, plundered it with all the Countrey adjoining. But the Stars of *Theodorich* were too powerfull to suffer him to miscarry in this adventure, and make shipwreck of his Fortunes in the very Haven; therefore leading his Army down to *Pavia*, within a few months he easily reduced it, used his Victory with moderation, and by the sequel of his Actions showed, that though War seemed to be his Masterpiece, yet he delighted not in it for its self, but used it as a means to procure a firm and lasting Peace. Sheathing then his Sword and taking the Sceptre, he first endeavoured to confirm his Estate, by Leagues and Alliances with his Neighbour Princes. In the first place with the Emperour, who readily admitted of his Friendship and Society; then with *Clodomae* King of the *Franks*, whose Daughter *Andefleda* he desired and obtained in Marriage.

Vide Sigonium de Occidentali Imperio. l. 16.

Theodorich reduceth Pavia.

Sect. 3.

Maketh Alliances.

age. His own two Daughters which he had by a Concubine he bestowed, the one on *Alarick* King of the *Westrogoths* in *Gall*, and the other on *Sigismund* Son of *Gundobald* King of the *Burgundians*. When he had thus secured his Government, both within and without, he set about the modelling of his Polity, and herein he used the advice and diligence of *Aurelius Cassiodorus*, a most learned man, whom he had made a *Patritian*, and adorned with the greatest honours of *Comes*, *Consul*, and *Præfectus Prætorio*. Him he retained by him as his Counsellour, both for modelling the State, and governing it when he reduced it into form and order. By his advice he made new Laws, it's said, and reformed bad Customs, and by his direction, if not his Hand, were written his Letters and Commissions, the choicest of which he preserved and published in twelve Books still extant, being so many monuments, not onely of this new *Gothick* Model, but even of the ancient *Roman* Polity it self.

He made very little alteration in the Government.

2. Indeed the greatest alteration which *Theodorich* made in *Italy* seems the waving of the Imperial Title, and settling and continuing that which *Odoacer* had begun and assumed before him. Otherwise the same form of Government, and the several sorts of Magistrates he left as he found them: *viz.* the *Senate*, *Consuls*, *Patritians*, *Præfecti Prætorio*, *Prefect of the City*, *Quæstor*, *Comes Largitionum*, *Comes Rerum privatarum*, *Domesticorum*, the *Magistri Militum*, *Equitum* and others, as is evident from the forms of their Commissions, wherein the Nature of their Offices is expressed, and fuller and better than any other Authour now extant, (as the Reader may perceive by what he hath already perused in our Second Part,) to be seen amongst the *variæ Epistolæ* of *Cassiodorus*. These Offices with others he ordinarily conferred on *Romans*. Suits and Controversies arising in the Provinces, if amongst *Goths* he would have determined by *Goths*, if amongst *Romans* by *Romans*, and if betwixt a *Goth* and a *Roman* by those of both Nations, sent down into the Countrey for that purpose; all which he oversaw himself, and administred Justice with all Severity and Impartiality. To such *Heruli* and other Barbarous People, as being brought in by *Odoacer*, desired to continue in the Countrey he assigned new Seats and Possessions, giving those they had formerly enjoyed to the *Goths* his Countreymen. Those *Italians* who had kept their Faith once given to *Odoacer* immutable he not onely pardoned, but some of them he promoted to the greatest Honours. Indeed such as broke Faith to himself by revolting he abhorred, and according to the *Roman* Law took from them the Power of making Testaments. What Tributes *Odoacer* had imposed he still required, and laid a new Imposition upon the People called *As publicus*, which yet he would remit to such as any Calamity had rendred insolvent, or as he saw occasion. Following the Example of the late Emperours, and *Odoacer*, he made *Ravenna* the Seat of his Kingdom, to which having now a Title not onely by Conquest, but by the Gift of the Emperour, as is said, and the Consent and Choice of the Senate, he laid aside his own Countrey Habit, and assumed the Purple with other Ensigns of Royalty; to accommodate himself to the Humour of the *Italians*, and remove that prejudice which different Habits and Fashions might beget in the fancies of the People. And though in his Opinion he was an *Arian*, he not onely not troubled but favoured the Orthodox, striving every way to gratifie them as he did indeed all his Subjects; as well by the former Methods of Conduct, as by releasing Prisoners, redeeming Captives, and other Acts of Clemency and Bounty; whereby all manner of ways he obliged his People, and obtained their Love and hearty affection.

His way of governing excellent.

He obliges all his Subjects.

3. But as humane Councils are imperfect and uncertain, even as all sublunary Affairs are subject to change and perpetual Inconstancy, that he was deficient in his Measures, appeared quickly in one or two particulars. The *Burgundians* having invaded *Liguria*, had thence led away Captive all the Inhabitants, and thereupon the Countrey lay altogether waste, and remained in a desolate Condition. He had taken, as formerly was said, the Benefit of the Law from such as had revolted from him, who being very considerable not onely for their Number, but Interest and Relations, it made a great disturbance, discomposed the Affairs as well of his Friends as others, and much discouraged the People in all Places. At the Solicitation of *Laurentius* Bishop of *Milan*, and *Epiphanius* of *Pavia*, he published a general Pardon, and thereby seasonably applied a Remedy to one of the Distempers, and because there was no Course to be taken, for replanting of *Liguria* out of *Italy* it self, which the Wars had so much exhausted, he resolved rather to have empty Coffers than to suffer that Countrey to lye desolate, to be both an Eye-sore, and obnoxious to the Attempts of any Enemy. He sent *Epiphanius* whose Vertues he knew to be much admired by the King of the

Some Errours.

the *Burgundians* on an Embassy to him, furnished with money for redemption of the Captives, and he being very welcome improved the advantage afforded by his Reputation to such an height, that by his Christian Eloquence and Fatherly Exhortations, he perswaded *Gundobade* to release the Prisoners without Ransome. The King alledged that it was quite contrary to his Interest, both as a Prince and as a Souldier, and granted his request with this restriction, that such as had been taken in Fight should pay their Ransome to those that took them, lest he should disoblige and utterly discourage his Souldiers, by remitting what was their due and not his, and taking from them the price of their Lives and Fortunes. Upon publication of the King's pleasure, so great multitudes returned home, that the Towns of *Gall* seemed to be unpeopled. Out of the Territories of *Lugdunum* or *Lyons* alone in one day departed four hundred men, and out of those of *Saxony*, and the places adjacent, so many in all as made up the number six thousand. Toward the summ that was to be paid for the redemption of such as had been taken by private Souldiers, *Syagria* a Woman of great sanctity, and *Avitus* Bishop of *Vienna* contributed: how many these were could not be computed, because many of them fled away. Also in his way homeward, *Epiphanius* took the City of *Geneva*, whither *Godegisal*, imitating the King his Brother, dismissed such as were in his power; with which stream as it were, the former great current being enlarged, filled all the ways leading into *Italy*. *Epiphanius* returned in the Head of them as in a glorious Triumph, and coming to *Theodorich* obtained a relief of the necessities of his Captives, especially those of the better sort. All which *Euodius*, an eye witness and fellow Traveller, hath related in the Life of that Bishop. Sect. 3.

4. But long is it since we heard any thing of *Rome*, formerly the Stage of the greatest Triumphs, as well as the Seat of Council, and the School of Policy. Now at length arriving at the D. year of our Lord, the Eighth of the Emperour *Anastasius*, and the Eighth of *Theodorich*, an Idea and Resemblance of the former Triumphs presents it self unto us; an Image of its ancient splendour, and that infinite concourse of people which of old from every Nation flocked unto her, when yet all she received were but her own Citizens and Domesticks. The thing that draws us thither is a Journey of *Theodorich* himself, whom we cannot but follow in this kind of Pilgrimage undertaken to pay his Devoirs of Admiration to that Queen of Cities, of which he had often heard, read much, but had never had the contentment to see her. All *Italy* at the news of this Progress seemed to be moved, and ambitiously ready to encourage that zealous respect he bore to the ancient Seat of its Empire and Majesty. There seemed to be a contention betwixt those that inhabited in and about *Ravenna* and such as lived at *Rome*, whether they should bring, or these should fetch their King to the City. With a most splendid Train, and such an appearance as of a long time had not been seen, he made his Entry, and was received with incredible joy and applause of the Citizens, who omitted nothing wherein they could doe him honour. At the Court he was welcomed by an eloquent Oration, made by *Boëtius* the most eloquent Scholar and Oratour of this Age, to which he answered in a very obliging Speech, protesting his study and endeavours for advancement of the Dignity and all possible advantages of the Senate. Thence proceeding into the *Circus*, as far as the place called *Palma Aurea*, he spake most lovingly to the People; which done, he entertained the Senatours at a triumphal kind of Feast, and gave a Largess of Corn to the Commoners. Several days he spent in viewing the Antiquities of the City, with which his eyes could not be satiated, professing that the *Forum* of *Trajan* alone, though to one that saw it every day, could appear no less than a miracle, and that when he had mounted the *Capitol*, he saw all humane wit and policy surmounted. He took especial notice of, and commended the admirable Fabrick of the Baths, and the wholesomeness of the Waters. He grieved to see the ruines of the Buildings, but chiefly of the Walls, to the repairing of which he contributed great summs of money. Neither did his care extend to *Rome* alone; to all the Cities of *Italy* his munificence reached, wherein he took order for building strong Castles, and stately Palaces; and to this end wrote his Letters to all his Subjects to suffer Stones to be gathered out of their Fields, and to preserve old Marbles which had formerly been used in decayed Houses. He seemed so far ravished with the remains of the Majesty of old *Rome*, that he said it was a piacular crime, for any one who could fix his habitation there, to be long absent. Yet his Affairs calling him away he returned to *Ravenna*, having much quieted the stirs raised about the election of a *Roman* Bishop, which, joyned with his great desire to see the place, had called him thither.

Theodorich goes to Rome.

5. In

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Anastasius the Emperour invades *Italy* by Sea.

5. In the mean time *Anastasius* the Emperour, ordering his matters quite contrary to the Maxims of *Theodorich*, had the quite contrary fortune, being as much hated as the other was beloved by his Subjects. Whether out of envy to the King, or bearing him a grudge for holding from him *Pannonia*, which he claimed as belonging to the Eastern Empire, he took occasion to quarrel with him; and as *Marcellinus* hints, in the Eighteenth Year of his Reign, sent out a Fleet to Sea, with orders to waste the coasts of *Italy*. To balance his power the better, he encouraged *Clodonee* King of the *Franks* in his Attempts against the *Goths*, and the more to court him designed him Consul for the said year, of which honour it's said he would not accept. As for *Theodorich*, not onely his demeanour towards his Subjects, but his rules and methods of waging War were diametrically opposite to those of the Emperour. His custome was to be present himself in Expeditions, except some notable matter hindered; and to purchase Peace not with Gold and Silver, but with Steel and Wood, his Sword and Bow. The *Bulgari*, whom *Anastasius* had bought off from wasting his Dominions, having nothing else to doe, passed out of *Thrace* into *Pannonia*, which wasting and harassing at their pleasure, they seized on the City *Sirmium*. *Theodorich* having notice could not goe in person against them, the Affairs of *Italy* and *Gall* requiring his stay at home, and his Eye to be upon the motions of the *Franks* and the *Burgundians*; but to preserve the place of his Nativity, and keep the War from his own doors, rather than out of any respect to the Emperour, whose hands were now full with the *Persian* War, he sent *Petza* a *Comes* with considerable Forces, who the year following very happily finished the War, recovering both *Sirmium* out of the hands of the *Bulgari*, and the whole Province. Having so happily dispatched this War he relieved *Mundas*, whom *Sabinianus* had besieged in a certain Castle in *Illyricum*. *Theodorich* gave the government of *Pannonia* to *Colesseus* a *Comes*, a Copy of whose Commission *Cassiodorus* preserved, and is still extant amongst his various Epistles; from which the Reader may perceive what the power was which those Governours exercised, extending both to matters of War and Peace, and that the girding with a Sword was the mark and badge of their Office. After this Commission follows a Letter directed to all Barbarians and *Romans* inhabiting *Pannonia*, acquainting them that he had made *Colosseus* their Governour, and requiring them to take notice of and obey him as such.

Theodorich reduceth *Pannonia*.

Makes *Colosseus* Governour.

Lib.3. Ep. 23. Commissam tibi provinciam armis protege, jure compone. Prosperis initiatus auspiciis ad Sirmiensem Pannoniam quondam sedem Gothorum proficiscere Illustris Cingulî Dignitate præcinctus. Vid. Ep. Var. lib. 3. Ep. 1, 2, 3, 4.

6. There being a quarrel betwixt *Alarick* King of the *Visigoths* in *Gall*, and *Clodonee* King of the *Franks*, and both of them being his near Allies, he omitted no arguments to perswade them to take up the matter, denouncing War in a manner to the aggressour, and promising relief to the oppressed, as is to be seen in his Letters collected by *Cassiodorus*. As it usually happens in such a case, he who was least in fault, and most unfit to decide the controversie by force of Arms gladly accepted the mediation, but he who had more reason to be confident, rather upon the strength of his Sword than the goodness of his Cause, made Excuses, framed Delays, and in conclusion utterly refused to be concluded by Arbitration. *Theodorich* addresses himself to the *Burgundian* King, as also to those who commanded the *Heruli* and *Thuringi* then inhabiting near the *Alpes*, and invites them to join with him in the Mediation, using Arguments drawn from the Exigency of their own Affairs, which would not be a little indangered by such Success as the *Frank* promised to himself. But while these Neighbour Princes thus think of Mediation and Balancing, *Clodonee* resolves not to loose his opportunity but passing the *Loire* begins the War, and in a great and bloudy Battel deprives *Alarick* both of Life and Kingdom, whose Son *Amalarick*, things being in so desperate a Condition, withdrew himself into *Spain*, there to expect when an opportunity of recovering his Estate should be presented by better Fortune. *Theodorich* pitying the Condition of the Youth sent *Theudas*, an Officer of his own, to take care of him, and resolved if he could not recover those Cities of *Gall*, which were already lost, to prevent the Progress of *Clodonee*, and secure the rest which still remained in the Power of the *Goths*.

Sends *Theudas* to protect *Spain*.

7. To this purpose he published his Proclamation, that the *Ostrogoths* his Subjects should be ready by the latter End of *June* to begin their Journey, clawing them with such Expressions as these, *There is no need of perswading* Goths *to fight, onely of acquainting them with the thing, which is rather a Pleasure to a warlike People.* In the Consulship of *Venantius* and *Celer*, or the DVIII. Year of our Lord, his Army, under Command of *Hibba* a *Comes*, passing the *Alpes* raised the Siege before *Carcasson*, relieved *Arles*, and taking in *Tolouse*, *Orange* and *Marseilles*, left that Part of the Countrey lying upon the *Rhone* in the Hands of *Clodonee*, from whom *Theodorich* was not able

Significanda magis sunt Gothis quam suadenda certamina.

Sect. 3.

able to recover it. Sending many Thousands of Prisoners to *Ravenna*, he seized on such as he recovered, to the use of *Amalarick* his Nephew, placing Governours where he saw occasion as well in *Gall* as in *Spain*, which was divided betwixt the said *Amalarick* and *Gisalerick*. But while he thus busied himself in *Gall*, *Romanus* the *Comes Domesticorum*, and *Rusticus* a *Comes Scholæ*, with and hundred armed Ships and as many Flyboats, wherein were aboard Eight Thousand Soldiers, invaded the Coasts of *Italy*, as was formerly hinted, and having attacqued *Tarentum* to no purpose, got good booty and so retired; whether sent on purpose, or on their own accord, *Sigonius* accounts it uncertain, though *Marcellinus* wrote that they were sent by *Anastasius*, and it doth not seem probable that Robbers and Pirates should put to Sea with so great a Power without the Knowledge and Approbation of the Prince. *Theodorich* having little or no Diversion given him hereby, the Year following hired a great Number of *Gepidæ* to reinforce his Garrisons in *Gall*, and took special care that in their Passage through *Liguria*, and the Countrey of the *Veneti*, they should doe no injury to the Inhabitants. To this purpose he directed his Letters yet extant to *Veranus Saio* to see them keep good Order in their March, and wrote to the Army it self, acquainting them that he was once minded to give them Provisions for their Journey *in Specie*, but afterwards considering that Victuals either might not conveniently be had, or else spoiled by the way, he had now ordered them three *Solidi* in Gold by the week; a small Allowance one would think, or else his Forces were not very numerbus.

Sends *Gepidæ* into *Gall*.

Cassiod. var. l. 5. *Ep.* 10, 11.

8. *Theodorich* having allowed his *Gepidæ* three *Solidi* a Week for their Passage, gravely, and like a Prince that was solicitous for the good of his People, admonished them by Letters to carry themselves moderately, and as became those that fought for the Safety of all *Italy*. But they measuring Decency by Convenience alone, and accustomed to Depredations, could not keep their Hands from pillaging the Inhabitants of the *Cottian Alpes* in their way, which Misdemeanour touched the King as near as if he in his own Person had been the Sufferer. And as a prudent Prince who ought to neglect his Profit for a time, rather than utterly to loose his Revenue, he causeth his Letters to be written to *Faustus* the *Præpositus*, or *Præfectus Prætorio* (to whom he giveth the Title of *Illustris Magnificentia tua*) wherein he lets him know that he remitted to the said Inhabitants of the *Alpes Cottiæ* the publick Money payable in the third Indiction. He compares the Army to a River, which though it doe much good flowing in its own peculiar Chanel, yet inlargeth its Passage and doeth much Mischief, when it riseth beyond its due Proportion, bearing down all before it. By the third Indiction is meant the third Year in fifteen, according to which Number the Emperours computed the times, after that the reckoning by the *Olympiads* came to be obsolete. Who began this Computation is uncertain: It's commonly ascribed to *Constantine* the Great; but *Cedrenus* will have it invented by *Theodosius*. Of those who father it on *Constantine*, *Panvinius* fetcheth the Original of the Indictions from his Victory over *Maxentius*, *Joseph Scaliger* from his Exhibition of his *Munera Quinquennalia* to the time of his *Vicennalia*, thinks the Number of *fifteen* was invented. *Baronius* affirms that there is no reckoning of Years by the Indictions to be found before the seventh Year of *Constantine*, wherein he overcame *Maxentius*; that *Censorinus*, who writes of all manner of Supputations, saith nothing of them, nor do any Ecclesiastical Monuments till the sitting of the *Roman* Council under *Julius* the Successour of *Sylvester*; but from the *Greek Fasti* it manifestly appears that from the said seventh Year of *Constantine*, and the Consulship of himself, and *Licinius*, the Indictions began to be reckoned in the Calendar.

He pardoneth the Tax due in the third Indiction to the Inhabitants of the *Cottian Alpes*.

Providentissimi Principis est, &c. Cassiod. variar. lib. 4. *Ep.* 36.

Several Opinions about the Original and Number of Indictions.

Quem vide ad An. 312.

9. Now for better understanding this matter it is to be considered, that the Indictions were famous for two things, *viz.* the Payment of Tribute or the Ordinary Tax, and the Supputation of Years or Distinction of times. In respect of the first, they seem of a much earlier Date than the times of *Constantine*, and introduced by *Augustus Cæsar*, who, as *Dion Cassius* witnesseth, a little before Our Saviour's Birth began a Rescription or Tax; first of such as lived in *Italy*, and were worth *Ducentia Sestertia*, omitting then such as were not so rich or inhabited the Provinces, for fear of Insurrections. From which shortly after being delivered by the settlement of his Affairs, when his Treasury was now very low, he imposed the Tax upon all the World. Perceiving that Commotions might hereupon be raised, several Persons were sent away into several Provinces to look to the Peace, and amongst the rest *Sulpicius Cyrenius* was taken from his Attendance upon *Caius Cæsar*, and dispatched into *Syria*, *M. Lollius* being appointed Governour to young *Cæsar* in his room. That in this sense Indictions were not of a much later date, appears from

1562 *l.* 10*s.*

Sect. 3. from *Julianus* and *Paulus* the Lawyers, from what they answer concerning Lands obnoxious to this Indiction or Payment. But what sort of Payment this was or how it was sessed, whether by Poll or a Tax upon the Estate, hath been doubted. It's most probably conjectur'd that it was levied both ways, at first, a certain Estate in Land and a certain Age (though various at several times) being required of those that paid it. For the Chief Collectour took notice of all Persons who were to pay and who not, and at what time they had already begun or were to begin to pay, registring their Names. The *Syrians*, as appears from *Ulpian*, were obliged to pay Tribute, the Males at fourteen and the Females at twelve Years of Age, or the time of Puberty. Afterward, the way of payment by Poll called *Capitatio*, came to be more distinguish'd from the Land Tax called *Jugatio*, and that in the time of *Ulpian*. *D. l. 3. de Censibus.*

10. Granting then that the Indictions, as they noted or imposed Payment of Money, were before the time of *Constantine*, yet that so anciently they were made use of for Supputation of times doth not any where appear. But how should they come to comprize the Period of fifteen Years, or so many together to be called the first, second, third Indiction and so forward, till the fifteenth be reckoned, and then to begin again? Some with *Scaliger* guess the reason to have been, because *Constantine* reckoned from his *Quinquennalia* to his *Vicennalia*. Others, as *Paulus Petavius*, because Men being not sessed of old, till they were fourteen Years old complete, the Sess or Tax could not be laid or estimated but for fifteen Years at most, those who should be taxed at the next fifteenth Year being yet unborn. And *Baronius* cannot possibly (he saith) assign any other reason than this, that whereas sixteen Years were formerly required for a Soldier to serve before he could challenge a Mission, Freedom from the *Capitatio*, or the Privilege of the *Emeriti*, *Constantine*, who had much kindness as he himself professeth for the *Veterane* Soldiers, cut this term shorter by one Year, and appointed fifteen for their Service. That all these fifteen Years should be reckoned by so many Indictions thence probably came to pass, because of every of these Years *Annona indicebatur*, Provisions either *in Specie* or in Money were imposed and laid upon the Provinces by Rescript or Edict of the Prince, and so they were called Indictions *ab indicendo*; care being taken by several Laws, that before the beginning of the Indiction, true and Authentick Breves should be made for prevention of Fraud and Cheating in the Collectours. Hence this Indiction came to be called *Distributio* and *Fusio*. *Baronius* farther conjectureth, that the Reason why the Indictions began on the twenty fourth of *September* was, because that then Harvest being every where got in, the Emperours were wont at that time to *indict*, *impose or lay the Taxes upon the several Provinces*. But *Petavius* affirms that the beginning of an Indiction was the same with that of a Year, and that thereupon the *Romans* computed their Indictions from after the Winter Solstice, but the *Greeks* from the first new Moon after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, who having not their Months fixed as had the *Romans* but moveable, and their first Month beginning with the first New Moon after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, which most commonly happened on the twenty fourth of *September*, it came to pass that the *Roman* Indiction had a divers Epoche from that of the *Greeks*. The Emperours that succeeded *Constantine* followed the *Greek* Account, as also did their Subjects; but the Bishops of *Rome* always observed their own, and still retain, we are told, their ancient Custome. The Indictions were so notable, and the Supputation by them, that it was very convenient to make this Digression upon them. But of their beginning diversly in divers Countries we have spoken in our second Part; Let us return to the Kingdom and Government of *Theodorich*. *Vide Baron.*

11. For the Year following or the DXI. of Our Lord, in the fourth Indiction, *Theodorich* to oblige the Countrey of *Gall*, and reward the Virtue of *Fœlix* a deserving Person of that Nation, joined him in the Consulship with *Secundinus*, who was named for the East. Concerning this Person he wrote an Epistle Commendatory to *Anastasius* the Emperour, still extant, for his approbation, together with another directed to *Fœlix* himself, both Commonitory and in way of Commission. Herein he commends him for his frugality, which had inabled him to undergoe the Expences of the Dignity to which he doth also incourage him, they being great. For the same Year and the same fourth Indiction he made *Argolicus* Prefect of the City, that he might, as he tells him in his Patent, succeed to his Father's Honours, bidding him consider how great a matter it was in the beginning of his Preferments to have grayheaded *Rome* committed to his Government, and charging him to carry himself so justly, modestly and generously, that he might no way disgrace his Employment, but maintain his Dignity amongst so many

Fœlix made Consul with *Secundinus*.

Cassiod. var. l. 2. Ep. 1.

Piissimo Anastatio Imp. Theodericus, Ibid. Ep. 2.

Cassiod. var. lib. 3. Ep. 11.

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many grave and understanding Persons as the *Roman* Senate afforded. In another Epistle he commands him to give all furtherance to one *John*, with whom he had agreed for cleansing the common Sewers of the City of *Rome*, concerning the prodigious Magnificence of which he spends many words, affirming that they exceeded even the Miracles of other Cities. In a third he orders him to give leave to *Paulinus* a Patritian to re-edifie the publick Store-houses, which were fallen down for Age and want of Care, that they might be preserved for the use of Posterity. About the same time he wrote to the Senate of *Rome*, and having assured the Fathers, that as he took care for redressing all grievances, especially such as concerned their City, so he could not but mind them of several Omissions, which by Information of divers well meaning Persons were come to his knowledge. As that the waters of the *Formæ* were now made use of to turn Mills and to water Gardens; that the slaves appointed by Princes to that service were seized and employed by private Men, and that Brass and Lead which had made Eternal *Jones* King of *Thessaly*, and *Midas* King of *Phrygia* their first Inventours, being employed by adorning the Walls, were pilfred away and imbezelled. He tells them therefore that he had sent one *John*, (probably the same with the other) to have information, concerning these matters, and bids them join with him, to promote that for which they of their own accord ought to have petitioned,

Ibid. Ep. 30.

Theodorich reprehends the Senate at *Rome*.

Doeth several Acts of Charity.

12. Being now much intent upon Acts of Charity and Publick Works, as he had before been kind to the *Gravasiani* and *Pontonates*, he remitted the Tribute of this fourth Indiction to the Inhabitants of *Arles*, who endured the penury of that glorious siege as he expresseth it, and with them to all in *Gall* under his Power, giving many reasons to *Gemellus* to whom the Order is directed, for his dealing so favourably with that People; but chiefly this, that rather the Equity of their Cause, than good Nature induced him so to doe. About this same time he sent one *Maradas* a *Comes*, to protect and defend those of *Marselles* from all Acts of Violence and Oppression, commanding them to receive and obey him in such Capacity. The year following foreseeing in what danger *Italy* might be through the many Excursions and Depredations made by the Northern Nations, and considering how he himself had shewn the way, to any that would invade these Quarters, he caused the Castle of *Veruca* situate upon the River *Atlesis* to be fortified. Moreover at this time, as *Sigonius* will have it, he married his Sister *Amalafreda* to *Trasamund* the *Vandal* King of *Africk*, as also his Neice to *Herminfred* King of the *Thuringi*. And taking notice of *Symmachus* a Patritian, how excellent an Architect he was, and how industrious he had been in adorning the Suburbs of *Rome*, with private Buildings, he thence takes occasion to perswade him to imbrace a more Noble Subject of his Abilities, in repairing the Ancient Theatre, which through Age, the consumer of all things, was so much decayed. In the Letter the King, or rather *Cassiodorus*, fell into a Rapture, when he considers the force of time, which one would have thought, should sooner have worn out Mountains than so strong and admirable a Fabrick. Having admired its arched Roofs, he falls into a Discourse of the Original of Theatres, because he hath to doe with a Learned Man. He tells him that when of old, Countreymen in Festivals were wont to sacrifice in their Groves to several Deities, the *Athenians* first brought up this Countrey practice into the City, calling that a Theatre in the *Greek* Language, which may be expressed in *Latin* by the word *Visorium*, as which at a distance, and without any impediment might be seen by the People. The Front hereof was called *Scona*, from the darkest shade of the Grove, where, at the Spring, Shepherds were wont to sing their Songs to several tunes. In those times flourished Musick and Sage Sentences of those most prudent Ages, but afterwards this honest Discipline, avoiding the Conversation of naughty Persons out of Modesty, retired.

Ibid. lib. 3. *Ep.* 32. & 40.

Ep. 34.

Cassiod. Var. l. 4. *Ep.* 51.

The Original of Theatres.

13. Thence he comes to shew both whence the Tragedy and Comedy received their Names, to speak of the *Muses*, the *Mimus* and *Pantomimus*, wherein we must not follow him, and at length tells *Symmachus*, that whether it should be thought fit to underprop the Fabrick or repair it by new Buildings, the Expense should be out of his Chamber, both that the Architect might be renowned for so good a work, and Antiquity seem decently repaired in his own time. And this we thought fit to insert, that the Reader may see the generous Humour of *Theodorich*, and the Learning of *Cassiodorus* though a little affected, whose style is not so much barbarous as was the time, wherein *Latin* through long continuance, which altereth all things, and much more through the mixture of foreign and exo-

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tick words, if we look at the true idiome and phrase, was quite changed from it self, and acknowledged its vassalage and subjection to the barbarous Northern Nations as well as the Cities and the Countrey it self. And hereof this learned and worthy person was so sensible, that in his Preface to his Epistles he both acknowledgeth it, and deprecates the disdain and indignation of his Reader. This same year so fruitfull in acts of Clemency and Magnificence, *Theodorich* did still more good in remitting to the Inhabitants of *Campania* the Tribute they were wont to pay, and this he did in consideration of the loss they had sustained by the eruption of the Hill *Vesuvius*. Concerning this there is a Letter or Order extant directed to *Faustus* the Prefect, wherein he tells him that the *Campanians* having received this damage had petitioned him to that effect. That he was ready to grant their request, if he could be rightly informed of the accident, and how to judge of the particular damages done thereby. He commands him to send some person of approved fidelity into the Territories of *Nola*, or *Naples*, to survey the Grounds, and take an estimate of the loss, that he might know how to make a proportionable allowance out of the Tribute.

Theodorich remits Tribute to the *Campanians* because of the Eruption of *Vesuvius*.

Cassiod. Var. lib. 4. *Ep.* 50.

14. Then doth he tell the History, and recount the sad circumstances and effects of the usual Eruptions. He premiseth that the Countrey, lest it should enjoy perfect felicity, was continually allarmed with that calamity, yet was it not so terrible as else it would have been, because it gave fair warning of the impendent and approaching mischief. For such strugglings and motions there were within, that Vapours breaking out with a mighty noise terrified all round about the place. The Air, saith he, is all thickened and darkened with that sooty Exhalation, so that it gives notice of its rising to all *Italy*. Ashes throughly calcined flie throughout the great Sea, and terrene Clouds being gathered, it rains drops of Dust in the transmarine Provinces: it being then clearly discovered how much *Campania* it self suffers when the mischief is felt in another part of the World. You might there behold, as it were, Rivers of Dust to run along the ground, and dry Sand to flow with fervent violence, as if it had been liquid streams. You would be amazed to see the plain Fields swell as high as the tops of Trees, and those Meadows sadly wasted with hot Embers which lately by their pleasant greenness allured the Eye. That everlasting Furnace belcheth forth purple but barren Sand, which though adust with continual burning, yet causeth to take Root and fructifie those several Seeds or Stalks it receiveth, and with great celerity repaireth what it had formerly wasted. What strange Exception is this to the general rule and course of Nature, that one Mountain should roar to such a degree, that so many parts of the World should be terrified by the change of the Air; and that so it should cast about its own substance that yet it should receive no loss nor diminution! It bedews the Regions far and near with Dust; vomits out heaps upon the Neighbourhood, and yet this Mountain, exhausted by so many and so great evacuations, continues to be an Hill for so many Ages. Who would believe so great pieces of Earth, lying in the plain, should have bubbled up out of so profound depths, and no otherwise than as light Chaff spit or blown out of the Mountain's mouth? Elsewhere great Mountains burn privately, and in their own place; here almost the whole World must know of the matter. Wherefore seeing that the Inhabitants are not to be credited in a thing which may be attested by the Universe, let your prudence make choice of a man who may both rehearse them, and prevent all fraudulent and surreptitious dealings. Thus doth *Cassiodorus* though in an odd sort of Latine elegantly describe and paint out to the life all the Accidents of this Eructation, which, and that deservedly, makes *Baronius* reprehend *John Bodin* for taxing *Procopius* of lightness and inconsideration, in that he writes how the Ashes of another Eruption flew as far as *Constantinople*.

A Description of its Eruption.

Ad Ann. 471.

15. This too famous *Vesuvius* takes its rise from a pleasant and open Champion (being made or nourished of Earthquakes and Burnings) where the pleasant *Sebetus* empties its Waters into the bosome of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and that in the lower part of *Campania* the *Happy*, a Countrey never sufficiently commended for its admirable fertility, in which respect *Pliny* calls it the place of perpetual contention betwixt *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and by *Merula* it is styled the Paradise of *Italy*. This Mountain, or Hill rather, elevates its self for about four miles, its highest top not being one mile perpendicular from the Sea, in compass about twenty four, so separated from all other Hills as if it scorned their conjunction and alliance, or rather they were afraid of it as a dangerous Neighbour. The skirts of it are beset with fruitfull Vines, beautifull Trees, pleasant Flowers, and wholesome Herbs, all over but where it looks upon the East, which side being either originally, or through

A Description of *Vesuvius*.

Vide Schotti Itiner. Ital. lib. 3. *Gioviano di Lucca dell' Incendio fattali nel Vesuvio, &c.*

through the accession of this new adventitious Earth, more steep than the other, bears onely wild Trees and brushy matter. On the top it is divided, or rather incompassed with another hollow Hill, shaped in the figure of an Half Moon, from which it is parted but with a small Valley or Plain called the *Atrium*, it being probable that anciently it was all united in its self, and plain and even, as both *Strabo* describes it and *Dion Cassius* witnesseth; in process of time this division being made by Stone and Ashes, which it vomited out of its own Bowels. From this Plain, as well the one as the other of those highest Ridges, is barren, naked, and all covered with Ashes and broken Stones, which continually rowl downward, which makes it very difficult to climb up, so high, as to come to the prospect of the ancient *Vorago* or Hole, although there grows Broom, which affords some shelter against the Torrent, and here and there causeth better footing. Sect. 3.

Of the Countrey about it.

16. At this day the Mountain is incompassed with a well peopled Countrey, and noble and elegant Cities, adorned with rich and sumptuous Edifices, and in many places with large and stately Palaces, each whereof seems rather the Habitation of a King than the Pleasure-House of some private Nobleman; so rich are they in their Furniture, exquisite in their Fabrick and Workmanship, and deliciously seated amongst Gardens, Grotto's and Fountains. But as nothing is perfect in this World, but the best and most pleasant things subject to change and inconstancy, *Campania* the *Happy* is in this respect unfortunate, that it fosters so great a mischief in its own bosome, which Time, the finisher as well of miseries as pleasures, hath had no power to conquer and subdue. Whether this Fire find matter within the Bowels of the Mountain it self, or rather burning below in some inferiour Valley makes onely a passage through it, and a vent for discharging the Vapours and Ashes which arise from the bituminous matter, Sulphur and other Minerals lying in the Countrey round about, and by its hot Fountains and otherwise giving arguments of terrestrial Fires, as *Seneca* was of opinion, it's not our work here to enquire. If we could tell the Reader when either the Eructations of this Mountain or *Ætna* began, it would be more proper to our Design; but here we are destitute of Intelligence; for the inward cause having been the same in all Ages, many such Accidents may have happened before these Monuments of Antiquity received their Being, which communicate to us the most ancient Observations about this Countrey. It's scarcely worth the while to take notice what the pretended *Perosus* of *Annius* tells us, that in the last year but one of *Aratius* the Sixth, King of *Assyria*, *Italy* burnt for many days in three several places about the *Istri*, *Cymei* and *Vesuvii*, and that these places were by the *Janigeni* called *Paleusana*, that is, *the burned Region.*

Ep. 70. de Ætna.

17. This is indeed agreeable to the Etymology of the word *Vesuvius*, signifying *Fire* or *Spark*, in the Greek Tongue, as a late Writer tells us, in which respect the *Volsci* in their ancient Speech called it *Vesbia*, which as those who are skilled in that Language affirm, is the same with *Fire*. Several others write of the Antiquity of these Fires proceeding from this Mountain, and whence the Countrey should be called *Campi Phlegræi*, but when they first began, they do not take upon them to tell us. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Strabo* seem to speak of them as having happened in times remote, such as they had heard and read of, and the Hole and Ashes onely demonstrated to the eye, that formerly such things had been. This perhaps was also the reason, why *Pliny* who was so diligent in reckoning up the several places of this nature, yet makes no mention of this though it was so near him, and his curiosity at length, to pry into the mysteries of so great a wonder, brought him to his end. But he intended onely to make mention of such as continually vomited forth their flames, which this *Vesuvius* doth not; and perhaps it might have smoaked in his time, but because it did not much endamage the neighbouring Countrey he passed it over in silence. To be sure, *Tacitus*, describing the pleasantness of the Isle of *Capri*, the place of the sensual and voluptuous retirements of *Tiberius*, speaks of this Hill as not having formerly done that mischief, which it did afterward in the time of *Titus*. Hence Writers conclude, that before the time of *Tiberius* there happened no such burnings as to destroy the natural beauty of the Mountain, at least had not been so long a time as suffised to the reparation of it. And this they inforce from a Verse of * *Martial*, which seemeth to hint at some such thing.

The several Eruptions when.

Annal. l. 5. Prospectabatq; pulcherimum sinum, antequam mons ardescens faciem loci verteret.

** Hic est pampineis viridis vesuvius umbris. l. 1. epigr. 105.*

18. *John Boccace* speaking of *Vesuvius*, tells how it broke out into flames before the reign of *Titus* in the time of *Nero*, having first sent forth a thick smoak, which ended at last in a shower of Ashes that filled all *Campania*, and the Sea it self. *Seneca* speaking of this very time, which fell in the LXV. year of our Lord, in the

Lib. di Mont.

Nat. l. 6. c. 3.

Sect. 3. Conſulſhip of *Regulus* and *Virginius*, and on the fifth of *February*, makes no mention at all of the burning out of that portentous Earthquake which ruined a great part of *Pompeia*, and much endamaged all the Countrey. It's ſuppoſed therefore that *Boccace* miſtakes the Name of the Emperour, although the experience of modern times aſſureth us, that ſuch Earthquakes are ordinarily accompanied with Eruptions of *Veſuvius*. But to be ſure ſixteen years after, about the year of our Lord LXXXI. in the time of *Titus*, happened ſuch an one as could not be concealed; it's effect being ſo ſharp, as made thoſe that lived in that time both to feel and ſpeak. Of this have written *Pliny junior*, *Suetonius*, *Zonaras*, *Oroſius*, *Tacitus*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Statius*, *Silius Italicus*, *Martial*, *Auſonius*, *Euſebius*, and many others. So ſtrange were the accidents, circumſtances and effects of this Eruption, as cannot well be expreſſed. *Suetonius* gives an Abſtract of them, but *Xiphilin* the Epitomizer of *Dio* is more expreſs, who having firſt deſcribed the Mountain, and then the ordinary and common ſigns and effects of its conflagration, affirms that they were nothing in compariſon of what happened at this time.

The dreadfull one in the time of *Titus*.

19. Before the Eruption a great number of men of unuſual bigneſs, ſuch as Giants, its ſaid, were ſeen to wander about the Hill, the Countrey and neighbouring Cities, both by day and night. After followed a very great drought, and preſently ſo dreadfull Earthquakes, that the tops of Mountains became level to the adjoining Grounds. Then were heard ſubterraneous ſounds, like to Thunder and the bellowing of Beaſts, the Sea roared, the Heavens made a noiſe, and great crackings and ruſhings were heard, as if the Mountains had all fallen together. Then firſt of all began mighty Stones to be caſt up to the top of the Hill, which being removed out of the way, ſuch vaſt quantities of Fire and Smoak burſt out, that the Air was filled, and the Sun darkened no leſs than in the greateſt Eclipſe, the Day turning into Night, and Light into ſo prodigious Darkneſs. Hereupon the people, according to the ſuperſtitious humour of thoſe times, thought the Giants were fallen out amongſt themſelves, the rather becauſe the Image and repreſentation of them were to be ſeen in the Smoak, and a noiſe of Trumpets ſeemed to be heard. Some thought the World now returned into its ancient Chaos, or was to be conſumed by Fire; yet unwilling to die, and covetous of Life, when the whole World ſeemed to periſh with them. They ran out of their Houſes into the High-ways, out of the Ways into their Houſes; from Sea they haſted to the Land, and from the Land to the Sea, ſtill imagining, according to the reſtleſs humour of mankind, that new things would be better than the preſent condition.

20. So vaſt a quantity of Aſhes at length fell, that both Land an Sea, as well as formerly the Air, ſeemed therewith overwhelmed, which did great miſchief, not onely to Men, their Fields and Cattel, but deſtroyed in a manner all Fiſh and Fowl. Two Cities, *Herculanum* and *Pompei* it covered, and buried therein the Inhabitants alive, as they were ſitting in their Theatres. Nay ſo incredible was the quantity, that it flew as far as *Ægypt*, and *Syria*, not to mention the nearer parts of *Africk*; as for *Rome* it ſo thickened and darkened the Air there, that the Sun was thought to be eclipſed, to the ordinary ſort, and the more underſtanding were confounded at the accident, knowing nothing of what had happened in *Campania*: therefore they imagined that Nature was diſſolved, and that Heaven and Earth would come together. And although at *Rome* they were more ſcared than hurt for the preſent, yet afterwards a grievous Peſtilence followed, as the dreadfull Effect of ſo diſmal a Cauſe. The beginning of this Eruption fell on the firſt of *November*, about one a clock, in the firſt year of *Titus* his Reign, as appears from an Epiſtle of *Pliny junior*, wherein, ſetting down the occaſion and manner of the death of his Uncle (who wrote the Natural Hiſtory, and going too near to pry, was choaked with the Smoak and Duſt) he reſembles the firſt appearance of that huge and ſtrange Cloud unto a Pine Tree, for to no other, he ſaith, he could fitly compare it, it ſeeming to have, as it were, a long Trunk, and Boughs ſpreading out above it. Sometimes it appeared white, otherwhiles dusky and ſpotted, according to the mixed proportions of Earth and Aſhes. Reckoning up the ſeveral accidents which accompanied this Prodigy, amongſt the reſt he ſaith that the Pumice Stones flew about the Ears of men in the open Fields, yet having conſulted together what to doe, they held it ſafer during the Earthquake, when their Houſes tottered and reeled as if they had been drunken, to be without than within doors, arming their Heads with Pillows and Bolſters againſt the blows they expected. In concluſion, ſo dreadfull was this Conflagration, as well in its ſelf as circumſtances, that *Cluverius* affirms the Hill ever ſince to have

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have burned, and others that from this time it became forked or horned at the Top. Ecclesiastical Writers make use of it to express the Infernal Fire, and particularly our Learned Doctor *Jackson* upon the Creed affirms this burning of *Vesuvius* to have been as a Beacon to give warning to all Flesh, and from the admirable Conformity betwixt the Predictions of the Prophet *Joel* and the Narration of *Pliny*, he doubts not to say that now was fulfilled that Prophecy, *I will shew Wonders in the Heavens, and on the Earth, Bloud and Fire and Pillars of Smoak*, as also that this was the beginning of the terrible Day of the Lord foretold by the Prophet, wherewith the World was a long time shaken by fits, as it were by a deadly fever, as may appear from the like Calamities in *Trajan's* time, recited by *Dion Cassius*.

Lib. 1. *c.* 24.

Joel. 2. 30.

Another in the time of *Severus*.

21. The next Eruption of this subterraneous Fire that is taken notice of, happened in the time of *Severus*; and as *Lycosthenes* guessed in the Year CCIII. and the tenth of that Emperour. The Historian relates that now *Vesuvius* shined with mighty flames, and roared with so huge a Noise that the sound reached as far as *Capua*; this being possibly the time whereof *Galen* writes, that a great Quantity of Ashes was carried from it as far as the Sea. The next breaking forth of this combustible matter was in the time of *Diocleſian*, about the Year CCCV. when it flew over all *Europe*, if *Maiolus* be to be credited, who writes that the Fire was extinguished by the Prayers of St. *Januarius*, how truly, seeing no other Authours make mention of this Eruption, we shall not enquire. Of that which followed next after, and happened on the sixth of *November* in the Year CCCCLXXI. many Authours have written. We are told that adjoining Towns and Regions were laid waste by this burning, and that such a Fear and Consternation seized the People, that they betook themselves for many Years to Supplications and Processions, that they might avert the Wrath of Almighty God. Besides what happened in this Year two other Eruptions are spoken of in the CCCCLXXII. and CCCCLXXIII. of Our Lord, which some conjecture to have been one and the same, and that it either continued or broke out at several times for so long together. However the matter stood in reference to time, most dreadfull were the Accidents of this, or these Conflagrations. *Marcellinus* affirms the day to have been turned into Night, and that all *Europe* was covered with the small dust which flew about in the Air, and the Inhabitants of *Constantinople*, to prevent the like Judgment for the future, kept an Anniversary day of Prayer and Supplication the sixth of *November*. This confirms what *Procopius* relates of the flying of the Ashes as far as that City, for which he is rashly taxed by *Bodin*, though *Leo* the Emperour was struck with such Consternation, that he could not rest quiet in the Town, but went and sojourned at *Mamantis*, and these Ashes were blown into *Africk* as far as *Tripolis*, if not in the same Year, in that which followed. The next Conflagration was that which gave occasion to this Discourse, and happened in the Days of *Theodorich*, which ten others have followed in succeeding Ages. But the greatest by far as can be known was, that which fell out lately in the Year M. DCXXXI. on the sixteenth of *December*, the manner whereof and the direfull Effects, are described in the *Italian* Language by *Gioviano di Lucca*, a Doctor of the Laws and Apostolical Protonotary as he is styled, who hath taken pains to collect out of History all the other Conflagrations mentioned. But we have made too long a Digression, which the remarkableness of the Subject extorted.

De Prodigiis, *l.* 2.

Of *Diocleſian*.

L. 1. *Coll.* 16. *p.* 284.

Others.

Dottor di Leggi, è Protonotario Apostolico. In Napoli per Secondino Roncagholo.

22. *Spain* being now at this time held, and governed by the two several Interests of *Gisalarick* and *Amalarick*, the two *Gothick* Kings, the former it seems not content with his share, resolved to have all or none, and for that purpose took Arms against his young Neighbour. But his Designs were not so deeply laid, nor his Preparations so quick and surpizing, but *Theudas* the Governour or Protectour of *Amalarick* easily discovered them, and was so well provided, that he gave him Battel and a great Overthrow, and forced him to quit the Countrey. *Gisalarick* betook himself to *Trasamund* the *Vandal* King of *Africk*, who kindly entertained him, and jealous of the Power of *Theodorich* supplied him with Money. This *Theodorich* much stomached, and wrote a Letter to him, wherein he upbraided him with ingratitude; in that having been so obliged by him he requited him by entertaining his Enemy. He had honoured him, by bestowing his own Sister on him in Marriage; whereas he had given but his Daughters or Nieces to other Princes: which Sister he extolls not so much for her high Birth and Quality, though she was descended of the Stock of *Amalus*, as the Excellency of her Mind, being a Woman equal to him her Husband in Prudence, and not so considerable

Theudas Victorious in *Spain*.

Theud-hais, Populis imperans.

Trost. Mund, Consolans os.

Sect. 3. considerable for her Royal Estate, as admirable for her rare Policy and Councils. He admonisheth him seriously to consider of the Injustice he had done; lest the King of *Italy* should be provoked to doe something, which might manifestly break that good understanding, and peace that had been formerly betwixt them, for as much as an unlooked-for Injury, and the finding of Treachery where one expected Friendship and good Offices cannot be endured. He desires him to give heed, to what he had ordered his Ambassadours to say to him by word of mouth. *Gisalarick* (or *Gesaleck*) it seems by this Letter, having got what supply of Money he desired, was gone into other Countries to find out some good Advantage for recovery of his former and better Fortunes. Yet *Trasamund* excused himself so plausibly, that he gave full and abundant satisfaction to *Theodorich*, which he expresseth in another Letter published by *Cassiodorus* next after the former, wherein is mentioned also a Present of Gold sent by the *Vandal* King. This *Theodorich* refuseth to accept, expressing what great delight he took in restoring it, and some Vanity, in setting forth his own Commendations for so doing, concluding with an Exhortation to his Brother-in-Law to be more cautious and exact for the time to come. In the mean time *Theudas*, by his order, governs all *Spain* in the Name of *Amalarick*.

Cassiod. Var. lib. 5. Ep. 43. Amal, Cœlestis, unde Amalfrida cœlestis pax, Amal-schuente, cœlestis forma.

Fecimus utiq; Regalia, &c. ibid. Ep. 44. sine ult.

Cassiodorus made Consul.

23. The year of Our Lord DXV had M. *Aurelius Cassiodorus* Senatour for Consul, of whom we have already spoken, and by whose means and procurement we have discoursed so much other matters, especially of *Italy*, and the Western Provinces. To so high a Dignity he did not come *per saltum*, or leaping over the Heads of such as were far above him, through the wantonness of Fortune, but by degrees and as Vertues themselves are wont to increase, for so *Theodorich* his Master expresseth it in his Letter to the Senate. His first step in preferment was the *Comitiva privatarum*, which Office having managed prudently, innocently and without Corruption, he was advanced to the *Comitiva sacrarum Largitionum*. Having in this place also demeaned himself with such Moderation, that he shewed what was just and equal, both by his Example and Precepts under the former King, by *Theodorich* he was preferred to the Dignity of *Prætor*, in discharge of which Trust, having left a pattern of Modesty and Moderation to such as should come after, he came to be *Corrector* of the *Brutii* and of *Lucania* his own Countrey. At length he arose to the Dignity of *Præfectus Prætorio*, as also the supreme Honours of a *Patritian* and *Consul* discharging the Office of *Secretary* still as appears by the Letter lately mentioned, wherein aswell as in that which precedes it he is commended, though truly, for the greatness of his Family, the honourable Actions of his Ancestours, and his own Personal Vertues. But it was the Custome for Princes to extoll their Candidates, and blazon their Vertues and great Atchievements to the Senate, that they might seem not to have conferred Dignities and Preferments, upon unfit and undeserving Persons.

Cassiod. var. lib. 1. Ep. 4.

His Preferments.

Theodorich subdues the *Allemans.*

24. About this time, it's uncertain what Year, *Theodorich* subdued the *Allemans*, and forced them to pay Tribute, as *Agathias* hath written, and appeareth from the Kings Letters directed to the Inhabitants of *Suevia*, wherein he lets them know that he had made one *Fridelade* their Governour, for restraining thefts and robberies wherewith they were much disturbed. Within a year after the Consulship of *Cassiodorus*, while he still cherished the Fortunes and Hopes of *Amalarick* his Nephew in *Spain*, he was informed that *Eutharick*, the Son of *Viterick* and Grandson of *Beremund*, lived in that Countrey. For *Beremund* the Son of *Thurismund* descended of the Family of *Amalus*, leaving *Scythia*, as *Jornandes* writes, went and lived in *Gall* with *Theodorich* the Successour of *Vallia* King of the *Westrogoths*, by whom being honourably entertained, he left a Son called *Viterick*, who was Father to this *Eutharick*, a Person excellently qualified both in Body and Mind. *Theodorich* hearing him much commended was very desirous to see him, and when he had the satisfaction, glad he had found out one who was both of his own line, and every way deserving his Alliance, he gave him in Marriage *Amalasuenta* his Daughter. Two or three Years after he made him Consul, and *Anastasius* the Emperour, to please and oblige the Old Man, presented him with the Robe called *Tunica palmata*, and adopted him as his honorary Son in the way of Arms. In the mean time *Herminfrid*, King of the *Heruli*, put to death his Brother *Berthar*, and after that calling *Theodorich* King of *Gall* to his assistence made an end of *Belderick* his other Brother; but when he had done his work, and *Theodorich* demanded part of the Countrey conquered according to the Articles of their Alliance, he refused to make good what he had ingaged, and thereupon mortal and irreconcileable differences arose betwixt them.

He married his Daughter *Amalasuenta* to *Eutharick* his Kinsman.

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25. Betwixt the Emperour *Justin* and *Theodorich*, there was maintained from the first a good Intelligence and Correspondence, as appears from mutual Offices of Kindness and Amity. *Justin* himself bearing the Title of *Consul* in his second Year, took *Eutharick* the Son-in-Law of *Theodorich* for his Collegue, and farther graced him by a titular Adoption, as a Letter shews, which afterward was written to the Emperour by *Athalarick* the Son of *Eutharick*, whom *Amalasuenta* his Wife bore the Year preceding his Consulship. Being designed *Consul*, *Eutharick* went to *Rome*, there to enter upon his Office, which before he approached he was met by all the Ranks and Degrees of the City, who strove by all means to doe him Honour, as one whom they expected to see shortly upon the Throne. He on the other side omitted nothing to gain their good Opinion, discharging his Office with all possible Liberality and Magnificence; for some way or other he gratifyed the Senatours both *Goths* and *Romans*, and pleased the People with Shews on the Theatre, particularly with such wild Beasts procured out of *Africk*, as *Rome* had never seen till that time. Having done this at *Rome* he returned to *Ravenna* to his Father-in-Law, and there also strove to exceed himself in Liberality and obliging Actions. Some time after *Theodorich* was vexed in his mind by News received out of *Africk*, where the *Wandals* had imprisoned his Sister *Amalfreda* after her Husband's Decease, and put all the *Goths* to death who went over with her upon the Account of the Alliance, under pretence of a Conspiracy. *Theodorich* having not sufficient strength at Sea for Invasion of *Africk*, could not revenge the Injury as he desired, and in the mean time *Hilderick* the King contracted a fast friendship with *Justinian*, Nephew to the Emperour, and who managed all Affairs in the Extreme Age of his Uncle.

Eutharick being Consul visits *Rome*.

26. Hitherto we have beheld *Theodorich* so to demean himself, that one might not fear to propound him as a pattern to other Princes, and his Actions as so many Copies for them to write after, such his prudent Conduct, his Valour, Magnificence, Bounty, and which Cemented all, his Justice, Equity and Moderation. Now we must see him degenerating from himself, and blurring those Lines of Government which he had so exactly drawn; so hard is it for Man that is placed on high, not to be giddy and intoxicated with Ease, and the Fumes of continual Pleasure. Yet had he shewn any discretion in the choice of a Subject, wherein to exercise the mutability of his humours, he had been the less unfortunate, because more excusable; but the hard Measure he made, falling upon one who deserved better than any of that Age wherein he lived, in this respect Fortune it seems ow'd, and paid him a very ill turn. This Person was *Boetius* a Patritian who had twice or thrice been *Consul*, and such a Man as one ought carefully to describe, lest we doe him injury. Of so noble an Extract, that therein he excelled all his Contemporaries, deriving his Pedigree from *Manlius Torquatus*, which of later times had been enobled more by *Anicius* his Great Grandfather, and others of that most potent and noble House, to behold the Power and Interest of which most Eminent Persons came into *Italy*; an House which so abounded with Wealth, that *Zosimus* the Historian envying the Greatness thereof, writes that this Family of *Anicii* possessed in a manner the Riches of all the *Romans*. In his younger years he studied at *Athens*, where the Profession of Philosophy had been restored, which as he neglected not in general, but searched into the depths of all Sects and Opinions, so especially he addicted himself to that of *Aristotle*, and therein spent most of those Eighteen years which he passed away in that University. The Name of that Philosopher, was formerly scarcely known to those that were merely skilled in *Latin*, as he himself saith; but he translated his works, and illustrated them with Commentaries in that Language, hereby sufficiently evincing that of all *Roman* wits, he best understood the Scale, and could fathom the Depths of the Peripatetick.

Theodorich turns cruel to *Boetius*,

A most excellent person.

Vide Baron.

27. For the Reader must not think that the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, which in these later Ages hath obtained the Principality in the Schools, was always of such Reputation as we have seen it in our time. At the beginning of Christianity the Sect of the *Stoicks* much prevailed, but especially, the Opinions of *Plato*, which in the primitve times were of such Repute, that the greatest Rubs, the true Religion met with, were laid by those Prejudices that were thence received. For although much furtherance it received from such Philosophers as were converted, in refuting the Vanities and Impieties of *Paganism*, yet the great Writers against it were of that Sect, and both *Tertullian* and *Origen* of old complained, all or most of the Heresies which crept into the Church, took their Original from the Tenets of (this) Philosophy. Long was it e'er the Schools became

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The progress of Peripatetick Philosophy.

Peripatetick, and Philosophy had ceased to be *Pagan*, e'er she forsook the Academy and the Porch. At length she courted *Aristotle* so much, that she made him ample amends for her former Neglects; and here, as formerly she had done much mischief as well as good in the School of *Plato*, so she indeavoured to obtrude the Opinions and Notions of *Aristotle* upon the Christian Faith, witness *Gilibert* or *Gislebert*, the Bishop of *Poictiers*, of whose Profession of Philosophy and the Heresie he thence sucked, let Ecclesiastical Writers speak. We shall onely observe farther concerning this Subject, that the *Peripatetick* Philosophy was vehemently believed and promoted by the Schoolmen who found it most agreeable to their Quirks and Niceties, and possibly the real and essential Difference and Subsistance it placeth betwixt Substances and their Qualities (upon which Doctrines some Novelties in the Church have been founded) was the great Reason it hath been advanced, not onely above true Reason but the Holy Scriptures themselves. As much concerned are they to answer a text or place in the Philosopher, as in St. *Peter* or St. *Paul*; and Theology hath not onely received its Model and Method but even Rules from him. So hath this Sect prevailed in later Ages, that from it Writers have received their Terms and Manners of Speech, which makes it necessary that young Students be therein first instructed and well grounded before they advance to other Exercises, and make any Attempts upon Experimental Philosophy, or Divinity it self.

Vide Cassiod. Var. lib. 1. Ep. penult. & l. 2. Ep. 40.

28. But to return to *Boetius*, none draws his half fac'd Picture so much to the life, as he who afterward destroyed the Archetype, I mean *Theodorich* the King who gives him such Encomiums, and heaps such Commendations upon him, as the sense and apprehension thereof could onely be obliterated by the Power of Jealousie. He not onely commends him for his skill in the Precepts of *Aristotle*, but for his perfections in all manner of Learning, whereof he makes him so great a *Helluo*, that he useth a word applicable to such Creatures, as upon which the Nourishment they have received hath been very well bestowed. The knowledge he ascribes to him is as well practical as speculative, and herein appeared his worth, that he was not content to be Learned alone; but would have others partake of that which made him so considerable. Therefore he taught to speak *Latin*, whatsoever Authour was considerable amongst the *Greeks*; for instance *Pythagoras* the Musician, *Ptolomy* the Astronomer, *Nicomachus* the Arithmetician, *Euclid* the Geometrician, *Plato* the Divine, *Aristotle* the Logician, and *Archimedes* the Mechanick, about whose Works the King, or *Cassiodorus* for him, spends many words, the effect of which is this that *Boetius* perfectly skilled in his Doctrine of Motions should make two Clocks, whereof one should explicate the Motion of the Spheres, and the other the Diurnal Course of the Sun, both which were to be presented to the King of the *Burgi*. Such is the Testimony given by one that turned his deadly Enemy, but this as we formerly termed it is but an half fac'd Picture, representing onely an *Idea* of his Intellectuals, what he was for his Morals we must also discover, to present him in all his Proportions. First then as a means to make him good aswell as knowing, to the former secular Learning he added the Knowledge of Theology and the Holy Scriptures, as appears from his Books concerning the Blessed Trinity, and against the Errours of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*.

Multa eruditione saginatum.

Greek Authours translated by *Boetius*.

29. What Influence this Knowledge of Christianity and true Philosophy had into his Life and Actions is sufficiently evident from his Management of Matters during his last Consulship, and the great hatred he contracted by his Impartial Justice, and defending private Persons from the Injuries and Oppressions of unreasonable Men how powerfull soever. Such were *Conigastus* and *Triguilla* the Master of the Kings Houshold, and other greedy and ravenous *Goths*, from the Claws of whom he rescued many miserable *Italians*, and to the great Indignation of such Monsters, protected his innocent Countreymen, aswell from publick as private Impositions and Rapines. When during the Rage of a most Cruel Famine, a great Summ of Money was required of the Inhabitants of *Campania* to their utter undoing, he opposed the Project of the *Præfectus Prætorio* with such Zeal and Constancy even before the King, that it was quite dashed and laid aside. When the greedy Courtiers had already devoured the Estate of *Paulinus*, a Man of Consular Dignity, in hope and expectation, he rescued it out of the Mouths of those greedy Leeches. *Albinus* a Person of the same Quality, he defended against the Accusations of *Cyprianus* the Informer, and by his Wit and Eloquence, protected him when the King accused him of High Treason, and referred his Trial to the whole Senate at *Verona*. Thus swimming against the stream he met with great opposition, both from King and Courtiers, and having inraged them by crossing their

His Morals.

Vide Sigonium de Occid. Imp. l. 16. Boetium de Consolatione.

Designs,

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Designs, he was at length swallowed up in the Gulph of his Princes Jealousie and Indignation. Once out of his Office, in the succeeding Consullship of *Maximus*, he was accused by *Basilius*, *Opilio* and *Gaudentius*, of whom the first for no good deed had been dismissed the King's Service, and undertook this Employment to redeem himself from his Creditours, and the other two having been condemned to Banishment had taken Sanctuary, and thereupon were ordered by the King's Edict, if by a day prefixed they departed not from *Vienna*, to be stigmatized in the Forehead and then driven away. Yet the very same day did these Villains accuse *Boetius*, and their Accusation was admitted; which tended to this effect, *that he had endeavoured to advance the Power and Interest of the Senate above that of the King, having hindered an Informer from bringing in an Impeachment of Treason against the Fathers: and Letters were forged to make out his Intentions and Aims to be for the Recovery of the* Roman *Liberty*. *Theodorich* either privy to this Villany, or lightly giving credit to those suborned Witnesses and feigned Crimes, rashly condemned this Innocent Man, and confiscating his Estate banished him to *Ticinum* or *Pavia*, where comforting himself aswell as he could with his Philosophy, he made a Book concerning that Consolation, and committed to writing those passages for information of Posterity, aswell as of the present Age.

His pretended Crime.

He is banished to *Pavia*.

30. Having imprisoned *Severinus Boetius* at *Pavia*, he caused *Symmachus* his Father-in-Law, and a Person of great Learning and other worth to be apprehended, committing them both to safe Custody, for they were not both committed at the same time, as some have thought, but *Symmachus* enjoyed his Liberty, whilst *Boetius* had too sad occasion to bewail his own Condition, and congratulate the Liberty of his Father-in-Law, as he doth in his Book *de Consolatione*. Not long after *Theodorich* caused them both to be beheaded, and if thou wilt believe, Reader, the Relation of *Martianus*, who wrote his Life, and received it as a Tradition from the Church of *Pavia*, *Boetius* after his Head was off, took it up with both his Hands, and being asked who it was that struck him, answered *The Ungodly*, and so walking into the Neighbouring Church and kneeling down before the Altar, when he had received the Sacred Mysteries, he expired, and after his Death was honoured for a Saint. And why may not this Story be as true as what we find concerning St. *Denis*, which whosoever will not believe may goe and see, if he please, the Crosses erected in the several Places where he rested himself with his Head in his Hand, betwixt *Paris* and the Town which now bears the Name of that Martyr. The very same is also told of our St. *Alban*, who was beheaded for his Religion as St. *Denis* was. But so fell this Noble Pair of Senatours, surpassed by none other in any Indowment whatsoever, which renders Mortals both Excellent and Glorious. Concerning one of them we have already seen, what their great Enemy (as he proved) testifies, and for *Symmachus*, the same Hand gives him large Commendations, true no doubt, because *Procopius* saith in few words the same things and more, although the reason the King gives in one of his Epistles, be not so solid as were the Buildings for which he so much extolls him, when he desires him to take upon him the Care of repairing the Theatre formerly mentioned. That he was well skilled in Theology appears from *Boetius* his dedicating his writings to him concerning the Trinity, wherein he makes him Judge and Censour of his Books; and that he was well seen in all the Sciences, from *Priscian* the Grammarian of *Cæsarea*, who taught about this time at *Constantinople*, and dedicated also to him the Book he wrote of Weights and Measures.

Beheaded together with *Symmachus* his Father-in-Law.

The Character of *Symmachus*.

Antiquorum diligentissimus imitator, Modernorum nobilissimus institutor, &c. Cassiod. var. lib. 4. Ep. 51.

Ex Prisciano Grammatico qui nostro tempore Constantinopoli Doctor fuit, ista collecta sunt. Cassiod. de Orthographia. c. 12. pag. 101. totius operis impressi Geneva.

31. But concerning the Worth and Innocency of them both, there is one Testimony behind, and that is the too late Repentance of *Theodorich*, whose sorrow, as *Procopius* tells the story, was in its occasion and height full as remarkable as the Punishment had been unjust. Not many days after their Execution, when the King went to Supper, he had served up to his Table the Head of a Fish of an unusual bigness. This *Theuderich* (as he calls him, and by his right Name) fansied to be the Head of *Symmachus* lately put to death, who, as it were biting the nether Lip, seemed to threaten him in a gastly and cruel manner. Seized hereupon with Horrour and Amazement, and falling into a Cold-sweat he hasted to his Chamber, and lying down upon his Bed commanded his Attendants to cover him with many Clothes. Then did he reveal the whole matter to *Elpidius* his Physician, lamenting the Sin he had committed against *Symmachus*, and soon after died, this being the first and last wrong he ever did his Subjects, in pronouncing sentence thus against men without Examination. Thus *Procopius* both excuses and commends, censuring him for the Rashness and Injustice of the Fact, and yet herein exceedingly praising him, that the Fact was single, the whole Course of his Life and Government having been regulated and poised by Justice and Moderation. Though his putting those two

Theodorich dies of Melancholy for having put them to death.

Hist. Goth. lib. 1. ad initium.

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That set aside a most Excellent Prince.

32. *Athalarick* then a boy of Eight Years of Age, succeeded his Grandfather. His Mother was the Regent of the Kingdom, being a Woman adorned with all Beauties and Accomplishments both of Mind and Body. Of Countenance and Aspect composed to such Majesty, as would strike the beholder with Veneration. Of such fluence and sweetness of Speech, that being skilled both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, she ravished the Minds and Affections of her Hearers; in sum, for Wisedom and other Indowments which fit and qualify a Person for Government, far above her Sex. By her order, Ambassadours and Letters are dispatched, in the Name of the young King to the *Roman* Senate and People, and to the neighbouring Princes, in League and Amity with her Father, signifying his death, and how the Child succeeded by virtue of his last Will and Pleasure declared in the presence of the Nobility, whence the choice was so unanimously approved, that it seemed rather a manifestation of the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God. That this Example of the Nobility, was readily and chearfully followed by both his *Gothick* and *Roman* Subjects, who had not onely promised but sworn Obedience to him. The Senate therefore he desires to imitate so good a Pattern, telling them he had sent to them *Sigismer* a *Comes* with others, who in his Name should also make oath to preserve to them their Rights and Privileges, and he bids them ask boldly of him whatsoever they thought would increase the Security of their present Estate. The People he courts in like manner, requires also from them an Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance, and promises under no less an obligation all Offices of Justice, Equity and Clemency; to cherish the *Goths* and *Romans* alike, and maintain them in Equal Rights and Privileges, making no other distinction, than that the *Goths* undergoing the Travails and Dangers of War for the Publick good, the *Romans* should enjoy quiet and security within the Walls of their own City. He puts them in mind, how by the mutual Oath of Prince and People, the Memory of *Trajan*'s Government was renewed, who as appears from the Panegyrick of *Pliny*, at his Entrance upon the Consulship, both swore himself and received the Oaths of the Magistrates, Senate and People. To *Tiberius* the *Præfectus Prætorio* of *Gall*, and the Provincials, as they are called, under his Jurisdiction, he promiseth by Oath the like good Government, having exhorted them to Fidelity and Obedience, and written his Letters to *Victorinus* their Bishop, to stir them up, and provoke them to be good Subjects, both by his Precepts and Example. He beggs also his Prayers, that the Heavenly King would be pleased to confirm to him his Earthly Kingdoms, that he would suppress his Adversaries, forgive him his Sins, and mercifully consolidate and preserve what he had so bountifully and gloriously conferred upon his Parents.

Athalarick succeeds his Grandfather.

Athal-rick, nobilitate pollens.

Letters written by the Regent to Senate and People.

Adi & consule Cassiod. Variar. lib. 8. *Ep.* 1, 2, 3. *usque ad* 9.

33. Such was the beginning of *Athalarick*, or rather *Amalasuentha* (or *Amalasuntha*, as she is commonly called) his Mother; who, either as pious and humble Penitents are wont to doe, conscious of the Frailty of Humane Nature, imposed upon her self and Son the strong Bonds of an Oath, to check and pull them back when they should exceed the Bounds of Equity and Moderation; or, not ignorant what Disorder and Difficulties fall upon Kingdoms in the Minority of Princes, provided for his Security and Establishment as prudently as she could, courting thus his Subjects into the strongest bonds and ties which could be laid upon their Consciences, by this plausible Stipulation and Exchange of Oaths. That the

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the latter Consideration effectually moved her, the Dictates of Nature may sufficiently satisfie, and that the former did not want its effects also, the Course of her Actions doth sufficiently manifest. For her principal care seemed to be for his good Education, and the seasoning of his tender Years with good Learning and religious Precepts; committing him to the exact Discipline of most grave and sober Masters, who should instruct him according to the *Roman* Custome, and their manner of the Institution of Youth, though the *Goths* were therewith offended. That such there were at this time who could very well doe it, we cannot doubt, because of that Publick School which had lately flourished at *Rome*, wherein were professed Law, Eloquence, and the Liberal Arts by most Learned Men, maintained at the publick Charge. But of late their Stipends had either been denied or very badly paid, which coming to the Knowledge of the Regent, she directed Letters in the King's Name to the Senate of that City, expostulating the neglect of so considerable a matter, and requiring the punctual payment of these Salaries for the time to come. Forasmuch as Arts are nourished and maintained by Rewards, she tells them it is Wickedness to defraud the Teachers of Youth of any thing due to them, who ought rather to be farther excited by an Augmentation of their Incouragements. She commands for a greater certainty of their Allowance, that they be paid every half year, and that if any Officers retain the Money longer than that time, they be responsible both for Principal and Interest. Her Reasons are, that Learned Men are not to depend upon the proud and disdainfull Humour of others, that it is a shame that Players should be provided for, who serve onely for pleasure and recreation, and they be neglected who are the Formers of good manners, and breeders up of Eloquent Wits for the Service of the Court. But especially that they may not be distracted by solicitous thoughts, and necessary Cares for a Livelyhood, which must render their pains more ineffectual.

Her care for his Education.

Vide Cassiod. variar. lib. 9. Ep. 1.

34. Having sufficiently provided for her Son's Instruction by way of Precept, she her self became his Mistress in the other more significant and effectual part of Example. She not onely kept off her Hands from invading the Lives, Rights, Privileges and Estates of the Subject, but restored to the Children of *Symmachus* and *Boetius*, what had been so unjustly taken from them, and in general protected and secured the *Roman* and *Italian* People from the Rapacious practices of the *Goths*; who as Strangers that have their Fortunes to make in a conquered Countrey, sought to build their Families upon the Ruines and Desolation of the Natives. To *Amalarick* the King of *Spain*, and her Nephew by her Sister, who stood in need of some Incouragement and Assistence, (*Theudas* his Guardian having, by his Marriage with a great Lady of the Countrey, made himself in effect more King than his Pupil,) she gave part of *Gall* lying beyond *Rhodanus*, and retained that on the nearest side for her Son; what her Father had taken away from the Inhabitants of *Carcasson*, she restored, and remitted the Impositions he had laid upon them. Foreseeing also that by retaining that Part of *Gall* now mentioned, she should draw an heavy War upon the Kingdom, and the *Franks* into the Bowels of *Italy*, she yeilded to their King's pretensions, and delivered it up into his Hands. Shortly after *Justinian* came to the Government in the East, being assumed as Collegue in the Empire by his Uncle *Justin*. Assoon as his promotion was heard of in the West, *Amalasunta* dispatched Ambassadours to him, to congratulate his good Fortune, and to desire a Continuance of that Friendship and Alliance which had been betwixt their Predecessours; if the Epistle be rightly directed as now we have it in *Cassiodorus*. And what she desired on her Son's behalf was readily granted, as we may conclude from that good Correspondence, that was betwixt them as long as *Athalarick* lived, and the Coins which were stamped at this time, whereon is on one side to be seen the Image of *Justinian*, and on the other the Name of King *Athalarick*.

She makes Restitution.

Var. lib. 8. Ep. 1.

Vide Baron. ad Ann. 527.

35. We have already shewn how the *Goths* misliked of the breeding of their young King, and desiring to wrong the Subjects, would have him brought up after the Barbarian way. How hereupon he was debauched by ill Company. How *Amalasunta* his Mother was brought into great Difficulties, and purposed to deliver up *Italy* into the Hands of *Justinian*. How *Athalarick* her Son died of a Consumption, and thereupon she procured *Theodatus* the Nephew of *Theoderich* to be King, and how in way of requital he basely caused her to be murthered. We shewed in its proper place, that *Justinian* upon this occasion resolved to make war upon the *Goths*, having lately subdued the *Vandals* in *Africk*; that Messages passed betwixt him and *Theodatus*, who put a Guard upon the Emperour's Ambassadours, and

Hujus vol. lib. 1. c. 2.

Theodatus King.

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Vitigis. *Ildebald.* *Erarick.* *Totilas.* *Teias.*

The Kingdom of the *Goths* in *Italy* wholly destroyed.

36. So was the Kingdom of the *Ostrogoths*, overturned in *Italy* by the Vigilancy and Conduct of *Narses*, that famous Eunuch, after it had continued some fifty nine Years. How this was done, hath been discoursed at large in our Account of the Wars of *Justinian*, to which here we have nothing to add, little occurring concerning the later *Gothick* Kings, but in reference to the Wars of *Italy*, managed against them, chiefly by *Belisarius* and *Narses* the Officers of that Emperour. The *Goths* after the Death of *Teias* were headed by *Aligern* his Brother, but without the Title of King, and they strugled some time to no purpose, though they called in the *Franks* to their Assistence. Their Kingdom being destroyed, the Sovereignty and Command of *Italy* returned to *Justinian* the Emperour, who governed it by *Narses*, as a Province of the Eastern Empire. *Narses* having suppressed the *Goths* and driven out the *Franks*, set himself as to Actions of Piety and Religion, so to repairing Towns which had been demolished in War, to the restoring of Buildings both sacred and profane in *Rome*, and other places. But as of other things, so of these we have no particular Account, for the following Years are so barren of any History, that as *Sigonius* witnesseth, in all the Antiquities of *Italy* and the West, nothing is more rude and uncertain, our best guides *Procopius* and *Agathias* having taken their leave. But, from the overthrow of the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Italy*, which happened in the Year DLIII. to the coming in of the *Longobardi*, or *Lombards*, which fell out in the DLXVIII. passed fourteen Years, all which time *Narses* seems to have governed, and spent it well, as we are told, in mending what had been marred by the former Wars. In these Wars that great mischiefs happened both to Places and Persons cannot be doubted. That those that were faithfull to the Emperour suffered much may easily be conceived, and particularly we are told of the Family of the *Titiones*. This Family flying their Countrey, lost all they had, leaving a great Estate, and when the *Goths* were driven out, it seems made their Application to *Justinian* to be restored to their Lands and Possessions. Now it was a Rule in Law, that a Prescription of thirty years was a sufficient Bar against any pretender, let the Estate be come by how it would, and this it seems was pleaded by such as had got into possession. But the Emperour taking the case into consideration, granted a Rescript of Privilege to the said *Titiones*, which broke the Prescription; and this Rescript, being the onely Monument of that dark time, *Cujacius* hath communicated to us, who received it as he tells us, from the most Learned and acute P. *Galesius* a *Spaniard*. It being a Rarity in several respects, we shall not conceal it from the Reader. To *Narses* it is directed thus.

Obs. lib. 10. c. 12.

37. ‘ *Flavius Justinian, Cæsar, Imp. Alanicus, Goticus, Wandalicus, Africanus, ever* ‘ *Augustus* to *Narses* the Patritian in *Italy*. With great anguish of mind we perceive, ‘ that our City of *Rome* having been in former times much emptied, hath continu- ‘ ed long desert, and in a manner desolate, and that from it almost an infinite ‘ Number of Illustrious Families, have betaken themselves to divers Climates of the ‘ World, to shun the direfull Cruelty and savage madness of the *Goths* and *Wandals*, ‘ amongst which the most Eminent and most Noble Family of the *Titiones*, lea- ‘ ving the City in which it had happily flourished before for many Ages, in the glo-

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'ous Equestrian Order, was forced to fly to foreign Nations. Namely out of that 'Family, above an hundred and twenty Persons passed over to the *Vindelici* and '*Retii*, chusing rather valiantly to undergoe hard Exile, than enjoying at home with 'the Enemy of the *Roman* Empire their own goods, to live in filthy and dishonest 'slavery. Now we being desirous to obviate such Calamities and Miseries dispatched 'away the most glorious *Belisarius* the Patritian into *Italy* against the *Goths*, that by 'him we might free the City, and *Italy* it self, from so great Slavery, Captivity and 'Slaughter. And so it fell out, that in that Ingagement which *Belisarius* had with '*Vitigis* King of the *Goths*, and wherein he remained Victor, the King being taken 'Prisoner, the Strenuous, Valiant and Noble L. *Galbinus Titio*, valiantly discharging 'the Duty of a Tribune of Soldiers, died gloriously fighting, leaving three Sons, '*Aulus Anduatius*, C. *Tubero*, and L. *Reucardus*, who all under thy Command in '*Italy*, fought for us and the *Roman* Empire with the greatest Fidelity against our 'Enemies. Wherefore seeing that in a Prince there can be nothing more Clement, 'nothing more Decent, nothing more glorious to be wished for, than to have a 'respect for, and confer just and gratefull Favours on such, whose Parents, by figh-'ting manfully for the Empire and their Countrey, most religiously died; and 'whereas those Brothers and their Progenitours were spoiled of their large Estate, 'by the wicked Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, which they enjoyed in the City, 'amongst the *Cemomani*, especially the *Insubres*, *Vercellenses*, *Taurini* and *Lugures*, 'for long spaces of time, We will, Command and require, as thou esteemest our 'favour, and art zealous for our Honour, that having made a diligent search, 'thou put them again into possession of their Estates, and goods of their Ancestours, 'having no regard at all to those by whom they are seized, and restore these Brothers 'to the City, their Honours and Dignities; and especially the Equestrian, in which 'they have flourished with great Commendation from their Great and Great great 'Grandfathers, and to place them again in their Houses, removing any that may 'detain them. For all those who from the beginning take Possession by force, 'and thereby lay unjust Foundations, do not acquire just Possession by the use of 'time, neither they who derive action from them; and we will not that such Oc-'cupiers be assisted by any Prescription, although of the longest time, from which 'we derogoate, and by our fulness of Power will have Derogation made, that the 'said Brothers may serve us with the same Fidelity and Valour, which they have 'derived from their Parents. We will have therefore this our Pleasure, or rather 'just and deserved Restitution, inviolably observed under Penalty of an hundred 'pounds of Gold, and have commanded it to be strengthned by our Imperial 'Seal. From the City of *Constantinople* on the *Ides* of *February*, in the six and 'thirtieth Year of our Reign, in the Year of our Lord DLXV, signed *Justinian*, 'and underneath, *Procopius*. This is very remarkable, and little or nothing is there 'farther of *Italian* matters, till the coming of the *Lombards* into *Italy*; of the occa-'sion thereof, and their progress till their setling therein a Kingdom, we have al-'ready discoursed amongst matters relating to the *Constantinopolitan* Empire.

A Rescript of Restitution granted to the *Titiones* by *Justinian*.

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SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, from the Expiring of the Command of *Duces*, and the Promotion of *Authari* to be King, to the End of this Kingdom.

The Space of 206 Years.

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Authari made a King.

1. THE *Lombards* having setled their Domination in *Italy*, were ten Years, as we have said in the History of the Empire, without a King and under *Duces* or Captains. But these ten Years expired, into the Dignity and Title of King they advanced *Authari* the Son of *Clepho* formerly mentioned; whom they sirnamed *Flavius*, for the more grace of the matter, as *Paul* their Historian tells us, or to mollify the sound of his barbarous Name, with a sirname familiar and easie, as others conjecture; for this of *Flavius* became afterward common to all their Kings. Now all the Great Men contributed half they had to the maintenance of his Port and Dignity. And this is to be admired in the Government of the *Lombards*, that there was no such thing amongst them as Violence and Oppression. No Treachery, no Compulsion was practised. No Man was deprived of what he had by Thefts or Robberies, but every one went about his business securely, without the least fear or apprehension of Danger. So *Paul* writes; but we remember that he himself was a *Lombard*, and speaks possibly in favour of his own Nation, so he doth when he commends and applauds, for their Valour and Deportment, the Party which fought under *Narses*, whereas *Procopius* tells us, that they were sent back in disgrace for their unruliness. And however he conceals their Faults, and commends them for ther great Justice and Moderation, it appears from Ecclesiastical Persons, that after they were become Masters of *Italy*, they did many horrid Acts; and upon this account *Gregory* the Great calleth them a most wicked Nation. But possibly the truth lies betwixt both Extremes.

Childebert being hired against the *Lombards*, he hath Money on both sides.

2. *Mauritius* the Emperour, not being in a Condition himself, hired *Childebert* King of the *Franks* for fifty thousand *Solidi*, to dispossess them. The King with a vast Army breaks into *Italy*, but *Paul* saith, that the *Lombards* dealt with him by Messengers, and perswaded him to take Money and be gone. He promised to return the *Solidi* to *Childebert*; with whom the *Lombards* made a League, but had work enough cut out for them by *Droctulf*, who being a *Suebian* or *Alleman* by Birth, for his Goodliness of his Stature had got the Honour of a Duke; but to revenge his Captivity had lately revolted to the Emperour, and carried over to his Party a considerable Number of their Men. Lying now at *Broxillus* a Town situate upon the *Poe*, thither *Authari* removed with his Army, and straitly besieged him. The siege continued long, and he held them to it; but at last he was compelled to quit his Quarters and betake himself to *Ravenna*; which having done, *Authari* took *Broxillus* and dismantled it, and made truce with *Smaragdus* the Patritian the then Exarch of *Ravenna*, for three Years. This notwithstanding, *Mauritius* sent the second Time his Ambassadours to *Childebert*, and perswaded him to break the League and fall upon the *Lombards*. He invaded *Italy*, but as they were on their march toward him, the *Alemans* that were in his Army fell out with the *Franks*, and the Dissention grew so great, that they parted and returned back without having any thing done.

Druckt-ulf, fidelis Auxiliator Druck & Trud. Trouwo fides, Trucktin Dominus, sæpe occurrit in novo testamento vetere Germano. Anglosaxonibus nostris Drickten Dominus. Suedis Regina Drotning fortasse quia fides eis data est, ut qui fidem dederunt. Drudos, Drudi, Druides. Scribitur hoc nomen in ex. Allem. Tructolf. Truktolf. Thrutolf. contracte Truto.

Another fruitless expedition of *Childebert*.

3. At this time happened such Inundations in several Parts of *Italy*, as the like had never been heard of since the Universal Deluge. Multitudes of Men, besides other living Creatures, were destroyed. The River *Athesis* flowed as high as the Windows of St. *Zeno*'s Church near *Verona*, part of the Wall of which City was also broken down; and after two Months it perished almost all by Fire. The River *Tiber* was so overcharged, that it rose higher than the very Walls of *Rome*, defaced ancient Buildings, and overturned the Granaries belonging to the Church, wherein great Quantities of Wheat were lost. A Multitude of Serpents

Dreadfull Inundations.

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pents together with a Dragon of a vast Bigness, swom down the River (*Paulus Diaconus* saith through the City) into the Sea, where killed with the Salt-water, they were cast upon the shore. This happened in the Month of *November*, and in *January* following a dreadfull Plague called *Pestis Inguinaria*, from the Privy parts which it invaded, fell upon *Italy*, especially *Rome*, and destroyed an infinite Number of People, on whom Arrows were seen to be darted from Heaven, if credit may be given to no less a Man than Pope *Gregory*. This was the Plague, as some would have it, wherewith Men being seized fell into great fits of sneezing, and so suddenly died, whence the Custome proceeded of praying, as still we do, for such as sneeze. But that this was in use long before amongst the Pagans, who invocated their Gods upon the same occasion, is attested by *Pliny*, not to speak of more ancient Writers, and therefore it could not take its rise from the Mortality whereof we now speak.

The *Pestis Inguinaria* follows.

Nat. Hist. l. 28. Vide Bar.

4. Much about this time *Authari* King of the *Lombards*, sent *Euin* the Duke of *Trent* to waste *Histria*, whence he brought very rich Plunder. Others of his subjects were then employed in besieging *Francio*, one of *Narses* his Captains, in the Island *Amacina*, where he had continued twenty Years, but after a siege of six Months, was forced to yield it up, and to depart with his Wife and Baggage to *Ravenna*. *Authari* aswell as his People being much inriched began to look high, and asked the Sister of *Childebert* King of the *Franks* to be given him in Marriage. *Childebert* receiving his Presents, promised he would send her, but failed of his word being sued to by the *Gothick* King of *Spain*, to bestow her on him; and sensible it seems of the Injury, and how good Cause he had given *Authari* to be angry with him, he sent to the Emperour, and promised now he would doe his utmost for removing the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. And he sent an Army to make good his promise, but the *Lombards*, concerned now more than ordinary to shew their Valour, made greater slaughter of them, than ever was heard to have befaln that Nation, and very few returned home. *Flavius Authari* now incouraged by this Success sends his Ambassadours into *Baioaria*, to ask in Marriage *Theudelinda* the Daughter of King *Garibald*, who readily granted their suit, and after their return *Authari* himself makes a Journey thither Incognito to see her. Not long after his return, troubles arising betwixt *Garibald* and the *Franks*, *Theudelinda* with her Brother *Gundoald* retired into *Italy*, where *Authari* met her with Royal Pomp, and consummated his Marriage at a Place called *Sardis* above *Verona*, on the *Ides* of *May*.

Franks destroyed.

Theude-linda, Populis mollis.

Authari Marries.

Gundualdi, Benevolentia potens.

5. At this time, for what Cause is uncertain, *Ausul* the King's Kinsman was slain at *Verona*, and not long after *Childebert*, to gratify the Emperour *Mauricius*, sent another Army of twenty thousand Men to subdue the *Lombards*. Of these Men *Anduald*, *Olo* and *Cedinus* were the chief Captains, whereof *Olo* laying siege to the Castle of *Bilitio*, was shot with an Arrow under his Pap and died, many of his Countreymen in their Excursions being met with and slain. *Anduald* with six inferiour Officers came before *Milan*, where he met with the Emperour's Ambassadours, who promised him relief after three days; but three and three they expected them to no purpose. *Cedinus* going the way toward the left hand took five Castles from the Inhabitants of which he exacted an Oath. They pierced by *Placentia* as far as *Verona*, and many Towns they demolished contrary to Articles, leading away the Townsmen Prisoners. But the Summer now grew very hot, and the *Franks* not accustomed to the *Italian* Air, were much afflicted with the Dysentery whereof many of them died, and having been three Months in the Countrey to little purpose, the *Lombards* securing themselves in their strong holds, and their King particularly in *Pavia*, they were necessitated to return home, which they did with so great Difficulty, that they were first constrained to sell their Cloaths off from their backs, and then their Arms to purchase Victuals in their passage. About this time it is that *Paul* thinks the famed Conquests of King *Authari* happened, as that through *Spoletum* he proceeded as far as *Beneventum*, and having made himself Master of all that Countrey, kept on his Progress as far as *Rhegium*, the last City of *Italy*, and nearest to the *Sicilian* Island. There, as the story went, stood a certain Pillar within the water, to which he rode so near as to touch it with the Point of his Lance, and said, *Thus far shall extend the Borders* of the *Lombards*. The Pillar was reported to be standing in the days of the Historian, and to be known by the Name of *Authari* his Column.

Ansi-hild, Gratiæ fidelis.

Another fruitless Expedition of the *Franks*.

The Conquests of *Authari*.

6. The first Duke of the *Lombards* which setled in *Beneventum*, was *Zotto*, who held the Government for twenty years. *Authari* sent to make a League with *Guntram* King of the *Franks*, who referring them to *Childebert* his Nephew, e'er they could

Zotto, Suavis nunc stultum sic vocant Angl. a Sott mutatâ in pejus signi-

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Authari dies.

could finish their Negotiation, *Authari* dies at *Pavia*, by poyson as was reported, on the *Nones* of *September*, after he had reigned six Years. Assoon as he expired, notice was sent away to *Childebert*, and a Peace desired of him, who at length yeilded unto the request of the *Lombards* in this matter. They had so much Kindness for *Theudelinda* their Queen, that they permitted her to retain her Royal Port and Dignity, and to chuse out of their own Nation a fitting Man to be her Husband, and their King; whereupon after good advice had with the wisest of them, she made choice of *Agilulf* Duke of *Taurinum*, the Kinsman of *Authari*, a very valiant Man, and in every respect fit for Government, who was married to *Theudelinda* and her Kingdom in the Month *November*, and afterward publickly crowned at *Milan*, in a full Assembly in *May* following. *Agilulf*, or *Ago*, as he was called for shortness, being confirmed in his Power, sent *Agnollus* Bishop of *Trent* into *France*, to redeem such as had been taken Prisoners in the Territories lying about that City, and some he brought back, whom *Bramhildis* the Queen of the *Franks*, had ransomed with her own Money. *Euin* also, the Duke of *Trent*, he sent Ambassadour to make an Alliance and Confederacy with that Court, which he effected. The same Year happened a great Drought from *January* to *September*, which was followed by as great a Famine, and a great swarm of Locusts covered the Countrey about *Trent*, of a greater bigness than usual, but fed onely upon the Grass, doing little prejudice to the standing Corn.

Agilulf succeeds.

ficatione ut in multis. Sweete tamen manet in pristina significatione apud Anglos. Soote apud Belgas.

Agel-hulf, Liber Auxiliator. Idem contracte Ago, Paulo hic monente. Paulus Diaconus. lib.4.c.1.

Agilulf his Success against several Dukes.

7. *Agilulf* in the mean time puts to death *Minulf*, Duke of the *Island St. Julian*, for having revolted formerly to the *Franks*; and reduces *Gaidulf*, who had rebelled and fortified himself in his City of *Pergamus*. Though he gave Caution now that he would be quiet, yet he secured himself again in the Island *Comacina*, whither the King pursued him, and beating out his Men got into his Hands a Treasure, which had been there laid by the *Romans*. But *Gaidulf* escaping him returned to *Pergamus*, where after some opposition he again made his peace, and was received into favour by *Agilulf*, who was also so fortunate about this time, as to reduce into order *Ulfari*, another Duke or Captain who had revolted. The same Year the Plague called *Pestis Inguinaria*, again broke out at *Ravenna* and other places, killing as many Men as it had formerly done. *Agilulf* makes peace with the *Avares*, and a Winter follows so excessively cold, as the like had not been known. Moreover in the Countrey of the *Brioni*, bloud instead of water dropped from the Clouds, and Rivers seemed to flow with it as presages of those Miseries, which were shortly again to fall upon *Italy*, the Peace being broken. For not long after *Romanus* the Patritian and Exarch of *Ravenna* goes and visits *Rome*, and in his return takes in several Cities, that had belonged to the *Lombards*. *Agilulf* inraged hereat, marches speedily from *Pavia*, with a strong Power of Men, and lays siege to *Perusium*, wherein lay *Maurisio* a Duke of his own Nation who had revolted to the *Romans*. Him he took and put to death, possibly because he had betrayed the Towns lately mentioned into the Hands of the Exarch; and he cast them at *Rome* into a very great fright, particularly *Gregory* the Bishop, from whose Writings it appears, that the Army of the *Lombards* invaded also the Territories of that City, and did great Mischief, though *Paul* the Historian passes all by, and tells us he setled his matters, and returned after the taking of *Perusium* unto *Pavia*. *Gregory* was constrained to break off his Custome of preaching, and betake himself to the Law of the City, the Liberty and Safety whereof he was forced to purchase with Money, and through the Intervention of *Theudelinda* the Queen, made a firm Peace for his *Romans*.

Minn-ulf, Fæminis Auxiliator. A Man. Fæmininum Menne, nam quod Angli hodie dicunt in plurali Men, antiquis erat Mannum. Inde Meerminne, maris fœmina & nutrix, fœminam per excellentiam & Minnen fœminarum amore tangi, id enim Grotio monente proprie & antiquitus significat. Gaid-ulf Conjugis Auxiliator. Ulf-ari, Auxilii Dominus; Welf-hari, Luporum Dominus. Maurisch, Niger. Vide Baron.

The Emperour's Officers drive his Subjects to revolt.

8. From an Epistle of this Bishop to *Constantina* the Empress, it appears that the Miseries which the Emperour's Subjects in these Parts endured under his cruel Officers, were as great as any of them almost suffered from the Barbarous *Lombards*. The Burthen of the Taxes and Impositions were so heavy upon those of *Corsica*, that they were forced to sell their very Children to make Money, and all little enough to satisfie the Ravenous Collectours, which not able to bear, they fled to the *Lambards* in *Italy*, and in a manner left the Island desolate. In that of *Sicily* one *Stephen* the *Chartulary* of the Sea Coasts committed such Rapines, as the Bishop affirms all his particular Acts of Violence and Injustice could not be contained in one Volume; and desires her to be a means to the Emperour, that those things might be redressed for the preventing of Judgments otherwise like to fall upon himself, and his Sons, and that *Italy* might rather want supplies of money, than that they should be raised in that sinfull manner. From *Gregory* his Writings it is farther evident, that the Emperour's Ministers who being at a great distance

Lib. 4. Ep. 33. Indict. 13.

distance from their Master, promised themselves impunity in their evil courses, opposed him in his endeavours for making peace with the *Lombards*, who, whatever *Paul* the Deacon hath written, for two years and more wasted the *Roman* territories with fire and sword, and did great mischief in *Campania*, where many Captains being taken, he took care for the redeeming of such as were too poor to pay their Ransome, several Prelates of this time contributing to so good a work. In the third year, having often attempted to make a Peace, at length he obtained a Truce, with hope that the King would at length sign the whole Treaty; but not willing to be cheated with good words and fair promises, he orders all his Friends to stand upon their Guard. This Truce continued till the year following, and then a Peace was made, or another Truce rather, seeing it scarcely deserves the name of a Peace, which was to endure but for two years, and yet the Bishop rejoycing that poor *Italy* should have but some time to breathe in, by Letters still extant gives the King thanks that he had heard his petition. That this Peace he so much rejoyced in was in effect almost as good as none appears from this; after the signing of the Treaty he still complains of his being pressed with the sword of the Barbarians, besides the pains of the Gout and other loads of Cares that lay heavy upon him. The reason was this: though *Agilulf* the King had sworn positively, yet *Arnulf* the Duke of *Spoletum* would not swear but with restrictions, and upon conditions, which cast the good Bishop into great fears again, as appears by his Letter written to *Theodorus* the *Curator* of *Ravenna*, wherein he also expresseth the Jealousie of King *Agilulf* that he favoured too much the Cause and Party of the Exarch being indeed Mediatour betwixt them.

Sect. 4.

Gregory Bishop of *Rome* makes a Peace with the *Lombards*.

Lib. 7. Ep. 30. Indict. 2.

Arenulf idem quod Ari-ulf, sed à plurali, Honoris Auxiliator. In voc. Alem. Arolf.

Lib. 7. Ep. 102. Indict. 2.

9. About this time a blazing Star was seen for a month together, at morning and evening. Not long after, *Euin* Duke of *Trent* died, and was succeeded by *Gaidoald* a very good and religious man. The *Baioarii* in those days fell upon the *Sclavi* with two thousand men, but were all met with and put to the Sword by *Cacanus*; and now first of all, saith our Authour, were wild Beasts resembling Horses and Oxen, brought first into *Italy*, and gazed on as wonders by the people. Not long after *Cacanus* King of the *Hunnes* sent and made a League with *Agilulf* at *Milan*, and *Romanus* the Patritian dying, *Gallicinus* succeeded him as Exarch, and made peace also with this King, as also did *Theuderick*, King of the *Franks*. *Agilulf* had the more reason to embrace the amity of his Neighbours, because his own Subjects indangered his Estate at home. For *Zangrulf* Duke of *Verona* rebelled, whom he over-powered and put to death, as also *Gaidulf* Duke of *Pergamus*, whom having twice spared, he now took in the same fault again; as also *Warnecaut*, whom that he might by this severity give some stop to this growing mischief, he commanded to be executed at *Pavia*. Much about this time another great Plague seized *Ravenna* and other maritime places, and the following year a great mortality to the people that lived near *Verona*: Spears, as it were, of bloud were seen in the Air, and the Nights were as light as Day. The year following *Ariulf*, who had succeeded *Faroald* in the Dukedom of *Spoletum* died, and *Faroald*'s two Sons contending who, should possess his Father's place, *Theudelap* obtained the Victory and It together. *Zotto* the Duke of *Beneventum* in like manner dying, King *Agilulf* sent one *Arigis* to succeed him, a Kinsman of *Gisulf* Duke of *Forum Julii*, whose Sons he had brought up. Shortly after, the Daughter of *Agilulf* was together with *Godescalck* her Husband, of the City of *Farma*, taken prisoner by some of the Exarch's men and carried to *Ravenna*, her Father busying himself in gathering together Ship-Carpenters, which he sent to *Cacanus*, King of the *Avares*, to make him some Vessels, wherewith he transported men, and made himself Master of a certain Island in *Thrace*.

Gaide-wald, conjugi Imperans.

Tunc primùm Caballi silvatici & Bufali in Italiam delati Italiæ populis miracula fuerunt.

Zangr-ulf, Infirmus Auxiliator.

Warne-gaut, custos Auri.

Far-wald, familiæ parens, Faro idem contractè.

Theud-tolap, ad populum accurrens.

Argis, Honore fortis.

Gisel-ulf, Comitum Adjutor.

Gode-Schalck, Dei Servus. Nam Deum non aliter quam Bonum nominare mos erat Germanis.

Scalck, Servus in novo fœdere sæpe. Hinc Marschalck & alia.

The Queens magnificent Buildings.

10. In the mean time *Theudelinda* the Queen diverts her self with magnificent Buildings. At *Modicia* twelve miles from *Milan*, she caused to be erected a beautifull Church, which she dedicated to St. *John*, *Baptist*, and richly endowed it, in the same place where formerly *Theodorich* King of the *Goths* had built a Palace, it being near the *Alpes*, and cool and temperate in the heat of Summer. In the same Town she also made a Palace for her self, wherein she caused to be painted the Atchievements of the *Lombards*, which paintings plainly shewed that at this time they cut their Hair, and shaved all up from the Neck to the upper part of their Head, their Locks hanging down upon their Faces to their Mouths, which they parted and laid on each side their Foreheads. Their Cloaths, saith *Paul*, were loose and for the most part of Linen, such as the *Angli-Saxons* wear, having large Seams and interwoven with various Colours. Their Shoes were open almost to the end of their Toes, and buttoned or laced together. Afterward they began

The Habit of the *Lombards*.

Sect. 4. began to wear Hose, over which when they rode they drew a sort of Breeches called *Tubrugi birrei*, but this fashion they received from the *Romans*. Hitherto the City of *Padua* had valiantly stood out against them, but now it was all burnt, and by order of King *Agilulf*, levelled with the ground, the Garrison Souldiers being permitted to goe to *Ravenna*. *Agilulf* his Ambassadours returning from *Cacanus* brought the ratification of a perpetual Peace and Amity made with the *Avares*, who sent theirs also to the Kings of the *Franks*, requiring them in the League made betwixt the two Nations, to comprize also the *Lombards*. Now did the *Lombards*, *Avares* and *Sclavi* invade *Histria*, which they wasted with fire and sword, at what time *Theudelinda* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom being born in the Palace of *Modicia*, they named *Adaloald*. After this the *Lombards* took the Castle of Mount *Silex*, and much about the same time *Gallicinus* being beaten from *Ravenna*, *Smaragdus* returned, who had formerly been Patritian, as *Paul* calls him, or Exarch of that City for the Emperour.

Padua demolished by them.

Postea vero cœperunt hostis uti super quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant. l. 4. c. 23.

Adal-wald, nobilitate pollens. Idem contractè, ut monet Paulus Ado.

11. That sort of Peace which we find was made betwixt *Agilulf*, *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, and the Exarch, was openly broken by the latter, who took *Parma*, and therein *Godescalck* and his Wife, the Son-in-law and Daughter of the King; at which time also he sent some Troops and seized on *Brexillum*, which had been forsaken of the *Lombards*. *Agilulf*, as he had reason, was very much concern'd, and resolved to set upon the *Romans* with greater fury than ever, and take from them those Towns which the Arms of fierce *Alboin* had left unconquered. From *Milan* then in the month of *July* he set forward and laid siege to *Cremona*, being assisted by the *Sclavi*, which *Cacanus* King of the *Avares* had sent him, and took it on the nineteenth of *August*. He levelled it with the ground as he had done *Padua* before, and then turned upon *Mantua*, the Walls of which he so long battered also, that he took it about the middle of *September*, sack'd it and defac't it in a lamentable manner. Afrighted hereat, they that held the Castle of *Vulturnia* yielded it up, and those that had seized on *Brexillum* set fire to it and departed. Matters thus proceeding, the King's Daughter was set at liberty by *Smaragdus* the Exarch, who by command of *Mauricius* the Emperour, had succeeded *Callinicus*, together with her Husband, and all that belonged to her; and a Truce was made from the month of *September* till the *April* following. The King's Daughter from *Ravenna* went to *Parma*, and falling into Travail, thereof died, to the no small discontentment as well of her Father as her Husband.

Cremona levelled.

Mantua defaced.

Paulus Diaconus de Gestis Longobard. l. 4. c. 29.

A Truce betwixt *Agilulf* and the Exarch.

12. So great were the Troubles in *Italy* betwixt the Exarchs of the Emperour and the *Lombards*, that the people were miserably harassed betwixt them, and little or no rest could they have by virtue of any Treaty or Truce that could be made. *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome* having a deep sense of these miseries, and having often in vain expected aid from *Constantinople*, when he heard of the death of *Mauricius* rejoyced, and sent away speedily a Messenger with Letters to claw *Phocas* the Murtherer and his Wife, that he might obtain some effectual means for reducing the *Lombards* into order, and quieting the Countrey; and on the twenty fourth of *April* the Images of *Phocas* and his Wife were solemnly brought to *Rome*, and after the Senate and Clergy had made their Prayers for their prosperity with great joy, the Bishop caused them to be placed in the Palace, in the Oratory of St. *Cæsarius* the Martyr. About this time *Theodelind* bare a Son to *Agilulf*, whom he called by the name of *Adaluald*, being Christened upon *Easter-day*. Now the Truce was at an end, and an heavy war seemed to threaten the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, when yet *Agilulf* considering how hard the enterprise of taking that City would be, still gave his consent that the Truce should be renewed. And there was great need of it both in respect of the present season, and the state and condition to which *Italy* had been before that reduced. The Summer was so excessive hot and dry that all the Corn was burnt up and spoil'd, and such a dreadfull cold Winter followed, as in a manner destroyed all their Vines.

Exaudi Christe. Phocæ Augusto & Leontiæ Aug. vita. Adal-wald, Nobilitate pollens, idem contractè Ado ut monet Paulus.

The Truce renewed.

13. But such had been the lamentable Estate of poor *Italy* for several Years before, that this might seem to give the last blow to it already in a dying Condition. So *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, who died this very year, in his Exposition of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, describes it to us. "We every where see nothing "but mourning, hear nothing but grones, Cities are destroyed, Castles demolished; "the Countrey depopulated; the whole Land reduced into a Desart. In the fields "there are no Husbandmen, in the Cities no Inhabitant, and yet the small Re-"mainders of Mankind, are even now struck at without Intermission; some led "into Captivity, some maimed, and others slain. And in what plight *Rome* is, "though once the Mistress of the World, we see, even spent with great and mani-"fold

Vide Baron.

" fold mischiefs, by loss of Citizens, Incursion of Enemies and frequency of Threats. " All potent Persons are taken away from her. Where is now the Senate? Where " is the People? All order of Dignity in her is extinct, and yet as that remains " every day the Sword, daily innumerable Tribulations do press her, and after " that men fail the very Walls do fall. So dreadfull a face of things was in *Italy*, the effect of the late Conquest, for when the Victory is obtained, and the Countrey won, the miseries of the conquered People are not then ended but begun, more grievous are the courses which Conquerours take to preserve, than those whereby they first obtained. But now *Agilulf* by means and perswasion of his Wife especially, seems to be well inclined for peace, and applies himself to other Methods, tending to settle and secure that in his Family by love, which hitherto had been kept by terrour.

Agilulf makes his Son a Child King.

14. He began to think of his own Mortality, and how he might provide for the security of his young Son *Aldonald*, which at length he concluded would be best effected, by setting the Crown upon his Head in his own life time. For this purpose he assembled the Estates together at *Milan*, where in the open Cirque the Infant was saluted King by the People, in the Presence of the Ambassadours of *Theodebert* King of the *Franks*, and invested with Royal Ornaments. With the *Franks* the Peace was renewed, and a perpetual League sworn on both sides, a more joyfull day was never seen in *Italy*, so bright and pleasant a Sun-shine, after so great and terrible a Tempest. But though a League, as we said, was made with the *Franks*, it was upon very uneven Terms. For the *Lombards* paid to the *Franks*, and so had long done a yearly Tribute, which *Agilulf* disdaining, as much below him who had made himself famous by so many Victories, sent three Ambassadours with abundance of money into *Gall*, wherewith the Principal Courtiers were so bribed, that *Clothair* the King was perswaded for thirty thousand *Solidi* to sell it, and release the Nation for the time to come. There was much about this time some Action betwixt the King's and the Exarch's Forces, for the *Lombards* as soon as the Truce was out, suddenly surprized *Orbitum* and *Balneoregium* belonging to the *Romans*. But *Smaragdus* the Exarch got them restor'd, and for twelve thousand *Solidi*, the Truce to be renewed for another year. Being now secure and at his ease he began a worthy work, for whereas hitherto *Ferrara* had been but an inconsiderable Village, but very conveniently seated upon the River *Padus*, or *Poe*, he compassed it about with walls, and brought it into such Reputation, that it daily increased as well in bigness as fame, and afterward became the seat of most potent Princes, and so hath a long time continued. This same year, which was the six hundred and sixth of our Lord, died *Boniface* the Third, Bishop of *Rome* (the Successour of *Sabinian*, as he of *Gregory* the Great) and *Boniface* the Fourth of that Name succeeded him. He was consecrated in the Month of *August*, and in *November* following the Truce betwixt the King and the Exarch was renewed for three years longer.

Tribute to the *Franks* bought off.

Paulo Balneum Regis & Urbs vetus. Paulus ubi suprà, c. 33.

Agilulf enlarges *Ferrara*.

Truce with the Exarch renewed.

15. For two years following though *Italy* rested from war, yet was it sorely afflicted by Famine and Sickness; the Effects of too excessive moisture by reason of abundance of Rain. In that following, a Peace and Confederacy was made betwixt *Agilulf* and the Emperour *Phocas*, which continued for about two years, so long as the Tyrant lived. He being slain by *Heraclius*, *John Lenugius* a Patritian, was sent to succeed *Smaragdus* at *Ravenna*, who being a Man of a peaceable disposition, and finding *Italy* in quiet, laboured earnestly so to keep it, by the same means his Predecessour had done, constantly renewing the Truce with the *Lombards*, as there was occasion. By this means *Italy* continued in good repose for four or five years more, till it was disturbed again upon a foreign Account, after this manner. *Cacanus* the young King of the *Hunnes*, impatient of rest and greedy of booty, with a select Party of Soldiers, came out of *Pannonia*, and fell on a sudden into the Dukedom of *Forum Julii*. The news thereof being brought to *Gilulf* the Duke, he was not at all wanting to himself, but gathering an Army, as he could, met the *Hunnes*, and adventur'd to give them battel, wherein his Fortune answered not his Courage, for being incompassed by the Multitude of the Enemy, he was slain in the Place with almost all his Men. This being known, *Romilda* the Duke's Wife with his Sons, and the choice of the Nobility shut up themselves in *Forum Julii*, and the other Towns were reinforced by others, that fled out of the Countrey. The *Hunnes* having wasted all at their pleasure, at last came before *Forum Julii*, and laid siege to it. Here it happened that *Romilda* the Dutchess getting a sight of *Cacanus* from the Walls, was so taken with the beauty of the young man, that falling desperately in love with him, she offered to him by a Messenger in case he would

The Duke of *Forum Julii* slain by the *Hunnes*.

Gisel-ulf, Comitum adjutor.

Vide Paulum Diaconum hujus Ecclesiæ qui rem fusè narrat. lib. 4. c. 38.

Sect. 4.

would marry her, to deliver the Town into his hands. He promised her Marriage, and accordingly got into the Town, but then breaking his word he plundred and burnt the place, made the *Lombards* prisoners, and giving her the satisfaction of enjoying him for one Night, then delivered her up to twelve *Hunnes* to be satiated with what she had desired, and at last, thinking her not fit to live, caused her to be hanged upon a Gibbet. Her Daughters fared better for their Chastity, being spared by the *Hunnes*, who thought they stunk, because out of design they had bound putrified Chickens betwixt their Breasts.

Romilda the Dutchess deservedly put to death.

Hæc insuper exprobrando inquiens, talem dignum est maritum habere.

16. The Sons of the Duke, *Tato*, *Caco*, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald*, when they perceived the King's treachery privately withdrew themselves and resolved to fly. *Grimoald* the Child being not able, as they concluded, to sit his Horse, one of them was about to kill him lest he should alive fall into the Enemies hands. But he crying out, and promising to ride as fast as the best of them, he set him upon his Horse without any Saddle and bade him follow. But he could not ride so fast, but the rest escaping he was overtaken by an *Hunne*, and being by him carried back toward the Camp did a thing which one would not have expected from a Man, much less from him. For as the Trooper went before him with the Child's Horse in his hand, he gave him with his Sword such a blow on the Head that he left him for dead upon the spot, and turning his Horse he put him to his full speed, and so at length reached his Brothers. The *Hunnes* departing out of the Dutchy, led away Captives many Men, Women and Children, promising to bestow them in convenient places in *Pannonia*, but when they came upon the Borders, perfidiously put all the Men of ripe age to death, and led away the Women and Children. After their Retreat, the Sons of *Gisulf* returned, and *Tato* and *Caco* the eldest ordered the matters relating to Government. While this disaster happened to the *Lombards* they at *Ravenna* were not in quiet, where *John* the Exarch bearing himself very haughtily, and laying on the people heavier burthens than formerly they underwent, was by the Multitude killed in the Palace with such Judges as he had called together for deciding Causes. Neither were the Affairs of *Campania* more settled, where *John Consinius* the Duke of *Naples*, contrary to his Faith formerly given to the Emperour, seized that City, and with a strong Garrison held it out against him. The News hereof being carried to *Constantinople*, *Heraclius* sent as Exarch into *Italy*, one *Eleutherius* a Patritian, and his Chamberlain, a man of great wisedom and vertue. This same year was too remarkable for several other accidents. In *August* there was a great Earthquake, and this was followed by as great a Plague, a kind of Scab called *Elephantia*, which so disfigured the Faces of the diseased, that they could not be known from dead Bodies. Three eminent persons also died, the Bishop of *Trent*, Duke *Gundoald* the Brother of *Theodelind*, and King *Agilulf* himself, after he had reigned twenty five years: a person famous for his Wars, and as acceptable upon the account of his Orthodox Religion. This was the DCXV. year of our Lord.

Tato, Taso, & Tazo apud Procopium Trazo coacervator. Caco contractum ex Caganhaut ut in voc. Alleman, aut Cakanhart, Cibo simile id est dulce.

The Exarch killed.

Eleutherius, sent in his room.

Agilulf dies.

Gunduald, Benevolentia potens. Theude-linda, Populis mollis.

17. *Agilulf* (or *Ago*) being dead, the Kingdom was confirmed to *Adaluald* his Son, who reigned under the Government of *Theodelind* his Mother. No Wars now are heard of, she as became her Sex applying her self more to the works of Religion than those of *Mars*, for which she is deservedly celebrated by Church-men. But her Neighbours could not be quiet. There was one *Gregory* a Patritian who governed those parts for the Emperour which lay near the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*. He pretended great kindness to *Tato* the Son of the deceased *Gisulf*, made him believe he would adopt him for his Son, and enticed him to *Optigerium*, the place where he lay to perform the Ceremony by cutting his Beard according to the *Lombard* custome. But having got the poor young man into the Town, with *Caco* his Brother and others of their followers, he caused the Gates to be shut, and then sent Souldiers to fall upon them, whom they repulsed and so long defended themselves, till being pursu'd from Street to Street they killed many they had to doe with, and at last were themselves slain; which great atchievement being performed, *Gregory* sent for *Tato* his Head, and then cut off his Beard to perform his godly promise. The report of this villany being spread abroad, *Grasulf* their Uncle hasted and seized on the Dutchy, *Rodoald* and *Grimoald* being yet so young as not to be fit for the management of matters, who within a while, for that their Uncle was, or they so thought or pretended, very severe to them, fled to *Arichis* the Duke of *Beneventum*, with whom they had been brought up in their Infancy, who kindly entertained them. The same year, which was next to the death of *Agilulf*, *Eleutherius* the Exarch came to *Ravenna*, where he made inquisition after the death of *John*, and punished with death such as were found guilty of the Murther.

Adaluald his Son King after him.

Agilulfus Rex qui & Ago est appellatus. Paulus Diac. lib. 4. c. 43.

A base Act of *Gregory* the Emperour's Officer.

Gros-hulf, Grande Auxilium Rod-wald, Quietis compos. Grim-wald, Iræ potens. Ar-gis, Honore fortis.

Thence

Thence by the way of *Rome*, where he was honourably received, he went to *Naples*, where not being received, he besieged the other *John Consinius* in the City, which being at last constrained to surrender, he was put to death, and pardon was granted to the Citizens, who were forced to receive a new Governour. Sect. 4.

18. With this Success *Eleutherius* was so puffed up as to forget that Vertue and Moderation once supposed to be prevalent in him, and to approve that Vice in his own Person, which he had so declaimed against, and punished in other Men. Having opportunity, the great Corrupter of Mankind, by reason of the great distance betwixt these Countries and the Emperour, he resolved to make for the Sovereignty of *Italy*, and knowing he must have the Soldiers at his beck to aime at this, he paid them their full wages, a thing they had not been much used to, and by all other means possible endeavoured to oblige them. While he muzed and contrived how to accomplish this great Design, the death of *Deusdedit* the Bishop, presented him as he thought with a fit occasion to begin the Work. In the interval, before the Election of another he resolved to seize on that City, and led his Men thitherward to get him possession, but in the way met with the News of *Boniface* the Fifth his Promotion, which made him alter his Councils, and make a flattering Speech to the Army, by which and great promises for this time he inveigled them, and assumed the Title of King, which to have farther confirmed, by investing himself with Royal Ensigns of Majesty, he would go on to *Rome*, the fittest place he said of all others to receive them. But when they were come as far as *Luceoli*, the Soldiers had better considered of the matter, and upon better thoughts detesting the Treachery fell into a Mutiny, which grew to that height, that they slew him as a Traitour on the twenty fourth of *December*, and returning to *Ravenna*, sent his Head to the Emperour. The Emperour *Heraclius*, named *Isaacius* a Patritian, his Exarch in his Room for the Government of *Italy*; and now being resolved of a War with *Persia*, made peace with *Cacanus* the *Hunnish* King. Some four years after, one *Eusebius* came or pretended to come Ambassadour from the Emperour, about some weighty affairs to King *Adaluald*. He getting intimacy with him one day when the King came out of the Bath, either following the Directions of *Heraclius*, or on his own Head gave him something to drink, which drove him into a Melancholy or Dotage. Perceiving this Plot to have taken, he made use of his Youth and Madness, and feeding his Extravagant fancy, perswaded him to kill all his Nobles for his own security. He followed his Advice, and twelve he procured to be slain, which gave such an Alarm, that the *Lombards* fearing the mischief would increase, accused him as one that acted the part not of a King but of a Tyrant, and the year following growing more tumultuous, removed him and his Mother from the Government; which done they put into his place *Arioald* the Duke of *Taurinum*, who had married *Gundeberg* the Sister of *Adaluald*. A.D. DCXXIIII.

Eleutherius the Exarch thinks to usurp.

Is slain by his Soldiers.

Adaluald deposed, and *Arioald* made King.

Ar-wald, Honoris tenax.

19. This Revolution cast the whole Kingdom of the *Lombards* into very great Troubles, all that were concerned not conurring with those that did the Fact. The Bishops beyond the *Poe* were earnest for *Arioald*, and laboured to draw the rest to their side. But *Honorius* the Bishop of *Rome*, and *Isaacius* the Exarch, either by his procurement, or the Insinuations of *Theodelind* were for restoring *Adaluald*, and the rather induced, because the New King was of the *Arian* perswasion. *Isaacius* with an Army endeavoured his Restitution, and *Honorius* wrote to him, that as soon as he had done his work he should send the Dissenting Bishops to answer their Rebellion at *Rome*. But *Isaacius* failed of his Design, and *Arioald* kept his possession, governing himself with that prudence and temper, that notwithstanding the Attempts of the Exarch, yet he was so true to the Interest of his Kingdom, as not to break the Peace with the *Romans*. The ill Success cast *Theodelind* into so great a Fit of Melancholy, that, not able to bear up against it, it brought her into a Consumption of Spirits, and this to her Grave the year following. She was much lamented by all good Men, for her Excellent qualifications both of body and mind, and above all the great respect she bare to all things Sacred. Several years did *Arioald* Reign with great Peace both at home and abroad, till something happened in his own Court, which gave him and his Family great disturbance. One *Adalulf* a Nobleman solicited his Queen *Gundeberga* for unlawfull pleasures, and was with much Scorn and Indignation rejected. He fearing she would accuse him, to prevent her, got to the King, and tells him a formal story, how *Tato* the Duke of *Etruria*, had conspired to take away his Life, and marry the Queen. *Arioald*, burning with rage and jealousie, shut up his Wife close

A. D. 627.

Gundiberga, Benevola hospita.

Sect. 4. close prisoner in the Castle of *Amellum*, where she continued three years, till she was released and restored to her former reputation. For *Cletair* King of the *Franks* taking pity of her, sent and expostulated with her Husband for condemning a Lady descended of the Royal Bloud of the *Franks*, and despoiling her of her dignity without any cause or crime committed. *Arioald* answered it was not without cause, to whom *Anloald* one of the Ambassadours replied, that they would agree with him if he would but permit one of her Friends to try it with her Accuser in a single Combat. The custome of the *Lombards* was, as indeed of all these Northern Nations, to decide Controversies concerning Accusations in that manner; therefore he not being able to refuse the offer, *Aripert* her Kinsman produced one *Fitto*, *Paulus Diaconus* calls him *Carell*, as her Champion, who got the better of *Adalulf*, and so the Queen's innocency being clear'd, she was restored to her former Estate and Honour. And this added to her Fame, that she out-lived her Husband, who died some four years after, and had the honour to make another choice both for her self and the Kingdom.

Ans-huld, gratiæ fidelis.

Ar-preht, honoris copiosus.

Agi-hulf, sibi auxiliator.

Arioald dies.

20. For *Arioald* dying without Issue, the Estates assembled about an Election, and giving her the same respect as they had done to *Theodelind* of chusing her self an Husband, and the same a King for them, she pitch'd upon one *Rothari*, fit every way for so great an Employment, but tainted also with the *Arian* Heresie. There lay at this time within *Italy* and some Territories of the *Lombards* two Provinces, as yet subject to the Emperour; *viz.* the *Alpes Cottiæ* and *Opitergium*, with all the Towns adjoyning as far as *Tarinsium*. *Rotharis* or *Rothari*, as *Paul* the Historian calls him, with a great Army invaded the *Alpes Cottiæ*, and wrested this rich patrimony out of the Emperour's hands, whence bending his Forces into *Venetia* he took *Opitergium*, and the other Towns by surrender. The Exarch being surprized, and not able so soon to get his Troops together as to doe any thing effectual for preservation of these places, yet thought himself in honour obliged to fall with all violence he could upon the Dominions of the *Lombards*. *Rothar* was sufficiently aware thereof, and having taken *Perusia*, with greater numbers of Men hasted to *Æmilia*, and so homeward to give him battel, and found him out upon the borders at the River *Scultamna*. Here they engaged in Battel with this success that eight thousand of the *Romans* were slain and all the rest fled: a Defeat of such consequence that it put an end to all Wars betwixt the Kings of the *Lombards* and the Exarchs, till the time of *Luitprand*. The chief Inhabitants about *Opitergium* having lost their Dwellings and Estates, imitated the ancient *Veneti* and betook themselves to the *Æstuaris* of the Sea, and at the mouth of the River *Planis* built them a City, which after the Emperour's name they called *Heraclia*. Certain Countrey-men with their Cattel followed them, and because they could not all be contained within the Walls of the new City, built themselves a Town also which they named *Egnilium*. About this time *Isaacius* the Exarch, having happily suppressed a Sedition raised at *Rome* by one *Mauritius* a Chartulary against him, died suddenly. The year following, his Death being known at *Constantinople*, *Constans* the Nephew of *Heraclius*, who having driven away *Heracleonas*, was owned Emperour by the Senate, sent *Theodorus Calliopa* his Exarch into *Italy*.

Rothari chosen King.

Wrests the *Alpes Cottiæ* out of the Emperour's hands.

Rot-hari, quietis dominus.

Gives a grievous defeat to the Exarch.

Isaacius the Exarch dies.

Theodorus Calliopa in his room.

21. Now arrived the seventy sixth year from the Entrance of the *Lombards* into *Italy*, who all this while being more intent upon matters relating to War than Peace, and so concerned in securing their publick Estate from their Neighbours without, that they scarcely had time to contend amongst themselves about private Interests, had never been governed by any written Laws but onely by Custome and such Rules as were kept in memory and descended by Tradition. But now having Peace abroad, as it ever happens, they became the more contentious at home, and ease and plenty made them quarrel and begat so many Suits that the former Customary Laws seeming insufficient, *Rothar* applied himself to collect them in Writing, and adding to them many other Decrees to answer such Cases as they could not reach, he published them under the name of an Edict at *Pavia*, in the six hundred and forty third year of our Lord, with this Preface. " Here begins " the Edict which I have renewed with my principal Judges, I in the name of God, " King *Rotharis*, the most Excellent Man, the Seventeenth King of the Nation of " the *Lombards*, by the goodness of God, in the Eighth year of my Reign, and " the thirty eighth of mine Age, the second Indiction, and after the coming of " the *Lombards* into the Province of *Italy*, since *Alboin* King at that time by Di- " vine Clemency came, the seventy sixth, happily, given at *Pavia* in the Palace. " How great our care and anxiety is and hath been for our Subjects, that hitherto " annexed

The Edict of *Rotharis*.

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" annexed doth declare. Then he tells how he was moved to make these Laws " by the daily oppressions of the poor, and the insolence of those that had power " to afflict their Neighbours, that every one might live in peace and keep what " was his own without intrenching upon others. He concludes with a Sanction " that these Laws and no others should be in force, always saved and reserved a " power to himself to add thereto such as by himself, or by ancient Men could " be called to mind. He commands that such Causes as were already ended " should not be called again in question; but such as were not yet decided, or " from that present twenty second day of *November* should take their rise, should " be ordered and determined according to this Edict. And this he commands in " general, that no advantage be taken by reason of any fault of the Writer, and to " prevent all inconveniences of that nature, credit should not be given to any o- " ther Copies but such as should be written, approved or revised by *Ansuald* his " Notary, who had sufficient licence and authority in that behalf.

22. Some five years after the publication of this Edict died *Arichis* the Duke of *Beneventum*, after he had held the Dukedom fifty years, who left a Son, *Aio* by name, but he being a Man of a crazy Brain (*Paul* tells us by reason of a Potion given him by the *Romans* at *Pavia*) he commended to his *Lombards*, *Radoald* and *Grimoald* the Sons of the Duke of *Forum Julii*, who, as we said, had fled to him, and now were in the flower of their Age, affirming it were better for them that they governed than *Aio*. Yet *Aio* succeeded his Father in the Government of the *Samnites*, as *Paul* calls them, and the other two obeyed him in all things as their elder Brother and their Lord. The following year the *Saracens* and the *Sclavi* invaded *Italy*. The *Saracens* came from *Africk*, who having much harassed the Island of *Sicily* led away multitudes of Captives. The *Sclavi* from *Dalmatia*, on which they had seized, passed over to *Sypontus* and wasted *Apulia*, where they encamped themselves; and about their Camp digged Ditches, which they covered over with light Earth as if it had been firm Ground. *Aio* hearing of their Invasion, with a party of Men, but without the knowledge of *Radoald* or *Grimoald* his Governours went out against them, and thinking to fall upon their Camp, he fell into one of the Ditches, and therein was overpowered and slain, after he had been Duke a year and five months. *Radoald* within a little time, hearing what had happened, gathers together a sufficient power, and coming upon them more warily than the other had done, kills of them a great number, revenges the Death of *Aio*, and drives the rest out of all the Dominions of the Dukedom, of which now he took the Title and the Protection. But he did not long enjoy the Honour, dying within less than two years, and left his Brother *Grimoald* his Successour. The same year *Olympius* the Exarch having beaten the *Saracens* out of *Sicily* died of sickness he had contracted by too much pains he had taken; which *Constans* the Emperour having understood, sent for *Theodorus Calliopa* and ordered him once more to go Exarch into *Italy*. This was the same year that the *Saracens* took *Rhodes*, and cast down the famous *Colosse* which was dedicated to the Sun, whereof we have already spoken: The six hundred and fifty first year of our Lord.

Lib. 4. c. 45.

Ay, insulanus. Ai, Ei, insula ab ovi similitudine. Sic Grotius. Ea autem est Aqua Saxonicè, atque Insula est Ealand nobis Iland, ab Ea Franci cum Eau. c. 46.

The *Saracens* invade *Italy*. And the *Sclavi*.

Olympius the Exarch drives the *Saracens* out of *Sicily* and dies.

A. D. 651.

King *Rothari* dies, and *Rodoald* his Son succeeds,

23. In that which followed King *Rothari* died, after he had obtained much honour both for the Wars he had managed, and the Laws he had made; and left *Rodoaldus* his Son his Successour, a Man of a peaceable disposition, making no Wars, but some religious Contests with the Orthodox Bishops, being tainted, as his Father had been, with the *Arian* Heresie. There is little or nothing memorable of him, but that after he had been King five years and seven days he was killed by a *Lombard* whose Wife he had debauched. He having left no Children, though *Paul* tells us he married *Gundiberg* the Daughter of *Agilulf* and *Theudelind*, the Estates met about a new Election, and the choice fell upon *Aribert* (or *Aripert*) the Son of *Gunduald*, who was Brother to *Theudelind*. Neither is there any thing memorable of him, but that he built at *Pavia* the Oratory of St. *Saviour*, and died after he had reigned nine years, saith *Paul*, although *Sigonius* allows him not above five at most. He most imprudently divided his Kingdom betwixt his Sons, two young Men, *Bertarid* (or *Pertharit*) and *Godebert*, or *Gundebert*, which gave occasion to very great Commotions. *Bertarid* was to reign at *Milan*, and *Godebert* at *Pavia*. But the latter not content with the Part allotted him quarrelled with his Brother, and as in all such ambitious practices is common from less to come to more, and at length nothing would satisfie him but the whole Kingdom; which though he himself by plain strength could not compass, yet by the means of Friends he doubted not but at length to be possessed of the whole. He sent *Garibald* the Duke of *Taurinum* to *Grimoald* the Duke of *Beneventum* to desire his

Rod-wald, quietus compos.

And *Aribert* him,

Ar-preht, honoris copiosus. Paulus Diaconus, l. 4. c. 53. Breht-reid, latè equitans. Berd, Brehd, Breed & nostrum Broad idem. Reita est equitatus in Legibus. Goede-breht, bonorum copiosus. Gund-breht, benevolentia abundans.

Who divides his Kingdom betwixt his two Sons.

Sect. 4. his help, and in case he would give him his utmost assistence, to offer him his own Sister to Wife. But the Ambassadour acted quite besides his Instructions, advising *Grimoald* to come himself, and to decide the Controversie betwixt the two Brothers, by making himself Monarch of the *Lombards*, being as to Age more ripe, as to Counsel more prudent, and as to Strength, of greater Interest than either of them.

24. *Grimoald* being a man of an active and ambitious temper could not but listen to him, and at length his ambition quite conquered other passions, so that he became a Competitour for the Kingdom, and to make himself a Title, with a very powerfull Army marched toward *Pavia*, having appointed his Son *Romoald* to be Duke of *Beneventum* in his stead. When he came to *Placentia* he sent *Garibald* before to declare his coming to *Godebert*, who consulting with *Garibald* about a fit place wherein to lodge *Grimoald*, he answered none was so fit as his own Palace for him, to whom he had promised his Sister. Accordingly *Grimoald* came and was received into the Court, but *Garibald* that was the evil Instrument betwixt them, perswaded the King that he should not admit him to his presence without having put on privy Armour, and then *Grimoald* he told on the other side, that except he came well prepared *Godebert* had a design and would kill him, wearing privy Armour for that purpose. Accordingly the next day when they came to meet, *Grimoald* found the King armed, and thinking it was upon design, as he had been informed, drew his Sword and slew him in the place, which done he made himself Master of his whole Dominion and all his Treasures, though he left a young Son named *Reginbert*, whom his faithfull Friends concealed and reserved, if it might be, to another time, *Grimoald* making no great inquisition after him because an Infant. *Bertarid* the other Brother, hearing how matters went, despaired of withstanding such an Adversary as *Grimoald*, and ran away from *Milan* to *Cacanus* the King of the *Avares*, leaving his Wife *Rodelind* and *Cunibert* his young Son behind him, whom *Grimoald* banished to *Beneventum*. As for *Garibald* the Authour of all these mischiefs such an end he had as he deserved. For there was one of the Family of *Godebert*, little in stature but a Man of extraordinary courage and resolution, who living in *Taurinum*, and hearing that he would come to Church on *Easter* Day, placed himself near the Font with a naked Sword under his Clothes, and as he came near the place, with all his might laid at him and slew him. He himself by the followers of *Garibald* was incompassed quickly and slain; but so he revenged the Death of *Godebert* his Lord. And with their two Lives *Paul* the Deacon concludes his fourth Book of the Gests or Actions of the *Lombards*, to whom, as his Countreymen, he bears no small affection.

Rom-wald vel Rum-wald, Fama potens.

Grimoald kills *Godebert* and seizes on the Kingdom.

Regin-breht vel Ragin-breht, Puritatis copiosus. Ragin & Regin idem quod Rein purus.

Garibald deservedly slain.

25. *Grimoald* having killed the one Brother, and driven the other with his Wife and Son into banishment married their Sister, and with great applause of the *Lombards* declared himself King; which done, he sent back his fortunate Army to *Beneventum*, retaining onely the principal Officers to doe them honour. He did not doubt now to secure his Estate if he could but destroy *Bertharid* (or *Pertharit*) the other Brother, for which purpose he sent to *Cacanus*, or the King of the *Hunnes*, requiring him upon pein of his displeasure, and an absolute rupture betwixt the two Kingdoms, to banish him his Dominions. *Cacanus* not thinking fit to be at difference at this time with his Neighbour, commanded the poor Prince to quit his Territories, which he perceiving he must out of necessity doe, and that he could not promise himself whereever he should go any constant maintenance or effectual assistence, thought it most fit to goe to him who had the most reason of all to supply him, and sent before him one *Vnulf* his Friend to give him notice of his coming. *Grimoald* was very joyfull to hear of it, and commanded an House to be furnished at *Pavia* every way fit for his Reception. But his Friends were too friendly, flocking in great numbers to him night and day and shewing so much kindness as cast the Usurper into a very great fit of jealousie, which wrought so far that he appointed him a Guard, and the next night intended to make an end of him. Now it wonderfully happened that *Bertarid* had notice of the Design, and such a sagacious Wit as that of *Vnulf* to assist him, by whose advice he changed his Cloaths, and passing by the Sentinels, got over the River, and so taking in the Pastures such Horses as he could come by, with such Companions as *Vnulf* had provided him, escaped to *Hasta*, thence to *Taurinum*, and at last into *France*; where when *Grimoald* heard that he was arrived, he fretted much, as at a thing which had happened quite contrary to his expectations. Yet was he so generous and incomparably mercifull withall, that he did not onely not blame or quarrel with *Vnulf*, but commended him highly for his constant fidelity to his Master, and gave

Paulus Diac. Lib. 5. c. 2.

Idem ibid. c. 3, 4.

him and another of his Servants leave, either to stay or go to him as he should think convenient. The King of the *Franks*, to whom *Bertarid* made his application, was so touched with a sense of his affliction, that the Year following he sent a strong Army, to replace him in his former condition. *Grimoald* buckled himself to resistence, but perceiving he was too weak to graple with such a Power, when strength would not doe, he used Craft, and thereby became Superiour to his Enemies. He himself made as if he fled out of fear, but left his Camp well furnished with all Necessaries, especially Wine in great Quantity, by which bait he hoped to catch the inconsiderate *Franks*. And so he did; for they coming and finding no body there but so good chear ready for them, instead of pursuing the Enemy fell on it, and when their Bellies and Heads were full, betook themselves to their rest. *Grimoald* having notice hereof, after the second Watch, when they were in a dead sleep, came upon them and made so great a slaughter, that he left very few of them alive, to carry home the News of the defeat.

Sect. 4.

Cap. 5.

26. The year following, *Constans* the Emperour came into *Italy*, upon what account Opinions are various. Some, as we have already said, thought him by terrible Dreams and a frightfull Conscience, about his Brother whom he had murthered, driven from *Constantinople* to seek Diversion. Others believed he departed from that City out of hatred to the Inhabitants, who bore him no good will upon the account of Religion. And some, as *Anastasius* and *Paul*, were of opinion, that he came to drive the *Lombards* out of *Italy*. With a Fleet exceedingly well furnished he arrived at *Tarentum*, and thence led his Army to *Beneventum*, taking *Luceria* and several other Towns belonging to the *Lombards* in his way, and sate down before it, resolving to use all force and art imaginable, for storming of it. *Romoald* the Son of *Grimoald* the King was now Duke thereof, who assoon as the Emperour approached, sent away to his Father *Sesuald* who had been his Governour, to let him know the great danger he was in; and now refusing to venture for the main chance, diverted the Besiegers, as he could, by frequent Sallies, and obviating their Strategems and Designs. *Grimoald* receiving the News with all speed he could got an Army together, and with as much haste marched toward *Beneventum*, sending the Messenger back with News of his coming, who being near his Journeys end, fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, who brought him to the Emperour's presence. *Constans* demanding what he was and whence he came, he without concealing his business told him he was sent by the King to give his Son notice of his coming, which cast the Emperour into a mighty fear, and caused him to treat about Peace with *Romoald*, that before his Father's coming, he might get safe to *Naples*, for performing the conditions of which he received, *Gisa* the Sister of *Romoald* as an Hostage. But to deceive him he commanded *Sesuald* to goe to the walls, and tell him nothing of his Father's approach, but on the contrary to affirm that he could not possibly give him any relief. He promised he would doe so, but coming to the walls and asking for *Romoald*, he bad him be of good comfort, for his Father would shortly be with him, being that Night to encamp at the River *Sangius*, desiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, for these perfidious People would not suffer him to live. Accordingly the Emperour commanded his Head to be cut off, and with an Engine to be cast into the Town, where *Romoald* caused it to be brought to him, and, having with Tears and Lamentations kissed it, to be decently buried.

Constans the Emperour comes into *Italy*.

Cc. 6. & 7.

Jesualdus Sigonio, Sesualdus autem Paulo. Sitswald, Sedum potens. Sigonius cum esset Linguæ Teutonicæ ignarus, in propriis nominibus sæpe errat.

Idem. c. 8. Gisa contractum ex Giselbrcht (unde Gilbert) comitum copiosus.

27. *Constans* having done this great feat, for fear of *Grimoald* his coming departed for *Naples*, and in his way received some loss by *Transemund* the Count of *Capua*, his falling on his Men, and taking them in a disadvantageous Posture. Whether to be revenged for this or for other reasons, *Saburrus* one of his Nobility desired he might have but twenty thousand Men, ingaging with them to defeat *Grimoald*, of which the whole Court had so great apprehension. *Grimoald* being come to *Beneventum*, and having notice of this his undertaking, though he thought at first to have gone against him in Person, yet at his earnest desire sent *Romoald* his Son, who met him at *Formiæ*, and gave him battel. For a long time the Success was doubtfull, till one *Amelingus* a *Lombard*, that carried the King's Spear, struck down a certain *Greek* from his Horse, and afterward taking him up on the Point of his Spear, held him aloft over his Head to the great Admiration of all the Beholders, and the Consternation of the *Greeks*, who presently began to run, and left an undoubted Victory to *Romoald*. *Constans* perceiving it labour in vain to meddle any more with the *Lombards*, that he might not seem to have come into *Italy* for nothing, resolved to goe and visit *Rome*. Both the Bishop and all the Citizens were glad to hear the News, it having been a long time since

His men defeated.

Paulus, lib. 1. cap. 9. Transemundus Sigonio, Paulus autem eum vocat, Mittolam Capuanum Comitem, dicitq; eum juxta fluenta Caloris fluminis in loco qui ad suum usq; diem Pugna vocabatur vehementer exercitum Constantis attrivisse.

Idem, ibid. Cap. 10. Ameling, cœlo ortus. Cap. 11.

Sect. 4. since an Emperour had therein set his foot, and they resolved to receive him with Extraordinary Honour. *Vitalianus* the Bishop with all his Clergy, and the *Roman* People met him at five Miles distance from the City, on the third day before the *Nones* of *July* in the sixth Indiction, and the six hundred and sixty third year of Our Lord. Having done his Devotions at the Churches, and visited all the places worthy of his Notice, after twelve days stay in the City; he departed and carried along with him all the brass he could find, defacing many great Monuments of Antiquity, and the Majesty of *Rome*, and not abstaining from the very Coverings of Churches. From *Rome* by Land he went to *Naples*, and thence by Sea passed into *Sicily*. *Grimoald* to reward the service done by *Trasemund* the Duke of *Capua*, gave him his Daughter to Wife, and *Zotho* the Duke of *Spoletum* dying, that Dukedom as a Portion, which done he returned back to his House at *Pavia*.

A. D. 663.

He is sacrilegious at *Rome*.

Paulus quo supra. *Cap.* 16. *Trost-mund, Consolans os.*

28. During his Absence *Lupus* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, had plaid many pranks which were not to be passed over in silence. Into the Territories of the *Veneti*, he marched with a Party of Horse, and plundered the Church of *Aquileia*, with the wealth of which not contenting himself, being left by *Grimoald* in *Pavia*, he committed there many outragious Enormities, verily believing that the King would never return alive from the Expedition. But hearing that he returned with a kind of triumph, he durst not abide his coming, but flying to *Forum Julii*, there he revolted and renounced his Allegiance to *Grimoald*, who being highly incensed against him resolved to reduce by force, and punish him, but unwilling in the least to bring his *Lombards* acquainted with Civil wars, he hired *Cacanus* the *Hunn* to come upon him, who accordingly the following year with an infinite Multitude invaded his Territories, and wasted all far and wide with an hostile Courage. *Lupus* was not yet backward to defend his People, but with such Forces as he could make opposed himself, and that with such strange Success, that fighting four days together, *Cacanus* at first received more loss, than he brought damage to the *Lombards*. But at this incensed, as at the greatest Infamy, with all Violence and better Conduct he set upon them again, and not onely defeated them, but killed *Lupus* in the Battel. Accounting now all his own he overran the Countrey, and wasted all parts of it at his pleasure, till *Grimoald* being made to understand it sent to him, and putting him in mind of their former Covenant, admonished him, his work being now done, to draw his Forces out of the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*: *Cacanus* answered plainly, that he would not so quit a Countrey, which he had obtained by Arms, and with so much bloud of his followers, with which answer *Grimoald* was highly offended, and got together as good an Army as he could, but nothing to be compared for Numbers to that of his Adversary. Being therefore so inferiour in Numbers, he invented a way how to have his Forces represented to the *Hunnish* King far more numerous than they were. The Ambassadours of *Cacanus*, being present when he mustered his Souldiers, he caused them the next day to change their Cloaths, and so he did twice or thrice, which made the Ambassadours fully believe they were thrice as many as indeed they were, and they reporting it to their Master out of fear, he retreated into his own Kingdom. *Lupus* being slain, *Warnefrid* his Son by the assistence of the *Sclavi*, sought to obtain the Possession of his Fathers Dukedom, but by the procurement of *Grimoald* was overpowered and slain. He then made one *Weclari* Duke of *Forum Julii*, and married *Theodorata* the Daughter of *Lupus* to his Son *Romoald*.

Lup alias Laofquies. Hinc. Lupfrid, Lupwald in vocab. Alleman.

Cap. 17.

Lupus revolts.

Cap. 18.

Cap. 19.

He is slain.

Cap. 20.

Paulus Diac. lib. 5. *c.* 21. *Warne-frid, custos Pacis.* *Cap.* 22. *Cap.* 23. *Paulo Theuderuda, Theuderada, Populis consulens.*

And his Son.

29. *Grimoald* being now at his ease, thought it time to animadvert upon those who in Expectation of a Change, had forsaken him in his march against the Emperour *Constans*. A Town called *Forum Popilii* belonging to the *Romans*, he depopulated because the Inhabitants had been very troublesome to his Men, during the War in their passing, and repassing to *Beneventum*. Pretending an Expedition another way in the time of Lent he passed over the Hill *Bardo* into *Trescia*, and on a sudden, when none expected it from the *Apennine*, fell down upon it on *Easter* Eve; at such time as they were busie in baptizing Children, and filled the City with such slaughter, that the very Deacons, that ministred at the Sacrament, were not spared. After this remembring how his two Brothers *Tato* and *Caco* had been circumvented and basely killed at *Opitergium*, he destroyed it also for Company. Two Years after *Alzeco* the Duke of the *Bulgari* came with many Followers, but peaceably into *Italy*, and desired of *Grimoald* some grounds to inhabit, which request the King granted, assigning them the Towns *Sepia*, *Bonianum* and *Æsernia*, which at this time were not inhabited in the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, and commanded his Son to admit him as * *Gastald*, or the Count of them. The year following

C c. 26,27,28.

Cap. 29. * *Gastalde exponitur qui curtim gubernat, propriè positus, qui vicem gerit. Ga & Ge augmenta sunt & pro Dialectis variant. Alii Ca habent ut Castaldus. De Duce Gastaldium vocitari præcepit. Eui usque hodie in his ut diximus locis habitantes,*

Grimoald revengefull.

Sect. 4.

ing *Grimoald* kept himself at home, and applied his mind to the fitting of Laws to the wants and temper of the People, to which purpose he revised the Edict of *Rothari* formerly mentioned, repealing some things, and adding many, which his Judges suggested to him to be both wanting, and necessary for the Administration of Justice. The Year that followed was *Constantine* the Emperour slain in the Month of *July*, and *Constantine* his Son continued his Reign as he had begun. *Grimoald* lived some three years after him, and then died after this manner. He had been let bloud, and nine days after going to bend a bow to shoot at a Pigeon, three Veins in his Arm broke, and, as was reported, his Physicians applied some poysonous Plaster to the Sore, and so made an end of him; after he had reigned nine Years, as *Paul* the Deacon writes, but *Sigonius* begins his Reign in the six hundred and sixty first Year of Our Lord, and ends it not till the seventy second. He was a Man of very strong Constitution of Body, and had an Head as well furnished.

quanquam & latinè loquantur, linguæ tamen proprie usum minimè anteferunt.

Sic Paulus. Mense Julio, Anno Regni 6. Indictione 11. A. D. 668. Paulus, lib. 5. cap. 33.

A. D. DCLXXII.

Grimoald dies.

30. He left a Son by the Daughter of *Aribert*, named *Garibald*, who was very young. At the same time *Bertarid* was making a Journey from *France* into *Britain*, to visit the *Saxon* Kings. He had scarcely put off to Sea, when a Voice was heard from Land which asked for him, and advised him to return home, for *Grimoald* had been dead three days. Returning with speed to the shore, the Person that spake it could not be found; he therefore interpreted it as a Voice from Heaven, and presently put himself upon his Journey. And his Expectation deceived him not, for when he came to the *Alpes*, he found there the Guards, and all the Officers of the Court ready to receive him, whither he hasted with a chearfull mind, and deposing the Boy *Garibald*, in the third Month after the death of his Father, with the great Joy and Expectation of the *Lombards*, he reassumed his Royal Estate, and called back his Wife *Rodelinde*, and his Son *Cunipert* from *Beneventum*, where they lay in Exile. Having reigned above seven Years, in his eighth he made *Cunipert* his Partner in the Kingdom, and with him reigned ten more, if *Paul* our Historian be in the right. Many years they lived in great tranquillity, and the State prospered; till at length their Quiet was interrupted by *Alachis* the Duke of *Tridentum* or *Trent*, who having overmastered the Count of the *Baioarii*, was so puffed up with his Success, that deposing the King he fortified his City all manner of ways against him. *Bertarid* hereupon, with what forces he could get together, besieged him in *Trent*, but he made so violent a sally out against him, as obliged him to break up his siege, and after great loss of Men to fly away for his Life. Notwithstanding this yet *Cunipert*, having had great Friendship and Familiarity with him from his youth, perswaded his Father to pardon and receive him into favour, and so true was he to the sacred Rights of Friendship, that when *Bertarid* several times contrived his Ruine, yet still he diverted the Execution, nay hoping still he would at last be faithfull, and with intention to conquer him by kindness, he perswaded him to make him Duke of *Brixia*; though the old King bid him still take heed what he did, and told him he did not so much by these good Offices oblige to him a Friend, as strengthen an Enemy to his own destruction, for he would by the fresh help and assistence of the *Brixians* (who made a powerfull Interest among the *Lombards*) at length push for the Kingdom it self. About this time one *John* was sent to succeed *Theodore* in the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and some three years after *Bertarid*, the old King of the *Lombards*, died, a Prince to be commended for his Piety towards God, his Justice toward his Subjects, and his Charity to the Poor.

Bertarid recovers the Kingdom.

Rode-linde, quies tranquilla.

Cun-breet, Animi abundans, sic Grotius.

Cum autem & Kenne scientiam denotant. Inde Cunning, adeo ut Cunbreet interpretari possit Scientia abundans.

Hic dum Dux esset in Tridentina civitate, cum Comite Baioariorum, quem illi Gravionem dicunt, qui Bauzanum & reliqua castella regebat conflixit, eúmque mirificè superavit. Paulus Diaconus. lib. 5. c. 36.

Bertarid dies.

Cunibert his Son King.

31. *Cunibert* his Son then continued his Reign, having married *Hermelinda* a Lady of the Stock of the *Anglo-saxons*. No sooner almost was his Father dead, but he found how true a Prophet he had been in the Case of *Alachis*, who in return to all his kindness, and more than Brotherly-love, plotted how to deprive him of his Kingdom, and get the Crown upon his own Head. Having drawn into the Conspiracy two Brothers *Aldo* and *Granso*, the most considerable Citizens of *Brixia*, and several other *Lombards*, he watched his time when the King was absent, and contrary to his Oath of Fidelity seized on his Palace in *Pavia*, which done he took upon him the Royal Title. *Cunibert* having notice of this Treason, and altogether unprovided, as having never expected any such thing, went and fortified himself as well as he could in the Island *Comacina*, in the Lake *Larium*. In the mean time the Tyrant carries himself as he had begun, and hurried by his own Inclinations, never considered how it behoved him by a fair demeanour, to keep what he had already obtained. To the Churchmen he carried himself with great pride and severity, and could not conceal his Tyrannical and Ingratefull Humour,

Alachis rebels.

Paulus Diaconus, lib. 5. c. 38.

Sect. 4. Humour, toward those that had been the Authours of his Advancement. On a time as he was telling Money in his Palace, the Son of *Aldo* happened to be there, and a piece falling down upon the Table, took it up and officiously gave it to him. He imagining the Child could not understand his meaning, said to him, thy Father hath many such as this, which if it please God, he shall e'er long give to me. But the Boy at his Return home told this, and other passages to his Father, from which *Aldo* concluded he had been grosly mistaken in his measures, and that if he did not by some speedy Act prevent it, death and the Ruine of his Family should be the Reward of all his Services to the Tyrant. Having communicated his thoughts with *Granso* his Brother, and others of his Friends, they thought fit to perswade *Alachis* to go out to hunt, and take his pleasure in the Forest, promising they would keep the City of *Pavia* for him, and moreover at his Return, present him with the Head of *Cunibert* that drunken Sot. *Idem ibid. c. 39.*

32. He was perswaded, and out he went to recreate himself in the Forest, which while he did, *Aldo* and his Brother repaired to *Cunibert* in the Island. Falling at his Feet they bewailed their Crime and Misfortune together, and begging his pardon, agreed on a day whereon to put *Pavia* again into his Hands. This they performed to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Inhabitants, the Clergy especially, and to the as great dissatisfaction of *Alachis*, who after he had spent the heat of his Rage against *Aldo*, went into *Istria* to raise Forces. Several Cities, some by perswasions, and others by force, he brought to join with him and the Army of *Forum Julii*, which was marching to the Assistence of *Cunibert*, by a strange wile he diverted from their purpose, for, standing at a Bridge they were to pass, lying over the River *Liquentia*, as they marched stragling one from another, he forced them to swear Fidelity to him, and then kept every one from returning to his Companions to tell them the cheats, and give them notice of whom to beware. Not long after having got together a considerable Power, he moved against *Cunibert*, and they incamped the one against the other in the Fields of *Coronata*, where *Cunibert* sent and challenged *Alichis* to a single Combat, to save the Lives of so many which else of necessity must be destroyed. But *Alachis* remembring his Strength and Courage, when they were young together refused the offer, though he was also solicited to it by one of his followers, who upon his refusal disdaining to serve such a Master, forsook him, and went over to his Enemy. The two Armies then being to decide the Controversie, when *Cunibert* was about to charge, *Zeno* a Deacon of the Church at *Pavia*, bearing him great affection, and afraid he should miscarry, came to him, told him all their Safety consisted in his, and that if he perished in the Battel, the Tyrant would by divers ways of Torment put them to death, therefore he prayed him to give him leave to put on his Armour to counterfeit his Person, and to goe for him: if so be he perished the loss would not be great, and if he lived the thing would redound unto his Honour, having by his Servant obtained the Victory. *Cap. 40.*

33. The King very earnestly refused, but overcome by the Prayers and Tears of several of the By-standers, at length yielded, and *Zeno* being much of his height and shape, when he had put on his Armour, he could not be known from *Cunibert* himself. The Battel was fought with great Animosity on both sides, and *Alachis* bending all his malice, and the utmost force he could make toward the Wing, where, as he imagined, *Cunibert* stood, came up with and ingaged his disguised Adversary, whom but little skilled in such affairs he slew, and in great jollity and triumph commanded his Head to be cut off, and set upon the Point of a Spear, that the Soldiers on both sides might perceive it. But when he came to take off his Head, the Head of a Clerk not that of a King appeared, whereat he was much amazed, and from his amazement fell into a great passion against all Churchmen vowing in case he got the Victory, he would fill a Pit with their Testicles. In the mean time *Cunibert*, perceiving his Men much dejected at the Report of his death, and that they began to fly, shewed himself to them, and revived their Spirits to such a measure, that they were ready and chearfull for a second ingagement; when *Cunibert* again sent to *Alachis*, and to avoid the Effusion of Bloud, once more offered to decide the Quarrel by a Duel. But he refused, joyned battel the second time, and therein was slain, and with him most of his followers; such of them as escaped, being swallowed up by the flouds of the River *Adua*. The Army of the Dutchy of *Forum Julii*, was not at the Battel, for having sworn to *Alachis*, and yet it being against their Consciences to fight for him, they neither assisted the one nor the other, but when they came to ingage, departed home. *Alachis* being thus slain, King *Cunibert* in triumph returned to *Pavia*, and *Cap. ult.*

Is slain.

having

Sect. 4.

A Monastery built to St. George.

having made a sumptuous Funeral for *Zeno* the Deacon, reigned with all Prosperity, Justice and Moderation. In the Field of *Coronata* where the Battel was fought, he built a Monastery to St. *George*.

34. About two years after *Romoald* the Duke of *Beneventum*, for what cause is uncertain, invaded *Calabria* belonging to the Emperour, and being without any considerable Fortification or Defence he took *Tarentum*, *Brundusium* and the whole Countrey round about, and not long after died, when he had Governed sixteen years, and left his Dukedom much inlarged to his Son *Grimoald*, who held it for three years longer, having married *Wigilinda* the Sister of *Cunibert*, and Daughter of King *Bertarid*. After the Death of *Grimoald*, *Gasulf* his Brother was Duke, and held the place seventeen years, whose Wife was *Winiberta* the Mother of *Romoald* his Son. But much about the same time that *Romoald* invaded the Territories of the Emperour great stirs happened in the Dukedom of *Forum Julij*; where *Rodoald* had succeeded *Landar*, as he did *Weclari*, who was made Duke by King *Grimoald* as we said before. In the absence of *Rodoald* from the City one *Ansfrid*, from a certain Castle called *Reunia*, seized on the Government and Title of Duke without any Warrant or Authority from the King. *Rodoald* in much trouble at the Report, departed into *Istria*, and thence Sailing to *Ravenna*, he so came to *Pavia* to *Cunibert*, who shortly had Intelligence that *Ansfrid* intended to be his Rival also for the Kingdom; but as he was making preparations for so great an Enterprize, he was taken at *Verona*, and being brought before the King, was deprived of his sight, and so banished. Then was *Aldo* the Brother of *Rodoald* made Duke of *Forum Julij*, and held it seven years, as *Sigonius* gathers from some other circumstances, though *Paul* the Historian writes that he Governed by the Name of Preservator or Protector of the place but for one year and seven months. Such prosperity had *Cunibert* during his Life, which lasted twelve years after that of his Father. He was a man very eminent for his neatness and goodness, and no less remarkable for his courage and dexterity in War.

Ansfrid, Gratiosa Pax. Ans, vel Anst, Gratia in Novo Testamento & Dictionario.

Foro Julianorum autem ducatum post hac. Ado frater Rodoaldi loci servatoris nomine per annum & menses septem gubernavit. lib. 6. c. 3.

Cunibert dies.

35. His Successour he appointed his Son *Liutbert*, and because he was young, left one *Asprand* a man of great Nobility and Wisdom to be his Governour, who held the place and managed it with great sincerity for the space of eight months. Then did *Godebert*'s Son, *Ragunbert* by Name, whom when *Grimoald* slew him he left young, and who now was Duke of *Taurinum*, thinking he had good opportunity presented by the Infancy of *Liutbert*, set up for himself, and defeating *Asprand* and his Associates in battel, obtained the Sovereignty. During his administration of affairs, *Gisulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* with a strong Army invaded *Campania*; which wasting with Fire and Sword, he took thence great numbers both of Cattel and Captives, and proceeded so far that *John* the Bishop of *Rome* was sorely frighted, and knowing the City was not strong enough to make any resistence, betook himself to intreaties, and he and his Clergy going out to meet him, prevailed with him to return back and dismiss his Prisoners. *Ragunbert* died within the year, and was succeeded by his Son *Aribert*, who more effectually prosecuted his Interest, than did his Father. He renewed the War with *Liutbert*, who had by this time got a very strong Party, for not onely *Asprand* but *Otto*, *Tazo*, *Faro*, and *Rotharit* Duke of *Bergomum* joyned with him. But all these he defeated in one battel at *Pavia*, *Liutbert* he took Prisoner, *Asprand* and *Rotharit* fled, the one to the Island *Comacina*, and the other to his City of *Bergamum*, whither *Aribert* pursued him, and having taken *Landis* a Town in the Territories, laid Siege to the City, and using all violent courses, at last took it by storm, and therein *Rotharit*, who by this time had assumed the Title of King. Having caused his Head and Beard to be shaven, he sent him away to *Taurinum*, where not long after he was killed by the King's command, who also presently after caused *Liutbert* his young Competitour to be stifled in a Bath. Then sent he his Army to *Comacina* against *Asprand*, who having timely notice, got him thence to *Ravenna*, and escaped to *Theudebert* the Duke of the *Baioarij*, with whom he continued nine years. But the Army of *Aribert* took the Island, and *Asprand* being escaped he raged cruelly against his Relations; he pulled out the Eyes of his Son *Sigibrand*. His Wife *Theuderada* by name, who in her womanish tattle had given out she should one day be a Queen, he disfigur'd by cutting off her Nose and her Ears, and dealt with *Aurona* her Daughter in like manner. Onely *Luitprand* his youngest Son, because he was a child, he spared and suffered him to go to his Father, Providence, as *Paul* the Historian observes, preserving him for great things in time to come.

Ragunbert gets to be King.

Aribert his Son succeeds him.

Luit-breht vel Luit-preht, Subditis copiosus non Luitpert ut apud Sigonium.

Haist-spar, citò comparcens, utrumque Anglica Teutonicum.

Cap. 18.

Cap. 19.

Rotharit, quiete pollens.

Cap. 20.

Cap. 21.

Lib. 6. c. 22.

Sige-brand, victoria incensus.

Au-runa, Campestris fœmina.

Runa fœmina. unde Fridrun in vocabulario.

36. *Aldo*

Sect. 4.

36. *Aldo* being dead, who, as we were told by *Paul*, was *Præservator* of the place of *Forum Julij*, *Ferdulf* obtained to be Duke, a man proud and inconstant, designing to get renown by some notable action against the *Sclavi*, he ruined himself and almost the whole Dukedom. He hired some of that Nation underhand to bring an Army of their Countrey-men into his Province. But before this was brought about, some of the *Sclavi* came on pilfring into the Territories of *Forum Julij*, and made prey of some sheep and the Shepherds that kept them. The Governour of that place, *Argaid* by name, but by reason of his Office in their Language called *Schuld-hais*, a man of Noble Extract, and otherwise very eminent, pursued after them, but to no purpose. In his return he was met by *Ferdulf*, who demanding what was become of the Thieves, upon his answer that they wre fled, replied: How canst thou doe any thing gallantly, who beareſt the Name of *Argaid*, which is derived from *Arga*? The other exceedingly vexed, and being a man of great courage, hereupon pray'd that they might live so long till the world by some eminent token might see which of the two was most *Arga*. Not long after came an Army of *Sclavi*, procured as we said by *Ferdulf*, which incamped on the top of an high mountain, most difficult of access on all sides. *Ferdulf* came with his Army and compassed the Hill, considering on what place he might most conveniently attack them; to whom *Argaid* then spake and bade him remember how he had called him a lazy and unprofitable man, and by the vulgar word of *Arga*; but now saith he, let God's curse fall on him who last of us two comes up to the *Sclavi*; with that he turns his horse and up he rides, where it was most steep and craggy, toward the Enemies Camp; and *Ferdulf* for very shame followed him, which his Army perceiving, up also it marches, esteeming it an heinous thing not to follow their Captain whithersoever he led them. The *Sclavi* seeing them climb up such steep and almost impassible places, wondring at their resolution, prepare to receive them with Stows and Axes, rather than any thing else, and thus they struck them off from their Horses, and slew them all in a manner, getting a Victory, not by their Valour, but such a strange Adventure. There fell *Ferdulf*, *Argaid* his Adversary, and all the Nobility of *Forum Julij*, and so many valiant men besides, upon the occasion of their foolish Emulation, as under safer Conduct would have put to the rout many thousands. Onely one *Lombard* of note, *Munichis* by Name, the Father of *Peter*, afterward Duke of *Forum Julij*, and of *Ursus* the Duke of *Cenetum* escaped home. For though he was struck from his Horse, and one of the *Sclavi* had seized on him and tied his hands, yet bound as he was, he snatched a Lance from the man's right hand, and therewith striking him down, got away through the precipitous places with his hands still tied together.

Ald, vetus, Old. Paulus lib. 6. cap. 24.
Ferd-ulf, Longè auxilium ferens. Far help.
Sculd-Hais, Debiti Præfectus, qui non de capite sed de pecunia judicat, manet in hunc diem nomen variè corruptum. Sculthcizo, Sculdasius, Sculcies, Sculter, Scouter & Scout apud Belgas.
Arga, Ignavus, nunc malitiosum significat.

The *Sclavi* defeats them of *Forum Julii*.

37. *Ferdulf* being thus dead, one *Corvulus* was made Duke, but continued so but a short space; for having offended the King, his eyes were pulled out, and he lived afterwards in disgrace. Then was one *Pemmo* preferr'd to the place, to which being an ingenious man he was very serviceable. He was born at *Bellunum*, whence for raising a Sedition he was driven away, and coming to *Forum Julij*, there peaceably lived. He had a Wife named *Ratberga*, whose face being nothing comely, she often desired him that he would dismiss her, and marry some other that might be a Wife fit for so great a Duke. But he being a wise man, answered that her good qualities, her humility and modesty more pleased him than any external bounty of the Body. By her he had three Sons, *Ratchis*, *Ratchais*, and *Ahistulf*, men of renown, the Nativity of whom, as *Paul* expresseth it, advanced their Mothers humility unto glory. This Duke *Pemmo* seeking for the Sons of all the Nobility that had been slain, educated them with, and not otherwise than as if they had been his own Children. As for *Aribert* though he was cruel at first, yet afterward he is said to have governed with much Prudence and Justice, besides his Liberality to Churches, the *Roman* especially, to which he restored, as their Writers tell us, many Lands, and particularly the Patrimony of the *Alpes Cottiæ*, taken from them formerly by *Rothari*, the instrument of which donation he sent written with golden letters. But however he carried it now to Churchmen, *Asprand* could not be reconciled to him, who still lying in Exile, longed to return to his own Countrey, which to effect, the Duke of *Baioaria*, with whom he sojourned, offered him a competent force to be revenged on his Enemy. With this Army he went into *Italy* and engaged with *Aribert* in so bloudy and tedious a Battel that Night onely parted them; yet *Asprand* and his *Baioarians* had clearly the worst of it, *Aribert* his loss not being comparable to that of theirs. However, *Aribert* would not keep the Field, but would needs remove to *Pavia*, which

Idem, ibid. c. 25.
Cap. 26. Pemmo malius in vocabulario Allem. Penno, Pennhok, vertice eminens, Penne, vertex. Inde Penninus Jupiter in Alpium vertice. Hok, Hoch, High, Sublimis. Ratberga, concilii celaris, in vocab. Allem. Ratbirg.
Paulus, ibid. c. 28.
Cap. 35.

which as a sign of fear, as usually it is of weakness, ministred matter of despair to his own men and confidence to his Enemies. Perceiving his errour, he then resolved to fly into *France*, there to hire a new supply, and for that purpose took good store of gold out of the Palace, with which he would needs swim over the River, and attempting so to doe was drowned, as those about him had concluded. The day following, his Body was found and buried in the Church of St. *Saviour*, founded by *Aribert* the First. He was wont to go out disguised in the night and hear himself what his People said of him, and how his Officers ministred Justice. To Ambassadours of Foreigners he always gave Audience in bad Clothes, and never would entertain them with delicate Wines, or other costly things, that he might not bait them by such Allurements to invade *Italy*. He Reigned with his Father and by himself about eleven years, as *Paul* informs us. And yet *Sigonius* begins his Reign in the seven hundred and fifth year of our Lord, and ends it but in the seven hundred and twelfth. His Brother *Guntbert* fled into *France*, and there continued till his death, whose eldest Son *Raginbert* in the days of *Paul*, Governed the City of *Orleance* for the King.

Sect. 4.

Aribert drowned.

38. *Aribert* being dead, *Ansprand* succeeded him without opposition, but reigned onely three months; a man of as great accomplishments as one can imagine The *Lombards* perceiving him desperately ill, made King his Son *Liutprand* (who as we said by permission of *Aribert* went to him into *Boioaria*) to the great contentment of his Father, and after his death confirmed their choice. Much about the same time died *Transimund* the Duke of *Spoletum*, into whose place succeeded *Faroald* his Son, and Governed joyntly with his Brother *Wachilap*. *Liutprand* coming to Govern, shewed himself a man of Ability in matters relating both to Peace and War. He had a difficulty to struggle with at the beginning of his Reign, which he conquered much to his reputation: He had a Kinsman called *Rothari*, who invited him to a Feast at his House in *Pavia*, but had men there ready concealed to kill him when they should have the word. But before he went he had the good fortune to be informed of the Treason, and sent for *Rotharit* to his own Palace, whom according to his intelligence he found privily armed. Finding himself discovered, he leaped back and drew his Sword to kill the King, who therewith drew also, and his Guard coming in they dispatched the Traytor. *Liutprand* was a man of very great courage, which farther sometimes transported him, than was convenient for his own safety and the concernments of the Kingdom. On a time two of his Attendants agreed when a fitting opportunity should present it self, to kill him, which he also understanding, went with them two alone into a thick Wood, and drawing his Sword upbraided them with their treachery, bidding them begin and make a tryal upon him. They were so struck with so sudden a thing and his generosity, that falling down at his feet they told him the whole truth, and as well they as others, to whom he demeaned himself in the like sort, obtained his Pardon.

Ansprand succeeds.

Him after three months his Son *Liutprand*.

Ans-brand, gratia fervens.

Liutprand, subditos accendens.

Cap. 30. Far wald, familiâ potens. Faro idem contractè. Wachi-lap, viæ cursor. Wach nob. Way, Lap, Leape, Lapon enim vel (ut apud Belgas) Lopen antiquitus erat currere. Cap. 38.

39. Having conquered his Enemies at home by his valour and kindness, and married out of gratitude as well as to strengthen himself from abroad, the Daughter of the Duke of *Baioaria*, who had received him and his Father in their distress, he set himself to reform the Laws of the Kingdom. All the Judges he summoned to Court to give in their opinions concerning a new model, which being done, it was published the last day of *February*, in the eleventh Indiction in the first year of his Reign, as he himself testifies in the Preface to this purpose, *viz.* "Remember how our most Mighty Predecessour, and most Eminent King *Rothar*, as "he himself speaks in his Writings, renewed and ordained an Edict for the *Lom-* "*bards*, wherein he prudently caused to be inserted this Passage; that any Prince of "the *Lombards* his Successour, if he found therein any thing superfluous, might "wisely take it away, and what he found wanting he might add by the assistence "of God. After him the most glorious King *Grimoald*, accordingly added and abo- "lished what to him seemed fit, whose example we following, as we hope, inspired "by God, in like manner such things as according to God's Law have appeared "to us convenient to be done we have decreed to be added and omitted, accor- "ding to what we have commanded to be written in this present Volume. There- "fore in the Name of the Omnipotent God, I *Liutprand* the most Excellent, the "Christian and Catholick King of the Nation of the *Lombards*, beloved of God, "in the first year of my Reign, through God's goodness, the day before the *Ca-* "*lends of March*, in the eleventh Indiction, together with all the Judges from the "Parts of *Austria* and *Neustria*, and the borders of *Tuscia*, with others of my "faithfull *Lombards*, and all the People assisting those according to the fear "and

He publisheth a new model of Laws.

Ait tamen Paulus C. ult. Hic imitio Regni sui Boioariorum plurima castra cepit.

Sect. 4.

" and love of God have appeared good to us, and therewith we are pleased. The Style is so difficult that hardly can it be brought to correspond with the *English* Idiome; but the Reader may take notice that this was the third Edition of the Laws of the *Lombards*, whereof we must speak more anon; he may observe also the Titles these Kings took, and that even in *Italy*, there was *Austria* and *Neustria*, as well as in *France* and in *Pannonia*, Parts of the Kingdom so called in reference to their Situation. For the word *Oostriick*, which in Latin they barbarously, as I may say, turned into *Austria* and *Austrasia*, to those *Teutonick* People signified the *Eastern Kingdom* or Dominion. So was the Kingdom of the *Mediomatices* called by the *Franks*, and *Pannonia* by the *Germans*, part of which still, and that alone, retains the Name of *Austria*. In like manner *Westriick* or *Westreick*, they changed into *Neustria*, it signifying the *Western Dominion* in opposition to the *Eastern*. From their Situation some were called *Æstij*, East with us, and those that so called them being the same with what others pronounced *Oost*. The *Nortmanni*, *Northendi*, *Alpes Noricæ*, and *Norici* the People, from their Northern Situation had their Names.

Austria and *Neustria* what.

40. For the space of about three years we hear little more concerning *Liutprand*, whom we may conclude intent upon the Laws, and such farther Reformations as tended to the well being of his Subjects. But in the fifth year of his Reign, noise enough was made in *Campania* by the Duke of *Beneventum*, who by a Wile got *Cumæ* into his hands. Those of *Rome* were highly concerned at it, and the *Bishop* dealt with him both by fair words and money to restore it, and when that would not doe, thundred against him by excommunication. But this also he despis'd, whereupon the Bishop was forc't to betake himself to the Secular hand, procuring *John* the Duke of *Naples* to set upon it by might, which he did, and surprising it, killed therein three hundred *Lombards* with their *Gastald*, and took Prisoners more than five hundred which he led away to *Naples*, and sold the Town to the *Bishop* for seventy Pounds of Gold, as had been agreed. The year that followed *Faroald* the Duke of *Spoletum* took *Narnia* by cunning from the *Romans*, and pretending a Journey to the King surprized *Classis*, another Town belonging to *Ravenna*; but he was commanded by *Liutprand* to restore them both. Though the King did not, his own Son *Trasemund* punished him for his temerity, deposing him shortly after, and compelling him to take Orders that he might have his place. About the same time the *Sclavi* made another Irruption into the Territories of *Forum Julij*, called *Lauria*, where *Pemmo* the Duke set upon them, and with loss but of one old man, *Sigualdi* by name, who in a former Fight betwixt them and *Ferdulf* had lost two Sons. Once and again he had done great Execution upon them, and now the third time, though his Captain and other *Lombards* forbade him, yet would he not be kept from speaking openly to the *Sclavi*: *Now I have sufficiently revenged the Death of my Sons, if Death should come I should chearfully undergo it.* And accordingly it came to pass; for he was the onely man that died in the Fight; *Pemmo* having slain many Enemies, and unwilling to loose any more of his own men, made Peace with the *Sclavi* in the same place. And from this time forward they began more to stand in awe of the Arms of *Forum Julij*.

Stirs amongst the *Lombards*.

A. D. 718. *Paulus Diaconus, lib. 5. c. 44.*

Trost-Mund, consolans Os. Drasamunt in Vocab. Alleman. & Thrasamunt, contracte Theuso, Thriuso, ibid.

41. Now for many years had the Kings and Kingdom of the *Lombards* been in peace, except some petty broils betwixt them and their nearest Neighbours, or that they contended one with another. The *Exarchs* and they had since the time of *Rothari*, maintained a very good correspondence together, the *Romans* and *Lombards*, though Neighbours, perfectly agreeing. But now was this Kingdom at the highest pitch alotted for it, and upon the brink of prosperity, which never continues but changes most commonly to the other extreme. Wealth and Ease had made the King and the Subject both confident and overweening, those ever thinking they have the greatest strength, who never made any tryal of it; yet did they think their present condition mean in comparison of what they were in capacity to attain, and therefore they must up and be doing, and involved themselves in such a War as descending to their Successours, at length procured the ruine of their Name and Dominion. *Liutprand* having prepared all things beforehand for so great an enterprize, Invades the Exarchate on a sudden, and lays Siege to *Ravenna* the seat of the Governour. *Paul* who at present by favour of *Leo* the Emperour held that place, we are told by *Sigonius*, was very much surprized, as from the highest prosperity being on a sudden cast into the greatest difficulty. But there was no such cause of his being surprized, if we consider but what the same Authour had related but a little before, he tells us in many words that

Liutprand invades the Exarchate.

Sect. 4.

that *Leo* the Emperour being at odds with *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, upon the account of Images took several Courses to make him away, and for that purpose sent *Paul*, as Exarch into *Italy*, who having once attempted it, but to no purpose, the Emperour the following year sent him a Message, that if he could not kill, yet he should remove him from his Office and put another in his Room. *Paul* thus importuned by his Master, and bearing himself hatred to *Gregory*, because he had forbidden the Tribute to be paid which he had laid upon the Churches, sent one *Maricius* the *Spatharius* of *Leo*, and whom he had made Duke of *Rome*, to that City with order to lay hold on the Bishop, and commit him to Custody. But matters were not so privately carried but that the Bishop, whose Power and Interest now began to be mighty in *Italy*, had notice of it. Therefore he hires the *Lombards* out of the Dukedoms of *Spoletum* and *Tuscia* for great Rewards, to stop the passage of the Exarch's Army. They with much Alacrity marching to the City possessed themselves of the Bridges *Salarius* and *Milvius*, and opposing themselves to the Forces of *Ravenna*, not onely hindred them from returning to *Rome*, but constrained them and their Leader to return back to their own City.

Vide Sigon. de Regno Italiæ. lib. 3. Pp. 99. & 100.

42. This happened but the year before the Siege of *Ravenna*, and therefore whether the Exarch had reason to be surprized, or rather ought not to have expected some such matter, and whether the Bishop of *Rome*, who had already joyned the *Lombards* with him, was not concerned, we leave the Reader to judge. However *Paul*, whether aware or not of Hostility from the *Lombards*, most gallantly demeaned himself in the keeping of *Ravenna*, shewing himself ready to undergoe any thing rather than to yield up the place; insomuch that *Liutprand* despairing to doe any good, broke up his siege and departed to *Classis*, which being but slenderly provided he easily took, and having plundred it, laid it level with the Earth. But upon the Report of what had happened to *Classis*, the Citizens of *Ravenna* began to be very fearfull and dejected as if their turn was not far off; which being understood by *Liutprand*, their fear became his confidence, and he drew back his Army to the City, which having had some taste of the fruits of Conquest, he thought now would fall upon it with more Alacrity. And so it proved, for they tired out by their frequent Assaults both the Garrison Souldiers and the Townsmen, which when *Paul* perceived, and despaired of receiving any Succours from abroad, he left the Town to the Discretion of the Inhabitants. The Besiegers having notice of his flight, knew it a fit time to renew their Violence, and with little more trouble carried the Place, which *Liutprand* permitted his Souldiers to plunder. And here they got plunder enough, wealth sufficient to glut their minds, and take off their edge from any farther adventures, contrary to the true Policy of a Captain, who ought to use his Men in this case as Huntsmen deal with their Hounds, to give them such a taste of the Prey as to stir up their Appetites, and make them more eager after the game, but not to fill them and make them lazie. This City being the seat of the Exarch, of Kings, Emperours and great Prelates, abounded with all Riches imaginable. *Liutprand* spoiled it of many rare Monuments of Antiquity, amongst which the most remarkable was a brasen Statue of an Emperour on Horseback, a Piece of admirable Contrivance and Workmanship, which he caused to be translated to *Pavia*, where it remains, and by its rareness something comforts the Citizens, for the decay of the Glory of that Place.

Takes *Ravenna.*

43. *Ravenna* being taken, most of the Cities of the Exarchate presently yielded, and from an Exarchate it was changed into a Dutchy, over which was set *Hildebrand* the King's Nephew, who because he was young, *Peredeus* a Duke was made his Governour. *Paul* the Exarch thus outed of *Ravenna*, betook himself to the *Venetians* at *Heraclia*, where he implored the Assistence of *Ursus* the Duke. All this while *Gregory*, the *Roman* Bishop, was a Looker on, after he had set the *Lombards* and *Paul* together by the Ears about his business. He had a design to chastise the Exarch, but not to encrease the Power and Dominion of the *Lombards*; his spleen excited him against the Emperour, and his Interest caused him to wish that both sides were more weakened and humbled, that his own Authority already in a fair way, might make the greater progress in *Italy*. *Liutprand* had made such a progress in the war as made him tremble, and he perceived it was high time to put a stop to the Carreire of his good Fortunes. He writes his Letters to *Ursus*, the Duke of the *Venetians*, exhorting him to give aid to the said *Paul*, and now quite alters his style, making those be black who formerly were white, and him white whom before he could not enough tax and load with opprobrious Language. He tells him that by reason of sin the City of *Ravenna*, which was the Head of many Churches, was taken by the wicked Nation of the *Lombards*, and his worthy Son the Lord

The Exarchate of *Ravenna* turned into a Dukedom.

Hildeprand & in vocab. Allemanico Hildibrand, Eximiè fervens.

The Bishop of *Rome*, jealous of the growing Power of *Liutprand*, turns against him.

Extant literæ apud Sigonium quo supra. P. 101.

Sect. 4. Lord Exarch, as he understands makes his abode at *Venice*, therefore tells him that he ought to stand by him and with him in his stead, that the City of *Ravenna* might be restored to the ancient Estate, and the Imperial service of the Lords his Sons *Leo* and *Constantine* the Great, Emperours, and that for the Love of their Holy Faith.

44. The *Venetians* had good reason to be concerned also at the growth of so potent a Neighbour, and therefore the better to balance him, resolved to give their utmost assistence to *Paul*, rigging up a Fleet under pretence of fighting against the *Saracens*, at the Instance of the Emperour. *Paul* having sped at *Venice* according to his Wishes; yet, as having been repulsed, gathered together some Forces, and made as if he would besiege *Imola*, and under this pretence increasing his Army as much as he possibly could, removed on a certain day appointed betwixt him and the *Venetians*, and laid siege to *Ravenna* by Land, the *Venetian* Fleet doeing the same by Sea almost at the same instant. *Hildebrand* and *Peredeus* though exceedingly surprized, yet forced all that were able to bear Arms to the walls, where they behaved themselves with much resolution; but while they fought stoutly on the Land-side against *Paul*, the *Venetians* broke open the Water-gate and got into the City. The Defendants having notice made stout opposition here also, and a terrible Fight followed; till *Paul* coming about to the Assistence of his Friends decided the Controversie, and took the Town. *Peredeus* was slain, and *Hildebrand* fell alive into the Hands of the *Venetians*, who having thus gallantly demeaned themselves, departed home, before such time as *Liutprand*, having received Intelligence, could move from *Pavia*. Not long after this, *Leo* the Emperour, and *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome* falling out about the Worship of Images, the Bishop excommunicated the Prince, absolved all his Subjects of *Italy* from their Allegiance, and commanded them neither to pay him Tribute nor any other Testimony of Duty or Allegiance. Hereupon the *Romans*, *Campanians*, and those of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis* revolted, and rising in great Tumults laid violent hands upon their Governours. *Paul* the Exarch was killed at *Ravenna*, *Peter* the Duke of *Rome* had his Eyes put out, and in *Campania* the Duke *Exhilaratus* was with his Son *Hadrian* slain by the *Romans*, who were sent thither for that purpose.

Ravenna recovered by the Exarch.

Pered-eu, latè patentis legis.

The Bishop excommunicates the Emperour.

Paul is killed. Great Rebellions.

45. The year following *Liutprand*, taking advantage of these Tumults, made war upon some places of *Æmilia*, betwixt *Imola* and *Mutina*, which hitherto had been untouched by the *Lombards*. He easily made himself Master of *Monsbellus Ferionianum*, *Buxetum* and *Perficetum*, and at length of *Bononia* also, a Town built by the *Etrusci* when they possessed the Region on this side the *Apennines*, afterward the Seat of the *Galli Boii*, and then made a *Latine* Colony by the *Romans*, from whom it was taken by the *Goths*, then recovered, and now at length conquered by the *Lombards*. Thus far *Liutprand* having prospered as he could desire, passed by the Dominion of *Ravenna* and fell upon *Pentapolis*, which he overran from *Ariminum*, as far as *Auximum* without any resistence; and at length made a stop at *Vicus Pileus* for setling the Government of it, whither the Cities appointed their several Deputies to repair, but as they were on their way, a Party of *Roman* Souldiers light upon them, and cut them off every man. The Rumour of the Revolt in *Italy* coming to the Emperour's Ears, was received with suitable regret, and he ordered *Eutychius* a Patritian, to go thither as his Exarch, with Instructions how to punish the chief Authours and Contrivers of it; which going about, he was also strucken with the Thunder-bolt of Excommunication by *Gregory*. This did the more incense him, for that having easily reduced *Ravenna* to the Emperour's obedience, he drew the *Lombards* to his Party, who the Year following took *Sutrium* by some Arts from the Church, for so we must call it now, *Gregory* having procured the *Romans* to renounce their Obedience to their Sovereign, and swear Obedience to him and his Successours; whereby *Rome* and the *Roman* Dukedom became transferred upon the *Roman* Prelates; of which more, in a more proper place. *Gregory* again got *Sutrium* out of their hands, but *Eutychius* made a stronger League with *Liutprand*, from whom *Trasemund* the Duke of *Spoletum* having revolted, they covenanted, as well to suppress him as *Gregory*, and reduce the Rebels to their former duty owing to their several Lords. Falling first upon *Trasemund* he submitted himself, knowing he was not able to bear up against the Shock, so that the whole work now was with *Rome*, which they closly besieged. *Gregory* found himself in the same condition as to resistence, and therefore resolv'd to take the same course to rid himself of the danger impending. He went out of the City to *Liutprand*, to whom he used many flattering words, telling him he did this for his sake, upon the account of his Eminent Piety, whereas had *Leo*'s Army alone besieged the City,

A. D. 727.

Eutichius the new Exarch excommunicated.

The Exarch and the *Lombards* join and besiege *Rome*.

The siege raised.

City, he would not have stirred one foot out of it. He spake vehemently against the Emperour, and propounded to the King the Example of *Attila* a furious *Barbarian*, who by the desires of a *Roman* Bishop, was diverted from *Rome*. He spake so effectually, that he not onely procured *Liutprand* to break up the Siege, but made a seeming agreement and friendship betwixt him and the Exarch.

Friendship betwixt *Charles Martell* and *Liutprand*.

46. About this time *Charles Martell* the Major of the Palace in *France*, conceiving the Friendship of the *Lombards* to be very convenient for strengthening of the interest of his Family, sent his Son *Pipin* to *Liutprand*, that by the cutting off his hair, as the custome was, he might adopt him for his Son. And such were the fruits of this Friendship, that the *Saracens* invading *Gall* the year following, *Liutprand* at his request assisted him in Person with a considerable Army, and contributed no small matter to the Victory obtained over the Infidels. At his return he found new work made for him by the Exarch, who taking the advantage of his absence, resolv'd if possible, to re-take *Pentapolis* and *Æmilia*. He himself invading *Pentapolis*, defeated the Army of the *Lombards*, and reduced the Cities. But *Agatho* the Duke of *Perusium*, whom he sent into *Æmilia*, had the quite contrary success, being forced with great loss from *Bononia*, which he had besieged. The five or six years that followed, were famous for little but the Death and Succession of Great Men. *Romuald* the Duke of *Beneventum* died after six and twenty years Government, leaving a young Son named *Gisulf*, whom some went about to make away, but the People always faithfull to their Governours preserv'd his life, and put to death them that had conspired against it. *Liutprand* coming to the City took the Boy away with him, being too young for Government, and placed in his room *Gregory* another of his Nephews. Some time after, *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii* invaded *Carniola*, which *Paul* our Historian calls the Countrey of the *Sclavi*, where he slew a great multitude of them, and wasted it far and wide. On a time they made a sudden Assault upon him, and his Armourbearer had his Lance, but he killed the first of them that gave the Onset with a Cudgel he had in his Hand, and therewith so afrighted them that they retreated. From this time he became every day more celebrated for his Valour.

Death of great Men.

47. At the same time broke out into Rebellion, *Trasemund* the Duke of *Spoletum*, and made a strict League with *Gregory* the Third the *Roman* Bishop, and Successour to him who had assumed the Dominion of *Rome*, and the places to it belonging. As a Condition of this Alliance he gave up to the Bishop the Castle of the *Gallienses*, upon the Account of which he had formerly had much trouble from the Dukes of *Rome*. Trusting to this Alliance, he refused to obey the Orders of the King, who conceiving that such a Revolt touched the very Inwards of his Concernments, speedily raised an Army and led it against him. But the Rebel durst not abide his Coming, but getting out of the City fled to the Bishop, who now glistered with his new Principality; desiring him to undertake his Patronage, who had protected his Predecessour from the Violence of the Exarch, and had entred into a most sacred League and Alliance with himself. The Bishop asking advice of Duke *Stephen*, with the Consent of the *Roman* Souldiers (who doubtless could not but desire Action) undertook his Protection; when in the mean time *Liutprand* seized on his Dukedom, and bestowed it on his Nephew *Hilderick*; which having done, he sent his Ambassadours to *Gregory*, requiring him to give up the Traitour into his Hands, or to expect him with an Army to fetch him. The Bishop thought it below him, and no way consistent with good Nature to give him up, and returned such an answer to the King, who when Winter was over, removed his Forces from the Dukedom of *Spoletum* into that of *Rome*, where having taken *Ameria*, *Orta*, *Polimartium* and *Bleda*, he laid siege to the City it self, and incamping in *Nero's* Fields, drew many of the Nobility to him, the Hair of whom he cut after the *Lombard* fashion. *Gregory* being put to sore straits, first betook himself to the Artifice of his Predecessour, thinking by good words and intreaties to remove the Enemy from the Walls; but this device failing him, he had recourse to a more severe remedy; sending to *Charles Martell*, the Major of the Palace in *France*, the Keys of the Holy Sepulchre and other things of great request; beseeching him to send relief to him and the distressed Church, and free the City from the siege of the *Lombards*. *Charles* readily embraced the offer, as tending to the Advancement of his Reputation in the World, and sent a Message so acceptable to *Liutprand*, that he arose from before *Rome*, and keeping onely in his Hands four Towns which he had seized, departed to *Pavia* in the Month of *August*, and the seventh Indiction. *A. D.* DCCXXXIX.

Ad Pontificem novo principatu fulgentem confugit, atq; eum, &c. Sigonius de Regno Italiæ. lib. 3. p. 110.

Liutprand besieges *Rome*.

Exercitum ex Ducatu Spoletano in Romanum traduxit.

At the perswasion of *Charles Martell* raiseth the Siege.

Sect. 4. 48. *Trasemund*, when the Siege was raised, resolved to make again for his Dukedom, being readily assisted by the Bishop, who by this means hoped to recover his four Towns, and by *Godescalc*, lately advanced to the Dukedom of *Beneventum*, by the People against the King's mind, in the room of *Gregory* deceased, who thought hereby to weaken the King, and strengthen his own illegal Title. At his first Invasion of the Countrey, he easily recovered several Places, and at length in *December*, and the Eighth Indiction, took *Spoletum* by surprize, and therein killed *Hilderick* the young Duke. He had a great Advantage for managing his Affairs presented by the Sickn of *Liutprand*, which was so grievous, that the *Lombards* despairing of his Recovery took *Hildeprand* his Nephew, and carrying him to our Ladies Church without the Walls, inaugurated him King. But an odd Accident happened at the Ceremony; for having a Spear delivered into his Hands, according to the Custome, a Cuckow came and sate thereon, which by Wisemen was looked on as prodigious, and betokening a mean Reign to their young King. *Liutprand* when he was recovered and had notice what was done, took it ill, but because the solemnity was past, made *Hildeprand* King together with himself. The following year was eminent for the Ends of three mighty Men in the World, *Leo* the Emperour, *Charles Martel* lately mentioned, and *Gregory* the *Roman* Patriarch; to whom succeeded one *Zachary* a *Greek* by birth. This *Zachary* was scarcely setled in his Chair when he sent to *Liutprand*, and demanded the four Towns to be redelivered, to which Message he answered, that when he should come to the Places, he would give him abundant satisfaction. *Liutprand* in the mean time resolved, not to suffer *Trasemund* so to carry the Dukedom of *Spoletum*; but the Year that followed made war upon him by the Assistence especially of *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julii*. *Trasemund* aware of their coming, went to meet them at the Place he thought they would land their Men, and when there he missed of his opportunity followed them to *Forum Sempronii*, and reached them in the middle of the Forest. *Rachis* and his Brother *Aistulf*, with their *Forojulians* brought up the Rere, and being first ingaged, though the Commanders omitted nothing of their Duty, many of them were slain. *Rachis* by one *Berto* of *Spoletum*, was challenged to a single Combat, wherein he dismounted his Enemy, and suffered him to creep away on his Hands and Knees into the Wood. *Aistulf* was by two set upon on a Bridge, both whom he tumbled down into the River, and escaped. *Trasemund* found himself concerned to retreat to *Spoletum*, where he was besieged, and at length being forced to yield, was compelled to enter into Orders. Then did the King bestow the Title, and Office of Duke upon *Asprand* another of his Nephews.

Death of three great Persons. A. D. 741.

49. In the mean time *Liutprand* restored not the Places before mentioned to the Bishop, who wondering thereat, resolved to doe as *Gregory* the second his Predecessour had done before him; to go himself in Person and speak with him, then lying at *Interamna*, in the Territories of *Spoletum*. *Liutprand* hearing of his coming sent *Grimoald* with a Complement and order to bring him on his way as far as *Narnia*, where he was to be received by the Army. He himself when he drew nigh to *Interamna*, went out to meet him, and after some friendly discourse dismissed him to his Lodgings. The next day coming again together, the Bishop clawed him with good words. "He related how for his Predecessours sake he had raised his "Siege from before *Rome*, and commending him for his Justice and holy demeanour towards all men, put him in mind what a blot it would be upon his Memory, "as well as a wound upon his Conscience, to break his word given to St. *Peter*, and "to rob him and the Church, to which he had pretended to bear so good affection: "In summ he desired he would give up the four Towns he had so long held in his "hands, and farther make a League with the Church, which if he did, he might "be sure to have everlasting Salvation after death, and eternal Renown with all Posterity. We are told the Device so took, that *Zachary* obtained whatsoever he desired, not only the four Towns, but a League with the Church for twenty years; and moreover some Lands in *Sabinum*, which thirty years before had been taken away with others in *Narnia*, *Ancona*, *Auximum* and *Humum*, which they called *Patrimonies*, and the Valley known by the Name of the *Great*, in the Territories of *Sutrium*. The next day having lovingly dined together, the Bishop departed to receive the Towns from the Kings Commissioners, who were *Hildebrand* his Nephew Duke of *Clusium*, *Tacpert*, *Raning*, and *Grimoald*, *Gastalds* of *Etruria*. First he recieved *Ameria*, then *Orta*, afterward *Polimartium*, and at length through the Borders of *Tuscia* belonging to the *Lombards* and the *Sabini* they came to *Bleda*. Thence returned he to *Rome*, where, as well he might, for joy be made a Solemn Procession.

Anastasius.

Liutprand perswaded to be kind to the See of *Rome*.

cession. And these things were thus transacted in the Tenth Indiction, if we believe *Anastasius* who was Library keeper to some of his Successours. Sect. 4.

50. *Liutprand* all this while did not forget *Godescalck*, who both had seized on the Dutchy of *Beneventum* without his leave, and had assisted *Trasemund* also in his Rebellion. Having rid his hands of *Trasemund*, he led an Army against him, but he durst not abide his coming, but resolved to fly into *Greece*, which as he attempted, and had put his Wife and Houshold-stuff into the Ship, when he himself was to go aboard he was killed by those Citizens of *Beneventum*, that bore good will to *Gisulf*, and his Wife escaped safe to *Constantinople* with all she had. *Liutprand* coming to the City restored *Gisulf* his Nephew to the Title and Office of Duke, whom he had formerly removed for his Youth and Inability to govern: The following year and the eleventh Indiction, as *Anastasius* assures us, either impatient of rest, or out of an ambitious desire of farther Conquest, he again invaded the Exarchate, and having taken *Cæsena*, openly shewed that he intended once more to be Master of *Ravenna*. *Eutychius* the Exarch, as well as *John* the Arch-bishop, with the Citizens and the Cities of *Pentapolis* and *Æmilia* knowing themselves too weak to make resistence, betook themselves to *Zachary*, whose authority they knew to be so sacred and inviolable with the King, that he would deny him nothing. He sent a Message to him to restore *Cæsena*, and to leave the Exarchate in repose, and it being rejected, he himself made a Journey first to *Ravenna* and thence to *Pavia*, where he caused the King to conquer his Inclinations, to restore *Cæsena*, and promise not any more to offer violence to the Exarchate. The Bishop shortly after his Return (of which, as also his Journey, *Paul* the Deacon makes no mention, though by reason of the Age he liv'd in he could not be ignorant of so notable a matter) had News brought him of the sudden death of *Liutprand*, who left this life after he had reigned one and thirty Years and seven Months. A man of great worth, if his extreme thirst after Conquest and Domination be excepted, though *Paul* to other great Commendations adds this, That he was a lover of Peace, which must be restrain'd to what he coucludes his Book with, that with the greatest care he preserved Peace with the *Franks* and *Avares*. For together with his Life *Paul* shuts up his History of the Acts of the *Lombards*. He was Deacon of the Church of *Forum Julii*, in the Territories of which *Leuphis* his Great Grandfather's Father seated himself, when with the *Lombards* his Country-men he came into *Italy*. He dying there, left five Sons who were all taken away into Captivity by the *Avares* at that time, that *Romilda* the Wife of *Gisulf* betrayed *Forum Julii* into the hands of their King. Of these five only *Lupicis* returned into the place of his Nativity (of the strange Circumstances of his Return, let the Reader if he list consult the Authour himself) where he married and begat a Son named *Arichis*. This *Arichis* had a Son named *Warnefrid* who by *Theudelinda* his Wife had our Historian, (besides another Son called *Arichis*) whom we can easily believe to have been a *Lombard* by descent, though he had not told us. For *Jornandes*, the Historian of the *Goths*, and he, by the manner of their writing, sufficiently discover that Natural affection which men bear to the Stocks from whence they proceed.

Gode-schalck, Dei servus. Nam Deum non aliter quam bonum nominare mos erat Germanis. Schalc servus in Novo Testamento sæpe, hinc Marschalck & alia. Paulus Diaconus, Lib. 6. Cc. 57, 58.

Invades again the Exarchate.

Liutprand dies.

The History of *Paulus Diaconus* endeth with him.

Liup-gis, A-more fortis. Liup, Amor, Anglis Love. Hinc Liupman & alia in vocab. Allem. Leupichis idem quod Liup-gis. Lib. 4. c. 39. Warne-frid, custos pacis.

51. *Liutprand* being dead *Hildeprand* or *Hildebrand* his Nephew (*i. e.* his Grandson, as *Sigonius* interprets it) succeeded him in the Government, whom being formerly chosen by the People he had confirmed, as we formerly shewed. But his former Election and Confirmation were not of such moment with the *Lombards*, but that rejecting him of whom they themselves had made the choice, after seven months they deposed him, and made King in his room *Rachis* the Duke of *Forum Julij*, a man much admired for his Virtues. *Rachis* with universal applause having ascended the Throne, shewed that though he was fit for War, yet he desired Peace; and became the great Patron of Churches. And in the second year of his Reign finding the Laws (notwithstanding the several Alterations made by his Predecessours) to be defective, he summoned all the Judges of the *Lombards*, both out of *Austria* and *Neustria*, and according to their Judgment and Approbation, amended and added what was faulty or defective. The year which followed this, being the second of his Reign, on the first of *March*, and the fourteenth Indiction he published his Amendments with a Proeme, wherein he takes notice how *Rothair*, *Grimoald* and *Liutprand* his Predecessours had taken the same care before him; but he having seriously considered of what they had published, found some things good, and other things fit to be purged and corrected. Some five years he spent in the Studies of Peace and Laws, and then a fit of War took him, being no longer able to subsist without some Martial Diversions. He invaded *Pentapolis*, where having at the

Vide Sigonium.

Hildebrand his Nephew succeeds.

Deposed, and *Rachis* made King.

He corrects the Laws.

Sect. 4.

Makes War on the Bishop of *Romes* Towns.

the first onset taken most of the Towns, he passed thence into the Dukedom of *Rome*, and the Territories belonging to the Bishop, and laid close Siege to *Perusia*. The Emperour was far off, and seemed not much to regard how matters went in *Italy*. The Exarch had Will enough, but wanted Might to protect the Borders of his own Jurisdiction; much more to give assistence to his Neighbours at a distance. *Zachary* therefore saw it was incumbent upon him, seeing he could not doe it by force, to try if he could drive the danger farther from himself by his Authority, and undertake another Journey, his former having been so successfull.

52. He came to *Rachis* as he lay incamped before *Perusia*, and there sorely laid the Law unto him, urging how unbecoming, not to say wicked, a thing it was for a Catholick Prince, and one who had been so eminent a Law-maker to invade that to which he had no right, to injure other Christians, who had never by any Misdemeanour provoked him, and especially violate the Goods and Possessions of St. *Peter*. He is said to have made so copious and convincing an Oration concerning Justice and Oppression, and the Rewards and Punishments of another World, that *Rachis* not onely raised the Siege from before *Perusia*, but restored the places he had taken in *Pentapolis*: Nay, the Presence and Authority of the *Bishop* had such incredible influence upon him, that taking his Wife and Daughter along with him, he must needs the following year go to visit him at *Rome*, where he took Orders from the hands of *Zachary*, and became a Monk in the Monastery of St. *Benedict* at *Cassinum*; his Wife and Daughter bestowing themselves in a Nunnery not far off, of their own founding. Thus *Zachary* made Monks of Kings much at the same time, one at his own desire, and another sore against his will, at the Suggestion and Importunity of others; one by his own Resignation, and another at the ambitious solicitation of other persons: For this very year, as *Sigonius* reckons, did he by his Authority declare *Chilperick* King of the *Franks*, to be no King, and *Pipin* the Major of the Palace to enjoy the Title, as well as the Power; after which *Chilperick* was deposed, and thrust into a Monastery. But *Rachis* having thus outed himself after he had reigned about six years, the *Lombards* meeting together chose *Aistulf* his Brother to succeed him, a man as fit for the place as any, both in respect of his Wisedom and Courage. Yet in the beginning of his Reign he followed the footsteps of his Brother, preferring Peace before Martial Actions, and was perswaded by *Stephen* the Bishop of *Rome*, to enter into a League with his Church for forty years: No sooner had he taken upon him a Royal Crown, but *Anselme* the Duke of *Forum Julii*, whose Sister *Giseltrade* he had married, renounced his Ducal Coronet, and entred into a Monastery; into whose place *Peter* the Son of *Munichis* was preferred.

Perswaded by the Bishop he restores all,

And turns Monk.

A. D. 750.

His Brother *Aistulf* made King.

53. But *Aistulf* having setled well his matters, in the space of two years, had then as restless a fit upon him as *Liutprand* or *Rachis* his Predecessours, and as violent a passion for inlarging his Dominion. After the example of *Liutprand* he resolved to set first upon the Exarchate, because he thought *Constantine* the Emperour did not much concern himself with the Affairs of *Europe*, and if he should, he could least doe it at this time when he was engaged in another War, and all *Greece* and *Asia* were miserably wasted by a raging Pestilence. With greater preparations than ever formerly had been made he marched to *Ravenna*, and with all the strength the *Lombard* Kingdom could afford, set upon it. *Eutychius* who was still Exarch there made all the resistence he possibly could, arming the Townsmen, opposing force to force, and strategem to strategem, till seeing the Town exhausted and no hope of any succours from abroad, he resolved to yield, and without any hope of recovering the place as formerly, withdrew himself into *Greece*. The Head of the Exarchate or Metropolis being thus taken, all the inferiour Members easily were reduced to the same condition, together with *Pentapolis*. So here ends this Government of the Exarchs, or Lieutenants of the Emperours which had preserved, in an eminent height of lustre and dignity, a shew and representation of the ancient *Roman* Empire, for near two hundred years, from the time that *Narses* left his Employment. And here doth the constant Domination or Empire of *Revenna* receive its period, which began at such time as *Honorius* removed his Seat from *Rome* to this City.

Falls upon *Ravenna*.

Which being taken,

The Exarchate falls.

A. D. 753.

54. Now did the Kingdom of the *Lombards* comprehend all *Italy*, *Rome* onely, and the *Roman* or Pontificial Dominions excepted. *Aistulf* being Master of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, notwithstanding the League made with *Stephen*, grudged that so good a share of the Countrey should be kept from him, and easily made himself beleive he had a Title to it, seeing the Exarch formerly had Authority as well over the *Romans* as others, and how they came to be absolved from their

their obedience to the Emperour, whose Successour by right of War he was, he could not well see; notwithstanding the Heresie that had been laid to the charge of *Leo*, and the pretended power challenged by *Gregory* and his Successours of disposing of other mens Estates. In the fourth month therefore after the making of the League he entred with an Army the Territories of *Narnia*, which Town he presently took, and thence sent to the Bishop to let him know that he would by Arms reduce their Countrey and City to his absolute obedience, except they would yeild to pay him a yearly tribute of a golden *Solidus* for every Head. The Bishop being extremely startled at the Message, sent two Abbats of good Report back to him, to put him in mind of the League he had lately made, and by all Arguments and Perswasions to move him not to commit so perfidious, and otherwise wicked an act as he was about; and besides they went not empty handed: but the King rejected both the Messengers and their Presents. *Stephen* upon the first Irruption made by *Aistulf* into the Exarchate had dispatched away his Letters to *Constantine* to let him know what the *Lombard* designed, and to remonstrate to him how pernicious it would be to his Empire, and how great a blot would lye upon his memory to all posterity if he suffered these Dominions in *Italy* to be lost. The year after came *John* a Silentiary with Letters from the Emperour, written both to the King and the Bishop, whom *Stephen* sent away with his own Brother *Paul* to *Aistulf*, who then wintred at *Ravenna*, joyning with *Constantine* in this request, that he would restore such Places as he had already taken, and remove the danger from those which had reason to apprehend an impending mischeif. Sect. 4.

55. To this he onely said, that he would return answer to the Emperour by an Ambassadour of his own, which the Bishop understanding, sent to *Constantine* the second time, to let him know that Intreaties would doe nothing, and that therefore he was obliged in honour, by virtue of the Dignity which he bore, with Arms and Force to reduce the proud *Lombard* into order. No sooner were the Messengers dispatched, but *Aistulf* was in the Bowels of the *Roman* Territories, which he wasted with Fire and Sword, took their Towns, led away the Inhabitants into Captivity, and now at length removed to the City it self, where he denounced Ruine and Servitude, both to the *Romans* and their Prelates, except they would yeild up both their Cities and their own Persons into his Power. The Bishop in so great a strait, after his Prayers made, bethought himself of Foreign Aid, forasmuch as there was none could be hoped for out of *Italy*. He remembred the obligations which *Zachary* his Predecessour had put upon *Pipin* the new King of the *Franks*, by procuring him no less than the Kingdom, at least it was believed that it came by his means. He chose out a trusty Servant, who in the habit of a stranger escaped by the *Lombards* and got to *Pipin*, with this Errand, "That the Bishop would gladly meet him in some safe and convenient "place, but seeing he was Besieged and could not come at him, he desired he "would send his Ambassadours to procure him liberty to come to his presence. *Pipin* was very willing to pleasure him, not so much out of gratitude to his See, for what *Zachary* had done (by whose authority and reputation the deposition of *Chilperick*, a thing not to be believed had been made just and lawfull, though he had nothing committed which deserved so great a censure, and the fault was not his that was objected against him) as in forecast to serve himself of this present Pope in the behalf of his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman*, to settle the Succession upon them. Glad of such an occasion, he sent a Duke and an Abbat on the Embassy, who met with *John* the Silentiary, returned back with the Bishops Messengers from *Constantinople*, and joyning with him obtained leave for *Stephen* to come forth of the City. On the twenty second of *October*, the seventh Indiction he came forth, and with the Ambassadours took the way for *Pavia*, to which when he approached, *Aistulf* sent a Message to him, requiring that he should not ask of him *Ravenna*, or the Exarchate, or any thing which had been taken by the *Lombards*, "yet not affrighted he ceased not to importune him to "restore what he had unjustly got from other men, and particularly *Ravenna* the "Seat of the Empire in *Italy*; which the very Barbarous *Alboin* and *Authair* "had spared, lest he should be branded by Posterity, with more odious Epithetes "than those of Heathen and Heretick. The Ambassadours of *Constantine* made the same demand, but *Aistulf* was deaf to all their charmes, and very unwillingly, as he had reason, permitted the Bishop to goe for *France*.

Aistulf invades the *Roman* Territories.

The Bishop of *Rome* goes into *France*.

56. On the fourteenth of *November* he set forward toward the *Alpes*, and coming to *Pipin*, easily prevailed with him to undertake a War with the *Lombard*

Sect. 4.

bard for the Church, and the Redemption of the Exarchate; and because one good turn requires another he was prevailed with to stay till Winter was over, and the Army could be ready to march, and in the mean time to anoint Kings of *France*, *Charles* and *Carloman*, the more effectually to recommend them to the People. *Aistulf* all this while as a Man unconcerned about War, applied himself vigorously to the Affairs of Peace, making another Amendment of the Edict or Body of Laws formerly published, and so oft amended by his Predecessours. "In "the Preface he signifieth, that having seriously weighed what had been done by "them; he found some things wanting, which defect was the Original of great "Errours. Therefore in the fifth Year of his most happy Reign, in the Name "of God, on the first day of *March*, the seventh Indiction; having called toge-"ther his Judges from the several Parts of his Kingdom, he caused to be affixed to "the Leaves of the Edict, what seemed just to his Excellency, and agreeable to the "mind of the Lord. The Bishop of *Rome*, being all this while in *France*, fell sick, and therefore the Expedition was put off till the Month of *August*, wherein he anointed *Pipin*, his Wife and both their Sons. Then in Order to his Return, finding these Kings, and their Subjects sufficiently propense to gratifie him, whereas at his first coming he had so worded it, that *Pipin* understood the Exarchate was to be restored to the Commonwealth or Empire, now making use of his time he turned his Tale, and though he had so much preached the Doctrine of Restitution to the right Owners, unto *Aistulf*; he contended that neither the Exarchate nor *Pentapolis* was to be restored to the Emperour, for this reason, because *Constantine* was unworthy to have any thing to doe in *Italy*, who had forsaken it, and exercised open Enmity with the Church. If so be *Pipin* would discharge the Duty of a gratefull Man, or consult his Souls Health, or give any reward to the Bishop for the danger he had undergone, and the pains he had taken for the good of *Italy* and the Church, he should grant both the Countries to St. *Peter*. He so prevailed upon *Pipin*, that he openly promis'd, that in case it pleased God to make him victorious over the *Lombards*, to obtain the Remission of his Sins, he would take away the Exarchate, and *Pentapolis* from the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and deliver them to St. *Peter*, and his Successours, to be possessed by them for ever. This he caused the Clerk to record, and confirmed it farther by his own Oath, and the Oaths of his two Sons, *Charles* and *Carloman* then present.

Que Præcellentiæ nostræ secundum Dominum justa comparuerunt.

Proxima æstate exercitum trans Alpes trajecturum, & Aistulfum, si ultro nolit, per vim Exarchatum & cætera. loca juri Resp. restituere coacturum. Sigon. de Reg. Italiæ. lib. 3. p. 126.

Nè ea redderetur Imp. contendit. Quippe Constantium propter desertam Italiæ tutelam, & inimicitias cum Ecclesia apertè susceptas, indignum esse, qui rerum in Italia potiretur. Quod si Pipinus aut grati hominis officium præstare, aut, &c. p. 127.

57. During the Preparations for War, we are told that *Aistulf* was once and again importuned, and with great gifts allured to surrender the Cities; but when neither gifts nor intreaties would prevail, in the eighth Indiction, *Pipin* caused his Armies to begin their march through the Territories of *Vienna*. Now again it pleased the Bishop out of his Abhorrence of the Effusion of Bloud, and hope that he might by the report of so great an Army be frighted into a Compliance, to send once more to *Aistulf*, to invite him to doe by fair means, what else he should be compelled. By the Ambassadours of *Pipin* he sent his Letters, wherein by the Holy Mysteries, and the dreadfull day of Judgment it self, he besought him that peaceably and without bloud, he would restore what he had taken to the Holy Church, and the Commonwealth of the *Romans*. This he obstinately again refused to doe, adding Threats both against *Stephen*, *Pipin*, and his Followers. *Pipin* then proceeding towards *Italy*, sent a Party to the *Alpes*, to seize on the Straits, and secure his Passage, which *Aistulf* understanding, and despising the *Franks* for their Number, with a Multitude of his *Lombards* he hasted thither, and very confidently fell upon them; but the *Franks* having the Advantage of the Ground, and being a Party of choice Men picked out, so warmly received him, that they made great slaughter of his Men, which he not enduring is said to have ran away to *Pavia*, there to abide the Storm that was coming upon him. *Pipin* finding the Passage clear, marched on without any Molestation, and with the Accidents usually accompanying such Invasions, came and sate down before *Pavia*, whence perceiving that the King would not stir, he harassed the Countrey round about, and made his siege as strait as could be. *Aistulf* seeing what advantage the other had against him, within a short space thought it best to come to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed, that by a corporal Oath he should ingage to restore the Exarchate with *Pentapolis*, and whatsoever other Places he had taken, and for farther Confirmation hereof, give up forty Hostages which were to be sent into *France*. This done, *Pipin*, though in the middle of Winter, returned back into his own Countrey, and *Stephen* the Bishop with great Joy and Expectation to his See.

Pipin at his Request invades *Italy*.

And forces *Aistulf* to Terms.

58. They

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58. They being returned and the Tempest quite blown over, *Aistulf* repented of what he had done, and was so far from delivering up the Places, that gathering an Army together at *Ravenna*, he brake into the *Roman* Territories, and doing therein all violence possible came before the City, having seized on *Narnia*, which not long before he had restored. He thought that *Pipin*, having already discharged the Duty of a Friend, would no more pass over the *Alpes* in behalf of the Bishop; who, having quite other thoughts, sent away his Messengers by Sea, that they might have a more safe and speedy passage, by all things sacred conjuring the King, that he would make good what he had promised to St. *Peter*. *Pipin* in great wrath denounces War afresh, and for that purpose makes new Levies, which *Aistulf* hearing and surprized with the News, after three Months siege leaves *Rome*, and hurries away to defend his own Quarters. It was now Autumn, when *Pipin* being in a readiness began his march, and passing the *Alpes* with little Difficulty, came and besieged *Aistulf* in *Pavia*, as formerly. It was not yet known at *Rome*, that he had passed the Mountains, where were arrived from the Emperour two Ambassadours, *George* a Protonotary and *John* the Silentiary, who were to deal with *Pipin* about restoring the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to the Empire; for they had heard at *Constantinople*, how the *Roman* Bishop had been tampering about them. From *Rome* they streight departed for *Marseilles*, where being arrived, they had News of *Pipin's* being in the Territories of the *Lombards*. *Stephen* had also sent his Messengers with them, whom, because they might probably hinder his business, *George* caused his Fellow *John* there by some Arts to detain, and he went before to *Pavia*, where having Audience of *Pipin*, he delivered his Message as advantageously as he could. But *Pipin* with the greatest Piety (so the Bishop's Favourers write) answered, that by no humane Rewards he was induced to doe what he did, but inflamed with a desire of procuring the Favour of Almighty God, he had received the Church of *Rome* into his Protection, perswading himself it was for the Health of his Soul, and would avail for the Remission of his Sins. In case he should recover the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, he had sworn to deliver them to St. *Peter*, and his Successours; and by no reasons or Arguments whatsoever would be drawn from being as good as his word, and discharging his Duty.

Aistulf again for fear of *Pipin* quits *Rome*.

59. In the mean time *Aistulf* was closely besieged, and so much straitned, that fearing the Effects of a Storm, he sent out to *Pipin* his Plenipotentiaries to make an Agreement, who offered not onely to restore the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, but *Comachim* also to redeem his Peace. *Pipin* accepted of their Proposals, and the Agreement was ratified by Oaths, and giving up of new Hostages; which done, *Pipin* again surrendred the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to St. *Peter*, and his Successours to be held by them for ever, and commanded Instruments of the Donation to be drawn accordingly. Leaving *Fulrade* the Abbat to receive all agreed on from *Aistulf*, and to put them into the Bishop's Hands; he shortly after departed into *France*. *Fulrade* going with the Commissioners of *Aistulf*, received all the Cities of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* from their Hands, except *Ferraria*, *Faventia* and *Caballum*, and having from every one of them Hostages, he took along with him to *Rome* the Principal Inhabitants, and he laid up the Keys of the several Cities together with the Instruments of the Donation in the Confession of St. *Peter*. Now to understand these matters more clearly, the Reader may know, that in the Exarchate were comprised these Cities: *Ravenna*, *Bononia*, *Imola*, *Faventia*, *Forum Popilii*, *Forum Livii*, *Cæsena*, *Bobium*, *Ferraria*, *Comachim*, *Adria*, *Ficolæ* and *Gabellum*. *Pentapolis* contained these: *Ariminum*, *Pisauram*, *Concha*, *Fanum*, *Senogallia*, *Ancona*, *Auximum*, *Humana*, *Æsium*, *Forum Sempronii*, *Mons Feretri*, *Urbinum*, the *Balnensian* Territory, *Calles*, *Luceoli* and *Eugubium*, with the Forts and Territories to these Cities belonging, all which had afterward the Name of the Marquisate of *Ancona*. But thus the Bishop of *Rome* became possessed of other Mens Goods, the Reader sees how, and for what Reasons the Emperour the Right owner was deprived, by what Arts and Devices is also manifest. *Stephen* committed the Government of *Ravenna* to the Arch-bishop, and the Tribunes of the City, whereupon the Archbishop afterward wrote himself Exarch. As for *Aistulf* who was but justly compelled to surrender, having had as little right to these Estates as he who now possessed them; we are told that the following year he spent in Consultations how to break the Agreement, and toward the end of it, being in hunting either thrown by his Horse, or as others wrote wounded by a wild Boar died within a few days after, whose Actions we might possibly have had related with more favourable Circumstances, had either

And gives up the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* to the Bishop.

The Cities of the Exarchate.

Of *Pentapolis*.

756.

Aistulf dies.

Sect. 4. *Paul* the Deacon continued his History so far, or any other of his Nation written his Life, or any indifferent Pen had transmitted these Revolutions to Posterity. But *Paul* living in the time of *Charles* the Great, the Son of *Pipin*, when it was a Crime to write any thing well though truth of the *Lombards*, (for loosers in these cases of Conquest have not leave to talk) durst not burn his fingers by medling with matters of so late concernment; and therefore wisely left off where these things began, which brought destruction to the *Lombard* Kingdom. His Countreymen for the same Reason were all silent. They onely were Publishers of these transactions, who were joyned both in their Affections and Interests with the Prevalent Party.

Desiderius makes himself King.

60. Now was *Aistulf* dead, and none left to whom the Kingdom by right of Succession or Inheritance appertained. Therefore *Desiderius*, who had been his *Comes Stabuli*, or Master of the Horse, as also promoted to the Dukedom of *Tuscia*, set up for himself by the favour and assistence of the People of that Countrey. *Rachis* was still living, and so enraged at his Exaltation, that he exchanged his holy Zeal for Indignation, and purposed to leave acting the part of a Monk, and reassume his former dress of Royalty; and he wanted not either Advisers or Assistents to such an Undertaking, the Inhabitants of *Liguria*, *Æmilia* and *Venetia*, flocking to him. *Desiderius* hereat startled, as being in danger, not onely to miss of the Kingdom, but to loose his Dukedom too, took the right course to prevent both the one and the other: He betook himself to *Stephen* the *Roman* Bishop, and bargained with him to restore *Faventia*, *Caballum* and *Ferraria*, which *Aistulf* had still kept in his hands, if either by his Arms or Authority he could maintain him in his possession of the Kingdom. The Bishop having communicated the matter to *Fulrade*, the Abbat, resolved to attempt the thing, and sending him with his Brother *Paul* into *Etruria*, made a firm League and Alliance with *Desiderius*, and admonished *Rachis* now the Monk, to hold him to his present course of life, and not disturb him whom he had named King and taken for his Alley and Confederate. And if all should fail, *Fulrade* had got an Army of *Franks* and *Romans* together, to dispute the Controversie by dint of Sword. So *Rachis* gave over his Enterprize, and therewith the *Lombards* of his Party being discouraged, *Desiderius* enjoyed what he had got; and going to *Pavia*, where he solemnly entred upon the Government, he restored *Faventia*, *Caballum* and *Ferraria*, to the Church, according to Articles. Not long after died *Stephen* on the twenty fifth of *April*, a man ever to be had in remembrance by his Successours, for his inriching his See with the goodly Possessions of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*, to be compared (as *Sigonius* writes) with *Gregory*, sirnamed *Dialogus*, who procured for it the Dutchy of *Rome*.

61. *Paul* his Brother succeeded him, and renewed the League made with *Desiderius*, who, in the third year of his Reign, took his Son *Adulgise* to be his Partner in the Kingdom. *Gisulf* the Duke of *Beneventum* dying, he bestowed the Dutchy on *Agarisme*, who had married his Daughter *Adelperga*. For several years he bore himself with great respect to the *Roman* Church, and with a mind so devoted for Religious matters, that his own Daughter *Ansilberga*, he made Abbess of an Abby of his own founding, and otherwise he shewed himself a great Patron of that Profession. Thus he continued for some ten years, and then they tell us he began to shew himself another man; as if Ambition had been hereditary to these *Lombard* Kings. *Paul* the Bishop dying, he caused a Schism to be made by the illegal promotion of one *Constantine*, and when this Device was frustrated by the means of *Christopher* the *Primicerius* (or Assessor to the Bishop, as was the *Secundicerius* also, they sitting next to the Duke of the City) who to remove the Schism caused *Stephen* the Third to be Canonically chosen, he himself went to *Rome* under a shew of Devotion, and there dealt with *Affiarta* the Duke of the City, to accuse *Christopher* and his Son the *Secundicerius* of some feigned Crime, and then having seized and made them away, to imprison or drive thence the most Eminent Citizens, and so to tame the rest, as that they should not have courage to attempt any considerable matter: At the Instance of *Bertrade* Wife to the late *Pipin* of *France*, he gave his Daughter to *Carloman* one of her Sons, or rather two of his Daughters to her two Sons, for both are affirmed to have married this way. About two years after *Carloman* died, whose Widow *Berta* finding her self and young Sons not treated after the best fashion by *Charles* his Brother, they came into *Italy* to her Father, who was vehemently incensed against *Charles*, for putting away his other Daughter; and, desirous to imbrace any occasion of revenge, purposed to get the Boys Consecrated Kings by the

the new *Roman* Bishop. One of these things he hoped would follow: Either he should thereby procure an ill understanding betwixt *Charles* and the Bishop, or some Tumults and Stirs in *France*, which would present him with a fit opportunity of conquering *Rome* and all *Italy*. Sect. 4.

62. But not knowing how *Adrian*, at present Pope, stood affected, he would first try him, whether he would renew the League. He answered, he was willing to have all Christians his Friends, and the *Lombards* amongst the rest, upon those terms, whereon their Predecessours had founded their Alliance; but as for *Desiderius*, he had learnt so much of his falseness from *Stephen*, who had lately occupied that See, that he could not trust him; and when the Ambassadours promised with Oath, that he should give him full satisfaction; he said, that he would return Answer by Messengers of his own. *Desiderius* judging by this Reply, that he was not to be trusted, would get by force what he could not obtain by Intreaties; and when *Adrian* had not sate two full Months, he brake into the Exarchate, where he speedily took *Ferraria*, *Comachim* and *Faventia*; making open shew that he would attack *Ravenna* it self. *Adrian* having notice sent order to his Messengers that were on their way, as far as *Perusium*, to make demand of the places lately taken. The King answered, that if the Bishop would come to him he should command him; which he refusing to doe, he in great wrath invaded *Pentapolis*; where he wasted the Countrey belonging to *Senogaltia*, *Æsium*, *Monsferretri*, *Urbinum*, *Eugubium*, and other Cities, killing the principal Inhabitants of *Bleda*, who were gone out to reap their Corn, and carrying away much booty and Captives. *Ocriculi* also, within the Borders of *Rome*, underwent the same and worse fortune. Hereupon the Bishop sent to him the Abbat of St. *Vincent*, with twenty Monks of great Reputation for their Sanctity, who coming to *Pavia* cast themselves at his feet, and besought him with many tears, to give over those violent courses, and restore such Places as he had taken from the Church. To them he answered as before, that he would doe both if *Adrian* would come to him.

Desiderius breaks into the Exarchate.

63. To this purpose he sent Ambassadours of his own, who desired a meeting. *Adrian* made a solemn and religious Protestation, that if he would but restore the Towns of St. *Peter*, he would either give him a meeting at *Rome*, or where else he pleased, and consult with him for the quiet and Repose of *Italy*; and if he did not, it should be lawfull for him to re-invade the Places at his pleasure. But in case he would not restore them, he would never see his face, and he sent two to receive the Cities; but having protested the same, they received the same Answer as before. After their return others were sent, whom he refused to see, and with great threats dismissed, that he would bring his Army before *Rome*. *Adrian* then looking for extremity, caused the City to be fortified as well as it might be, and as *Stephen* his Predecessour had done, resolved to advertise *Charles* the King of the *Franks*, in what estate he was, and to desire his assistence. "He sent one *Peter* "by Sea to intreat him that, after the Example of his Father and Grandfather, he "would succour the Church now in distress, and the City of *Rome*, which was "threatned with destruction. The cause of so wicked an undertaking he told him "was palpable, to compell him to anoint the Sons of *Carloman*, which how it "stood with his Concernments he left it to him in his wisedom to judge. To this Crimination *Desiderius* answered in an Edict which he sent to *Grimoald* the Count of *Viterbium*, wherein he shewed he had well deserved of *Italy*, * contrary to what *Adrian* had laid to his charge. He reckons up many places built and repaired by him, and concludes, that this is not to destroy *Etruria*, as *Adrian* accuseth him, who refuseth Peace offered by him. He commands therefore *Grimoald*, that so long as Peace continueth doubtfull, he order all the Souldiers of *Tuscia* to be in Arms, and to furnish them with Provisions and Pay plentifully, that they may not onely be ready to receive an Enemy, but prepared also to make an Invasion. And he requires him not to burthen the People with new Exactions.

* *Nos enim non sumus Tusciæ destructores ut nos apud Gallos accusat Hadrianus Papa, nam in Tuscia æ dificavimus à fundamentis, &c. Vide Sigonium, p. 138. Hoc itaque non est Etruriam destruere, ut nos arguit Hadrianus, qui pacem ultrò à nobis oblatam respuit; quare tibi Grimoalde Præfecte Viterbiensis præcipimus, &c.*

64. *Adrian* his Messenger got safe to *Charles*, and easily obtained a promise to stand by his Master in all his difficulties whatsoever; for *Charles* remembred what advantages his Ancestours had got by adhering to the Church of *Rome*, and had no reason to hope less than any of them, considering how the World went at this time. He sent to *Desiderius* requiring him to restore to the Bishop what was belonging to him, who promised to give him full satisfaction; but he was resolved to try another course. Taking his Son *Adulgise* along with him, with his Daughter *Berta* and her Sons, in a peaceable manner he went towards *Rome*, under pretence of paying a Vow at the Sepulchres of the Apostles, which when he

Sect. 4. came as far as *Spoletum*, he caused to be signified to the Bishop. *Adrian* caused the Walls and Gates to be strictly guarded, forbidding he should have any entrance, and the Churches of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* without the Walls, to be fast locked and barred up; which notwithstanding, when he proceeded on his way, he sent to him as he lay at *Interamna*, denouncing unto him by all things sacred, that without his leave he should not set his foot within the *Roman* Territories. He had before composed a Song of heavy Curses against him, his Family, and those that accompanied him in his Journey. But this Denunciation caused him to go back, though with an angry and revengefull mind. For now came Ambassadours from *Charles* to see whether he had satisfied the Bishop, who at their return sent some of his own back with them, and ordered them to call upon *Desiderius* at *Pavia*, where they had as cool welcome, and as resolute an Answer, as those that had been before them. Proceeding then in their Journey, they solicited *Charles* for help to recover the Cities, which to obtain by fair means, he is said, once more to have sent to *Desiderius*, offering him fourteen thousand *Solidi* to satisfie the Bishops pretensions, but to no purpose; resolving therefore to force him to it for nothing, he call'd an Assembly of his *Franks*, and related to them the whole matter. There was none present who did not load *Desiderius* with Invectives, and give his Vote for sending speedy relief to the Church. Then was the War resolved on, and Levies of Souldiers were made greater for number, and with more care and accuratenes than ever formerly had been known, which clearly signified to any intelligent Persons, that how specious soever their pretences were, the *Franks* buckled themselves to this Expedition, not so much for the relief of the Church, as to put a Period to the Kingdom of the *Lombards*.

65. The whole Army coming to the Rendezvous at *Geneva*, *Charles* divided it into two Parties, whereof the one he committed to the Conduct of his Uncle *Bernard*, and the other he led himself another way. *Desiderius* having certain Intelligence of his Motions, sent some Troops with speed, to make good the Straits, then did he gather out of the Dukedoms of *Forum Julij*, *Beneventum*, *Spoletum*, *Etruria*, and his whole Kingdom, a vast Army, which he ordered to march to *Augusta* and *Taurinum*, to give *Charles* Battel, in case he should descend from the Mountains. *Charles* drawing nigh the *Alpes*, once more (they say) sent to him, offering him the same Sum of Money as formerly, and requiring but the Sons of his Judges, as Hostages, for delivery of the Towns, but he gave the same resolute Answer; which received, the *Franks* continued their March till they came to the Straits, which they found seized by the *Lombards*. *Charles* perceiving they stopt the Passage, sent a Party over the Mountains another way, to come upon the back of *Desiderius*, which Device took very well; for it put the King into such a fright, that by Night he left his Camp and ran away, which *Charles* understanding, followed him as fast as he might, and in the pursuit killed many of his followers. But here we arrive at a piece of difficulty, our Authours not agreeing amongst themselves concerning what followed, though as we said, being of the contrary Party, they are no ways favourable to the poor *Lombards* who had no Writers to discover their partiality. One saith that a great Battel was now fought in a Field lying betwixt *Novaria* and *Papia*, where *Desiderius* received a great Overthrow, and thence the place had the name of *Mortaria*. Others will have *Desiderius*, without giving Battel, to have fled (scarcely looking behind him all the way) to *Pavia*, where he shut himself up, having strongly fortified the City. His Son *Adulgise*, with *Berta* and her Children, he sent to *Verona*, the second place for strength and convenience in the Kingdom.

Charles King of the *Franks* invades *Italy*.

66. Before such time as *Desiderius* went towards the *Alpes*, we are told that some of his Subjects of *Spoletum*, and of the *Reatines*, despairing of his Success, went to *Rome*, and put themselves into the hands of the Bishop, whence followed some out of every City (like good Subjects doubtless) and in St. *Peter*'s Church, prostrating themselves at his feet, swore perpetual Fidelity and Obedience to the *Roman* Church, cutting their Beards and their Hair after the fashion of the place. But after it was once noised that *Desiderius* was beaten back from the Straits, all the rest, in a manner, fled to *Rome*; where binding themselves with the same Oath, they were kindly entertained. The Bishop using moderation, with the approbation of the Inhabitants, made *Hildebrand* Duke of *Spoletum*; and to such *Lombards* as would dwell at *Rome*, he gave a place to Inhabit, which from them received the Name of *Lombard-street*. The Example of those of *Spoletum*, was followed

followed by the *Firmani*, those of *Auximum* and *Ancona*, with the Citizens of the Castle of *Felicity*, who cut their Hair, and surrendered themselves into the Dominion of the Church. But *Charles* perceiving *Desiderius* would not fight, besieged him close in *Pavia*, whither he sent for his Wife and Sons; and there in the Camp spent the former part of a sharp Winter, till *Christmas* was over. The Solemnity being past, he committed the Siege to the care of his Uncle *Bernard*, and went himself and beleagured *Verona*, where *Adulgise* despairing of holding out, fled, and went into *Greece*; after whose departure the Inhabitants quickly surrendered the place, and therein *Berta* and her Sons, into the hands of *Charles*, who we are told, sent them into *France*, and treated them very honourably; and well he might, considering what an Interest they had in that Countrey. *Verona* being gone, upon Summons the rest of the Cities beyond the *Poe*, yielded themselves to the Conquerour, who then returned and reinforced the Siege of *Pavia*. *Easter* now began to approach, the Feast whereof *Charles* had a great desire to celebrate at *Rome* with the Bishop. Leaving the Siege to be carried on by *Bernard*, with a splendid Train he took his way thither, and being honourably received in every place he passed, on *Easters* Eve he arrived at the City.

Sect. 4.

Verona yielded.

Charles goes to *Rome*.

67. *Adrian* conceived himself obliged in the most honourable way he could, to receive a King so great, who had done so mighty matters for the Church, and was in a fair way to effect more. First, all the Judges went out and received him with Banners thirty Miles from the City. A Mile off all the Schools met him, the Children bearing in their hands the Branches of Palmes and Olives, and singing out his Commendations. The Rere was brought up by many Cross-bearers, as it was the Custome of old for Exarchs and Patritians to be received. The Bishop himself early in the morning, with all the Clergy and People, went to the *Vatican* Church, where sitting with his Clergy upon the Steps, he received him. *Charles*, as soon as he saw the Crosses, alighted from his Horse, and with his Judges went the rest of the way on foot, till he came to the Steps, to every of which (you must know) giving a kiss, he mounted up to the Bishop, by whom being lovingly received, after mutual Imbraces and Congratulatory Speeches, he was brought into the Church, all the Clergy singing, and calling him the Authour of the Publick safety and Liberty, and merrily acclaiming, *Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord.* Afterward with a Train of Bishops, Abbats, and the Followers of *Charles*, they came to the Confession, where prostrate on the ground, they rendred thanks to God and St. *Peter* for so great a Victory; which done, the King desired he might go into the City to perform a Vow, and visit the Churches, which the Bishop permitted; each having first sworn over the Holy Body of the Apostle, that he intended no harm to the other. First, he went to our Saviour's Church in the *Laterane*; where seeing the Bishop administer Baptism, after a little stay, he returned to the *Vatican*. The day following being *Easter* day, he made a solemn Entry into the City, the second time being received by the Judges and the *Roman* Souldiers, and came to the Church of St. *Mary ad Præsepe*, where after Service he dined with *Adrian* in the *Laterane*. On the third day in the *Vatican* after Prayers, the Bishop caused solemn thanks to be given him in an Oration. Herein the kindnesses of *Pipin* and *Martell* to the *Roman* Church were commemorated; the great Piety, Faith and Fortitude of the Family were gloriously set forth, and therewith was joyned great Commendations of the whole Nation. It was told the Auditours that *Charles* (not in the least degenerating from the worth of his Ancestours) was come with a mighty Army against the Enemies of the Church; and by the help of God, had been as prosperous as he had been ready to undertake the work. And it was to be hoped, that within few days all *Italy* would have cause to congratulate his complete Victory, as now both *Italy* and the Church gave him hearty thanks for what he had already performed.

68. On the fourth day *Charles* was present at Service in the Church of St. *Paul*. On the fifth the Bishop procured him to meet him in the Palace of the *Vatican*, where in the presence of their Judges he desired him to make good what *Pipin* his Father, he himself, and his Brother *Carloman* had ingaged to *Stephen* at *Carisiacum*. Hereupon *Charles* caused the Instruments of the Ingagement to be read, afterward with his Judges approved them, they containing a Grant of the Exarchate and *Pentapolis*. *Iterius* his Secretary he commanded to add a new Grant, and therein to add *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, the Territory of *Sabinum*, the Dukedoms of *Spoletum* and *Tuscia*, with the Revenues paid formerly for these Dukedoms to

Charles makes a new Donation to the See of *Rome*.

Sect. 4. to the *Lombard* Kings; always excepted the Royal Prerogative and Authority, over these Dukedoms. The Instruments of this Donation being signed with his own hand, and attested by the Bishops, Abbats, and his Secretaries, he deposed upon the Altar of St. *Peter*, and in the Confession, as Monuments in time to come, binding by Oath himself and his to the observance of them; and took a Copy of them along with him. For this Donation the Testimony of *Anastasius* the Popes Library-keeper is produced, an Epistle of *Adrian* himself to *Constantine* the Emperour and his Empress *Irene*, and the Instruments of *Ludowick* the Son of *Charles*, wherein it is more fully expressed, and whence it appears that the *Lombard* Dukedom of *Tuscia*, comprehended the Castle of *Felicity*, *Orbitum*, *Balneoregium*, *Ferenti Castrum*, *Viterbium*, *Marchia Tuscana*, *Populonium*, *Soanæ* and *Rosellæ*. These things thus appointed, when *Charles* had made a stay of eight days in *Rome*, and in this space satisfied the desires of the Church-men as well as his own Curiosity, he returned to the Camp at *Pavia*.

69. Here *Desiderius*, in a most fortified City, resolved to hold out, knowing that all the Kingdom would be lost with it, and if it were safe the rest might easily be recovered. Though there was small hope of starving the place, or carrying it by any strategem, yet the reasons that made *Desiderius* resolved on one side, made *Charles* as peremptory on the other, resolving not to raise the Siege till he should have some good account of it. But that which breaks stone Walls, broke at last the resolution of *Desiderius*, and broke open the Gates to the *Franks*, not onely the Townsmen but Souldiers too, being conquered by Hunger, which being accompanied by a raging Pestilence, drew necessity upon the King, a thing too powerfull for him to withstand; so that at last he yeilded up himself, his Wife and Children, and all he had into the Power of *Charles*. By so doing, if we believe the flourishes of *Sigonius*, he was more famous, *viz.* by loosing his Kingdom, than either was *Alboin* for beginning it, or *Agilulf* for reducing it into form and order, so much fame and favour did the greatness of the Conqerour procure unto him. But here was the period of the Kingdom of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, in the two hundred and sixth year after their seizing on that Countrey, the seven hundred and seventy fourth year of our Lord. However some Bishops of *Rome* have bespattered the Nation, and the success of *Charles* both eclipsed their glory and ingaged all Pen-men on his side and the Pope's (so that this late Revolution is described to us with unworthy and unprobable circumstances on the Part of *Desiderius*) yet were they a People very Warlike and considerable. Their Domination being barbarous and cruel at first, after they came to taste of Christian Religion grew more mild and benign: witness their good and wholesome Laws, whereby Theft, Robberies, Murthers and Adultery were severely punished, and the Liberty and Property of private men most carefully provided for; witness the magnificent Churches, rich and spatious Monasteries, wherewith as Monuments of their Religion they adorned that part of *Italy* where they had most power; the sumptuous Palaces and endowments of Bishopricks, the notable Towns they either built from the ground or repaired, the many men eminent for sanctity, which they highly cherished; and even the Bishop of *Rome* himself whom they greatly inriched. And though with *Sigonius* we conclude that Ambition, and a lust of Reigning cast them down from the Royal height of Dignity and their ancient Dominion in *Italy*, yet we shall conclude also that the enjoyment of other mens Rights, Success and Conquest, though they varnish over Names and Titles, to wise and sober Persons argue neither true worth, nor solid Felicity.

Desiderius delivers up himself and all he hath to *Charles*.

The Kingdom of the *Lombards* ends.

70. But having lately mentioned the Laws of the *Lombards*, we must not dismiss them without some farther reflexions upon that Subject. They had not onely written Laws purely digested and supplied by their several Princes upon occasion, but customary, whereby Lands and Possessions were held by Services. These are called *Feuda* or *Feoda*, concerning which, both as to the Etymology of the word and the original of the thing, opinions are various. Some derive the word from *Faida* (whence our *Fewde*) signifying enmity, strife, war or division, in the Tongue of the *Lombards*; some from the word *Fœdus*, a League or Alliance; some from *Fieri*, and others from *Fides* or *Fidelitas*. Accordingly the word is variously written sometimes, (*Feodam* and *Feudam*) otherwhile *Foeudum*, and *Fœdum* also. It properly signifies a Salary, or Stipend, and Secondarily, or by way of Translation, the Lands or Territories, which by the good will and bounty of the Lord, the Vassal enjoys in the place or room of a Stipend or Salary. It seems therefore to be derived from the *Saxon* or *Teutonick* word,

(*Feoda* whence so called.)

word, ꝼeo, ꝼeh, or ꝼeoh, which the ancient *Franks* called *Fe*, and we at this day *Fee*, for so was and is called a Salary, Stipend, or Reward. The *Saxon* letter þ might well be changed into ȣ, or rather *hade* or *hod* might be added, which in *Saxon* signifies a State, Order, or Condition. So might it be called *Feodum* from ꝼeohaȣ or ꝼeohoȣ, as that which was possessed in the quality or condition of Reward or Stipend. So our *Saxon* Ancestours called the Military Order, cnyꝿhȣ-haȣ, as we at this day Knight-hood, and many other things in like manner, as we now say Father-hood, Child-hood, Man-hood, and the like. Sect. 4.

71. Whencesoever the word had its Original, the Original of the thing hath been as much controverted; some derive it from the Laws and Customs of the *Romans*, from their Patrons and Clients; it being the custome from the time of *Romulus* for *Plebeians* to make choice of certain Patritians for their Patrons to protect them, as we have formerly shewn out of *Dionysius*, they being to serve them with their lives and fortunes upon occasion. In imitation of them the Provincials, and the Associates of the People of *Rome* had their Patrons in the Senate. Others will have the Stipends of the *Roman* Souldiers in the Civil Law called *Militiæ* to have resembled these *Feuda*, and some compare the *Coloni Glebæ ascriptitii*, to these Vassals and Feudataries. But their opinion most resembles the truth, who in this point of the *Romans*, think the *Feuda* to have begun under *Alexander Severus*, at least under *Constantine* the Great. For *Severus*, as *Lampridius* the Historian informeth us, to the Captains and Souldiers of the *Limits*, gave those grounds that had been taken from the Enemy to be possessed by their Heirs, in case they served in the Wars, wisely concluding that they would be more carefull and industrious to defend their own; which *Constantine* perceiving not to have been practised without reason, ordered that these grounds should pass also to the Heir called *Hæres Paganus*, the more to oblige his Souldiers to him. But all these Remarks conclude nothing as to the Nature of the *Feuda*, as they are now received amongst the several Nations, being constituted in a moveable thing, or such as come near thereto, the use and *Utile Dominium* whereof, is onely granted to the Client, but the Propriety or direct Dominion, necessarily remains in the Granter and his Heirs, and besides that Fidelity which the Client by oath promiseth to his Patron (from which the one is called *Dominus*, and the other *Fidelis*) or Lord, is reserved a certain Jurisdiction over the Client or Vassal in case he acted or omitted any thing contrary to their Agreement, and the Nature of the Action of a *Feudum*, of which there is nothing to be found either in the Laws or Customs of the *Romans*. A Person very eminent in his Profession writes, that he had looked over all *Roman* Treatises, and those Books also which have been written of these *Feuda*, and from them all (a very few onely excepted) he pronounces that the *Feuda* were utterly unknown to the *Roman* Laws, and not the least Footsteps of them are to be found in that of *Justinian*, but that they rose up from the Manners and Customs of other Nations after the *Roman* Empire was ruined in the West.

Vid. Dr. Duke, de Auth. Juris civilis, lib. 1. cap 6.

Molinæus des Fefs. n. 5.

72. But of what Nations it is farther controverted. The same learned Person is concerned for the Honour of his own, and besides him some few others contend that the *Feuda* were introduced by the Kings of the *Franks*, before the Domination of the *Lombards* in *Italy*. It appears indeed from *Gregory Turonensis* and others, that there were Dukes and Counts which held certain Territories, and that there were *Leudes* which are interpreted Vassals. But yet from the Nature of the Offices of these Dukes and Counts, can nothing certain be concluded to make them *Feuda*; so uncertain was their Tenure and Succession therein, and some Image or Resemblance there might be of these *Feudataries*, but no perfect *Idea* of these *Leudes*. The general opinion of Authours is that the *Feuda* had their Original from the *Lombard* Kings in *Italy*, who, as the Reader may discover by what we have written, were wont to grant Cities, Towns and Territories to Dukes and Captains to use and enjoy, the direct Dominion ever reserved to themselves. For farther Confirmation hereof, and in answer to what is objected on the *French* Part, there is one who proves, that the greatest part of the Customs, and most of the words which the *French* themselves use about these *Feuda*, were taken from the *Lombards*. The words are *Teutonick*, and savour not onely of the *German* Tongue, but its most ancient Dialect or the old *Saxon*; whence, and because the *Lombards* were a *Teutonick* Nation, some will have the first Original of *Feuda* to have been in *Germany* it self, and they fancie they find somewhat of the Condition of Vassals in the Story of *Tacitus*, which he tells concerning the *Comites* amongst the *Germans*; who brought Council and Authority to the Princes of

Gregor. Turon. l. 8. c. 9.

They had their Original from the *Lombards*.

Equinarius Baro, de jure benefic. lib. 1. in præf. ad Joan. Bertrand. Franc. Cancel.

Spelmanni Glossar. in voc. Feudum.

Sect. 4. of the Villages, and they think this adds some force to their Conceit, that Vassal is derived by some Etymologists from the *German* word *Gessel*, by which is expressed the *Latin* word *Comes*.

73. The truth seems to be this. There was something of this sort of Service and Dependence practised by the ancient *Germans*, which being by all the Barbarous *Teutonick* Nations partly brought out of that Countrey, were mightily strengthened and confirmed by certain practices, which at that time the Necessity of Affairs put the *Roman* Emperours and other Princes upon. *Severus* and *Constantine* the Great, and after them others found it highly convenient for the Safety of their Territories, to bestow part of them upon Captains, and Souldiers as Wages, or Fees, or Rewards, and placed them upon the Borders where most danger lay, that by protecting what they now looked upon as their own, by one and the same Act they might also defend the whole Empire. Barbarous Princes taking up this custome, as highly necessary, formed it according to their own, and shaped it into a Service and Dependence suitable to their own *German* practices. Hence came it to pass that not onely the *Lombards*, but in truth the *Franks* had some Services of this Nature, and this is to be observed, that these *German* Nations the nearer they were to the *Romans*, and the more subjected to Invasions, the more perfect and formal were these Vassalages and Services. Therefore do we hear little or nothing of *Feuda* amongst our *Saxon* Ancestours here in *Britain*, nor amongst the *Goths* in *Spain*. The *Lombards*, being nearest the *Romans*, learnt the fore-mentioned Custome from them, and being as in a Pit invironed with Adversaries, were put upon joining it with their own, and framing them into a *German* or *Teutonick* Model. As the Emperours of old assigned Lands to their Captains by way of Fee or Stipend, and to protect the Borders, so did they. But they added a peculiar Oath of Fidelity and Homage, and not onely Grounds upon the Limits in the Mouth of Danger, but even all their Countrey they distributed to be held by Fidelity and Services, as we see by the many Dukedoms into which it was divided. And mutual at last, by practice and continuance, began the Obligations of Lord and Vassal. At first it was in the Power of the Lord *Lib. 1. Tit. 1.* to take away what he had granted in *Feudo* when he pleased. Afterward it was to be certain to the Vassal for a Year, and a Year onely, and at length the Possession was extended to the Term of Life. But his Posterity being still unprovided for, it was brought down to one of his Sons, on whom the Lord would please to confer it, and at last came to be distributed equally amongst them all.

74. Afterwards *Conradus Salicus* the Emperour, in the Year 1025, going to *Rome* to take the Crown from the Hands of *John*, the twentieth, his Vassals petitioned him to exact by a Law, that the *Feoda* might descend to Grandsons, and that a Brother or his Son might succeed to one that died without lawfull Issue, in that which had been possessed by their Father. But in case one of the Brothers received a Fee (so now will we call it) from the Hands of a Lord; he dying without a lawfull Heir, his Brother could not succeed in the Fee, and although it were received in general, yet could not one succeed the other, except it was expresly by Name so provided; *viz*, that one dying without lawfull Heirs the other should succeed, to be sure an Heir being left the other Brother should be excluded. Its farther to be understood, that a Fee or *Beneficium* collaterally went anciently no farther than Cousin-Germans, but in succeeding times came to be stretcht as far as the seventh Degree, and to Males in a descending Line *in infinitum*. And this is to be noted, that though Daughters as well as Sons succeed their Fathers, by the Laws yet they are prohibited to succeed in a Fee, as also their Sons except especial Provision be made for them. This little History of Fees is given us by the Compiler *Gerard Niger*, wherein is to be observed, that as to what he writes concerning their descending upon Males by a new Law *in infinitum*, that in *France* these inferiour Fees, as well as Dukedoms, Counties, Baronies, and the like came to be hereditary under *Hugh Capet*, who began his Reign eight and thirty years before the Law made by *Conradus*. From this time forward Noblemen (the lesser Nobles or Gentlemen are included) from their Fees began to take Sirnames to themselves, and to their Names to add *de such a place*, a thing so ridiculously practised in *France* to this day, that if a mean man that can write himself but *Sieur*, have five or six Sons, if he have so many little Hamlets or even Cottages erected in several Grounds, each must be denominated from one of them. In case he be not so wealthy, if he have a Mill in his Ground, a Rock in his Field, or a Meadow belonging to his Cottage, one must be called *de Moulin*, another *de la Roche*, and another *des Prez*, whereby you would take

take them for Persons of Extraordinary Extract and Revenue, Persons indeed that deserve, as Lords to impose Manners, Fashions and Language upon a World so inconsiderate. Sect. 4.

75. But by such Degrees came Vassals to be possessed of Fees, which they lost again by many Acts of Ingratitude and Unfaithfulness, several Crimes which are not here to be related at large, but onely to be touched on. As first in case after the Death of the Lord or Vassal, the Heir came not within a year and a day to swear fealty, and desire Investiture. If three times being cited to the Lord's Court, to receive Investiture and swear Fealty he refused it. If he refused to perform the Services due, or renounced his Fee. In case he sold it without consent of his Lord; For so the Services due to the Lord should come to nothing, the Vassal being reduced to Want or Beggary. If he infeoffed any other Person with other Conditions, than he himself held the Fee, or such a Vassal as was not in a Condition to serve it. If he took Holy Orders, or a Religious Vow upon him. If he acted contrary to what was expressed in his Oath of Fidelity. In case he committed another Felony by betraying his fellow Vassal, so as he could not appear in Court. These Crimes or Felonies respected the Fee it self, such as follow the Lord of the Fee himself. As in case he made an Assault upon his Lord's Person, or by Sword or Poison contrived his Ruine: or by Force and Arms set upon any Castle or Town, in which his Lord or Lady resided. If in any Fight or Battel he forsook his Lord, or when it was in his Power, he freed him not from the danger of death or a Siege. If knowing any one to contrive the Assaulting, Taking, the Death or great Damage (in his Patrimony) of his Lord, he did not make him acquainted therewith, as speedily as might be. In case he turned Enemy to his Lord, or adhered to his Enemies. If he turned Accuser of his Lord, or brought him into any great danger. If he accused him, or bore witness against him. If he betrayed his Councils or Secrets. If he made him a Cuckold (*Si Dominum Cucurbitaverit*) and wantonly sported with his Wife. If he lay with his Daughter, his Son's Daughter, his Son's Wife; or the Sister of his Lord remaining in his House. In case he would not doe him Justice. If he committed Felony against or Cuckolded one of the Lords, of whom he was the Common Vassal, he was onely to forfeit that Part. If so be the Vassal killed his own Brother, or his Brother's Son to get the Inheritance: or betrayed his Fellow Vassal, so as he could not stand any more in Court, he should be deprived of his Benefice or Fee; but forasmuch as this Felony was not committed against the Lord, the Fee should not fall to the Lord, but to the next Kinsman by the Father's side. If he killed the Brother of his Lord, it seemed no Felony, for he lost not his Fee. Neither indeed seems that to be Felony, properly so called, which the Lord committed against his Vassal, although it was equally punished. Nor was Felony always punished with a perpetual loss of the Fee.

Lib. Feud. passim & vide Spelman. Glossar. in voc. Felonia.

76. Besides the loosing of the Fees, to which Vassals were by these means obnoxious, they were also subjected to many, and often very heavy Services. First, they swore a most strict Fealty and Allegiance to their Lords, whence in some Histories they are to be known by the Name of *Fideles*, and performed their Homage in a very humble, if not servile manner, the forms and fashions whereof we cannot here discover. Upon Summons from the Lord they were obliged to arm themselves, to follow his Standard, and stand by him in all Dangers of the Field. Besides they were obnoxious to the payment of many Tributes, Aids or Subsidies. And when they died, their Lords were to have Custody of their Fees with the Gardianship, and Manage of their Heirs under Age. And from those that were Adult, Relief for their Consent to enter upon the Inheritance; at least in some places. The manner of Investiture into Fees, was solemn and various. The Greater by delivery of a Banner; in *France* by ancient Custome both Bishopricks, and all other Fees by a Ring, and a Staff, by them *Rain* and *Baston*. Sometimes it was done by delivery of a *Sword*, an *Instrument* in *Writing*, a *Clod of Earth*, an *Arrow*, a *Rod* or other things. Fees were variously distinguished, as some were Imperial and Regal conferred by Emperours and Kings, as, Dukedoms, Marquisates, Counties which were held *in Capite*, or from the Prince, whence the Possessours were called *Capitanei*. Others were of a middle Nature, being conferred by these *Capitanei* to inferiour Vassals, as Barons, Valuassours and *Castellani*. Another sort was Military, conferred by these Barons, Valuassours and *Castellani*. Yet was not this Distinction so solemnly observed, but that the *Capitanei* conferred Fees, simply Military, and Princes as well one sort as another. There were several other sorts

Sect. 4. distinguished according to the Nature of the Fees themselves, and of those that received them, of which its not our part here to discourse.

77. It's more proper for us farther to acquaint the Reader, that these Customs being various and growing to Multitudes, Judges in the Determination of Controversies concerning Fealty and Obedience of Vassals, became confounded in their Sentiments and Judgments, as in Customs not written it ever happens. Therefore about the Year of Our Lord 1152, one *Obertus Ortensius* of *Milan*, assisted by *Gerard Niger Capagistus*, under the Reign of the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa* digested these Customs concerning the use of Fees, into two * Books. Unto these Uses of Fees compiled by him, were afterwards added the Constitutions of *Lotharius* the First, *Lotharius* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Lotharius* the Third; and *Frederick* the First and Second; after which the Books of Fees became of such request in all Countries, that they equalled in Reputation the very *Roman* Laws of *Justinian* himself. From them by universal Consent, all Controversies not onely concerning meaner Fees, but Dukedoms, Marquisates, and the like were decided. And although some there have been that contended, that the *Lombards* Laws of Fees have no place in *France*, where they will have these Fees to have been Patrimonial, and in the free Disposition and Dominion of Clients, being called *Allodia*, yet other very eminent Lawyers of that Nation contradict them, whoaffirm that these Laws of Fees take place in all the *French* Provinces, especially those which are *Juris Scripti*, where the Customs of the particular places do not oppose them; for in several Provinces of *Italy*, as that of *Monsferrat*, and *Mantoua*, the *Lombardick* Fees are changed into Patrimonies and *Allodia*, Alienations passing without the Knowledge of the Lord, Daughters succeeding, and several other things wherein the Provinces rejecting the strict Doctrine of Fees in these Points, have returned to the Directions and Practice of the Civil Law.

* *Præter hos Hotomannus obtrudit unum, Cujacius tres alios.*

78. Out of *France*, the use of Fees was by *William* the Conquerour brought into *England*, where he distributed the conquered Countrey amongst his Souldiers; the *Scots* pretend to have received them about sixty Years before, in the Reign of *Malerline* the Second, but by Learned Men it is esteemed no more than a Pretension. That our *Saxon* Ancestours had some sort of Knowledge and Practice of them, being Cousin-Germans to the *Lombards*, may be granted, but this knowledge and practice was very small, for the Reasons we have already alledged. Concerning the Fees brought in by the Conquerour; what peculiar Rules and Practices they have acquired different from all the World besides, let our Municipal Lawyers tell if they please. It sufficeth me (who have already said too much) to put the Reader in mind, that the *Feuda* or Fees reduced into some Order came from our *Lombards*. The Consent of Authours, so will have it. This is strengthened by this Observation, that the *Lombards* were addicted to this Course, more than any other People. That *Obert* and *Gerard* were of *Milan* in that Countrey, and that in *Italy*, these Laws most flourished from the time of *Otho* the Great, to that of *Lotharius* the Third, while the Civil Law was wholly silent. But these Fees were founded as we said upon Custome, and therefore amongst the ancient written Laws of the *Lombards*, we never meet with the word *Feudum*, and the other word *Beneficium* signifying the same, is very rarely to be found.

SECT. IV.

SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the *Franks* in *Italy*, from the Captivity of *Desiderius*, to the Promotion of *Charles* King of the *Franks*, to the Title of Emperour.

The Space 27 Years.

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1. *Desiderius* being conquered and taken, and all the rest of the *Lombards* having after his Example yielded up themselves and their Towns, *Charles* the Conquerour by right of Victory, challenged to himself the Kingdom of *Italy*, which that he might establish to himself by a new Title, he made use of the old Decree of *Gregory* the *Roman* Bishop, as it was accounted. At *Modostia* he caused himself to be Crowned with an Iron Crown, by the hands of the Archbishop of *Milan*, and ordained, that the same course should be used by his Successours. And it was performed with great Ceremony, as appeared from an ancient Ritual called *Ordo Romanus*, which *Sigonius*, as it concerned this matter, transcribed to this purpose, the King was out of his Chamber led into the Church by Bishops, and being conducted to the high Altar, after some solemn Prayers the Archbishop demanded of the People, whether they would subject themselves to such a King, and with constant Fidelity obey his Commands. The People answering, Yes; with holy Oil he annointed his Head, Breast, Shoulders, and the Joynts of his Arms; praying that both in War and in Issue he might be prosperous. Having then girt him with a Sword, put upon him Bracelets, a Robe, a Ring, and a Sceptre into his hand, he set the Crown upon his Head; and having through the Quire led him to his Throne, thereon he placed him, and having given him the kiss of Peace, then celebrated Divine Service. This Ceremony was now performed to *Charles* by *Thomas* the Archbishop of *Milan*, and hence he and his Successours accounted themselves so considerable, and to contend for Dignity with him of *Ravenna*.

Charles Crowned King of *Italy*.

2. The Ceremony of Coronation being thus over, *Charles*, now as Lord of *Italy*, thought it is duty to settle the Frame and Polity thereof, and for this purpose resolved to go to *Rome* to consult with *Adrian*. He having notice of his Intentions, called an hundred and fifty Bishops together, with many Abbats, and solemnly receiving him into the City, consulted with them what Honours to bestow upon him. They were unanimous in this, that a King so potent, and who together with his Father and Grandfather, had so much deserved of the *Roman* Church, was to be rewarded with some extraordinary mark of Honour. It was universally then agreed and consented to by all the Nobility, that he should be a *Roman* Patritian; that throughout the Provinces he should institute Archbishops and Bishops; so that except commanded and instituted by him, they should not be Consecrated by any: That he should chuse the Bishop of *Rome*, and regulate the Apostolick See. Now *Sigonius* tells us, that the Order and Dignity of a Patritian was, since the time of *Constantine* the Great, most splendid and honourable in the *Roman* Empire. That what we called but now Institution of Bishops, they called Investiture, and pleased it should be performed by the giving of a Ring and a Rod. As for the choice of the Bishop of *Rome*, it seems to be granted to him for preventing of Seditions and Tumults amongst the *Romans*. For these differences, the ancient Discipline by little and little decaying, by reason of ambitious seeking of so great a Place and Dignity, had quite spoiled the Meetings for Elections, to the great scandal of all good Christians; no Person at *Rome* having any Power or Authority to restrain them. But this right of chusing the Bishop, *Charles* used with great moderation, and remitted to the old way of the Assemblies of Clergy and People; provided the thing was done without tumult and indirect Practices.

Goes to *Rome*.

Is made Patritian.

Hath power to chuse the Bishop of *Rome*, and regulate the Apostolick See.

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He Modells the Kingdom of *Italy*.

3. After the receiving of these Honours, he addressed himself to the Modell of the Kingdom. First, *Apulia* and *Calabria* he left to the Emperour as they had been after the Victory of *Justinian*; which afterward being seized on by the *Normans*, were reduced into another form of a Kingdom, which at length got the Name of *Neapolitan*. The Dukedom of *Beneventum*, he permitted to be held by *Aragise* the Son-in-Law of King *Desiderius*; that of *Spoletum*, by *Hildebrand*, and the other of *Forum Julij* by *Rodgand*, as *Fiefs* from him, as formerly from the Kings of the *Lombards*. The Exarchate of *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis*, with the Dukedoms of *Perusium*, *Rome*, *Tuscia* and *Campania*, the chief Right, Principality and Sovereignty retained to himself, he yielded to the *Roman* Bishop: The rest he kept to himself in the ordinary way of a Kingdom. This was whatsoever the Kings of the *Lombards* had possessed in *Liguria*, *Æmilia* and *Venetia*, the hithermost *Tuscia* (as they accounted it) and the *Cottian Alpes* being reckoned in. That part they called *Longobardia*, or as afterward *Lombardia*, or *Lombardy*. The Exarchate they called by the Name of *Romania*, or *Romaniola*. *Italy* being thus divided, the Government thereof he ordered should be after this manner. The Dukes he would have free, bound onely by the Bond of a Royal Fee; with which whosoever tied themselves, were annually to take this Oath: *I promise that I will be faithfull to my Lord* Charles, *and his Sons, as long as I shall live, without any fraud or manner of deceit:* And, *I swear by these Holy Gospels, that I will be faithfull to him, as a Vassal to his Lord, neither to my knowledge will I divulge any thing which he shall commit to me, in the Name, or by Virtue of my Allegiance.*

Obliges the Dukes by an Oath of Fidelity.

4. If ever it so happened that they brake this Oath, or died without Sons, the Dukedoms were conferred upon others, and this Translation, or Collation, as in Bishops and Abbats, was called Investiture; the same being observed in other Vassals or Feudataries, as Counts, Captains, and Valuasars, the Modell of the Services and Tenures of whom was afterward perfected by the *Germans*. The People and Cities were after this manner to be governed. The Limits of the Kingdom and the Towns, he committed to the government of Counts, assigning to them all publick and private Jurisdiction. The Limits or Borders they called *Marchæ*, or *Marches*, whence the Governours of them, obtained the Titles of Counts of the Marches, and Marquesses. Some extraordinary Commissioners he sometimes sent into the Kingdom, whom having greater Authority than Counts, they called *Missi*. The Grounds of the several Cities being confused or litigious in the Reign of the *Lombards*, he would have separated and limitted, bounding them for the most part with Mountains, Fenns, or Rivers. The Cities he would have take an Oath of Fidelity to him, these words being added to it, *I will preserve his Life, Member, Mind, and true Honour.* On the Feudatary Cities, Churches and Monasteries, he laid certain Services, called *Foderum*, *Parata* and *Mansionaticum*, to be paid to him, especially when he came into *Italy*, which by him and his Successours were afterward either much diminished, or wholly remitted. To Bishops and Abbats he confirmed the Possession of Churches and Monasteries, formerly granted by the *Lombards*, and added new to such as deserved them. And that he might seem to have given liberty to *Italy*, when he came thither he was wont to assemble the Bishops, Abbats, and Noble men together, and with them to deliberate of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, after the manner of the *Franks*. Into *Italy* he brought also the *Salick* Law; so that from this time forward, three sorts of Laws became of use to it; that of the *Romans*, the other of the *Lombards*, and this *Salick*. But this was the custome, that by what Law every man would live, he should profess, and then according to that, Justice should be administred to him; which Custome prevailed in *Italy*, till the time of the Emperour *Lotharius* the Second.

He settles the Government.

Three sorts of Laws in use, *viz.* That of the *Romans*, the *Lombards*, and the *Salick*.

5. Things being thus setled, *Charles* returned to *Pavia*, where leaving a strong Garrison, he took *Desiderius* and his Wife along with him, and returned into *France*. Yet did he not so well settle his Matters, but that within a year or two he was in danger to be disturbed, the Reputation he got by Arms, not being sufficient to bridle the Minds of the *Lombard* Dukes, who impatient, that the Kingdom should be taken from them, began to make disturbance in the Cities. The chief of the Conspiracy was *Rodgand* Duke of *Forum Julij*, which *Charles* understanding, as he returned out of *Saxony*, resolved betimes to obviate the mischief, and by the terrour of severity cause those who had not yet discovered themselves, to keep themselves in their Duty. Having kept his *Christmas* in *Alsatia*,

Returns into *France*.

Duke *Rodgand* Rebells.

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Alsatia, with a powerfull Army he passes the *Alpes*, and marches streight into the Dutchy of *Forum Julij*, where he gave Battel to *Rodgand*, who was defeated, taken Prisoner, and put to death, as having affected the Sovereignty. Such Cities as were faulty begging pardon, easily obtained it. Going then to *Tariusium* to hold his *Easter*, he annexed the Dutchy of *Forum Juliij* to the Kingdom; committing the Government of the several Cities to Counts; and then returned into *France*, much about the same time that *Leo* the Emperour at *Constantinople* made *Constantine* his Son his Collegue and Associate. For several years after, *Italy* remained quiet. The fourth, the return of *Charles* produced two memorable things; another Progress he made into *Italy*, and the Death of the Emperour *Leo*, whose Son *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* governed with his Mother *Irene*, a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, and Disposition. *Charles* perceiving, that being diverted by other continual Wars, he could not probably keep *Italy* in quiet, except he set a King over it, who by his Presence should administer Justice, and cast an awe as well upon Domestick as Foreign Enemies, resolved to make *Pipin* his Eldest Son King with him. Returning out of *Saxony*, taking with him the said *Pipin*, his Wife *Hildegardis*, and *Lodowick* his other Son; a little before *Christmas* he came to *Pavia*.

Is defeated and put to death.

A. D. 776.

A. D. 780.

He makes *Pipin* King of *Italy* with him.

6. The Holydays being over, he summoned an Assembly of the Spiritual and Temporal Nobility, and made by their assent several Laws yet extant; and published on the first of *March*, concerning Bishops and Abbats, their Rights, and their Discipline; as also concerning the punishment of Murthers, Robberies, Perjuries, and for the right Administration of Justice by the Counts, and the *Vassi Dominici*. This done, he went to *Rome*, to procure the Bishop to anoint his Sons, who being very ready to bestow what would cost him nothing, anointed *Pipin* King of *Italy*, and *Lodowick* King of *Aquitain* on *Easter* day; and to another *Pipin*, he himself was Godfather. At their return to *Pavia*, the Ceremony was there renewed by *Thomas* the Archbishop, who Crowned *Pipin* with an Iron Crown, and was Godfather to a Daughter named *Gisla*. *Italy* was generally very well pleased with the Advancement of their new King, as one who would continue with them, and consequently administer Justice as there should be occasion, and protect them from the Inrodes of the *Hunnes* and *Saracens*. And *Pipin* did not frustrate their Expectations in any thing they could reasonably require, bestirring himself, and doing all good Offices of a King, as he had opportunity. He incouraged all publick Works, and made such new Laws as were requisite; several of his, as of his Father *Charles*, being still extant, made in a full Assembly of the Nobility, concerning the ordering of Churches, repairing of Monasteries, Hospitals, Bridges and High-ways, the security of such as travelled to *Rome*, the Administration of Justice by Counts and their Judges. When he was in *Italy* he commonly resided at *Ravenna*, either taken with the ancient famousness of the City, or for convenience of managing Naval matters. This great Repose and satisfaction, was after some five years interrupted by the ambitious Practices of *Aragise* the Duke of *Beneventum*, who being Son-in-Law to *Desiderius*, and pussed up with conceit of his own greatness, revolted. He was so proud, that he would be called Prince in the room of Duke, and be anointed and Crowned as King by his Bishops, subscribing his Diploma's, *From our most Sacred Palace*. Contemning *Pipin*, to inlarge his Dominion, he invaded the *Roman* Territories, not fearing the power of *Charles*, or the Catastrophe of *Desiderius*. *Charles* being inform'd of his Motions by *Adrian*, having dispatched his other Wars, resolved to pass into *Italy* and chastise his Folly. At the beginning of Winter he passed the *Alpes* with such expedition, that he kept his *Christmas* in *Etruria* at *Florence*, a City formerly destroyed by *Totilas* King of the *Goths*, and now said, by command of *Charles*, to have been re-edified.

Enacts several Laws.

Aragise of *Beneventum* rebells.

7. From *Florence* he went to *Rome* to consult with *Adrian* about the chastisement of the Rebel, who now unbethinking himself, sent his Son *Romuald* to beg peace with great presents, and a promise to give all satisfaction to the Bishop. The King by the Bishop's advice denied his request, and led his Army into the Territories of *Capua*, which he compelled to surrender after he had wasted the Country round about. The report hereof terrified *Aragise*, who expecting the Storm to come upon *Beneventum*, quitted that place and returned to *Salernum*, a Sea-Town, whence if need were he might have a convenience of Escape. Now he sent another Message, offering to give up his other Son *Grimoald* also for an Hostage, and farther to doe whatsoever he should be commanded. This was accepted by the King, who taking an Oath of Allegiance from him, and the Inhabitants

But begs Peace, which is granted.

Sect. 5. habitants of *Beneventum*, dismissed *Romuald*, and kept *Grimoald* with him as an Hostage. After this he visited *Rome* again, and granting to several Church-men confirmation of their former Estates and Privileges, he returned into *France*. There he found that *Tassile* Duke of *Baioaria* had solicited the *Hunnes* to invade his Dominions, which they did with two Armies, the one whereof peirced into *Forum Julii*, but was repulsed with disgrace and loss. It happened about this time, that *Charles* having promised to give his Daughter in Marriage to *Constantine* the young Emperour, afterward, its said, denied to send her, which so inraged him, that having *Adulgise* the young *Lombard* King in his Court, who had been honoured with the Dignity of a Patritian, he sent him with considerable Forces into *Italy*, which he expected would revolt at the sight of their former King, by bloud, and his former Interest, allied to them.

Adulgise the *Lombard* King, Invades *Italy*.

8. *Grimoald* was at this time, his Father being dead, Duke of *Beneventum*, by the favour of King *Pipin*, whom in way of gratitude or consulting his present Interest, he advertised of this purposed Invasion, though he was Nephew by the Sister to the Pretender *Adulgise*; *Pipin* commanded *Hildebrand* the Duke of *Spoletum* to be in Arms, and ordered *Winigise* his General to march to him both with Horse and Foot, desiring *Grimoald* to be of good Courage, and to resist the Enemy stoutly, if he should break into his Quarters. *Adulgise* in the mean time landed in *Calabria*, with intention first to set upon the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, and thence to Invade the Dominions of the Church, which being understood, *Winigise*, *Hildebrand* and *Grimoald* hasted, and uniting their Forces, resolved to give him a stop in *Calabria*, before he should proceed any farther. And in *Calabria* was fought a most bloudy Battel, the *Greeks* endeavouring to approve themselves for valour, and the *Lombards* themselves for fidelity to those that employed them. For a great while the success remained doubtfull, but at length the *Greeks* were worsted, many slain, and more taken, amongst whom was *Adulgise* himself, who died in his tortures. Four years after this, *Italy* continued free from War, but was then disturbed by stirs raised in the Dutchy of *Beneventum*, by means of *Grimoald* the Duke, as is suspected; it seemed to be of such consequence that *Charles* wrote to his Son *Pipin* to gather an Army in *Italy*, and promised to send to him another out of *France* by his Brother *Lodowick*, who came to him by great Journeys to *Ravenna*, and there kept his *Christmas*. Then joyned they their Forces and invaded the Borders of *Beneventum*, where having taken one Fort, they wintred and then returned. It's probable that *Grimoald* was frighted into obedience, and complied with their Proposals, else would not two Kings have so soon drawn back their Armies; but of this as of many other things, the Annals of those times are silent.

Is overcome and tortured to Death.

Another Revolt by *Grimoald* Duke of *Beneventum*.

To *Adrian* succeeds *Leo*, in the See of *Rome*.

9. Some three years after died *Adrian*, the Bishop of *Rome*, and was succeeded by a Priest who had the Name of *Leo* the Third. Immediately after his Consecration he sent to give notice to *Charles*, sending him the Keys of the Confession, the Banner of the City, and other great Presents, to which *Armonias* adds, that he desired him to send to *Rome* some one of his Nobles, who by Oath might confirm the *Roman* People in their fidelity and subjection. Not long before this time *Charles* had from a Province reduced *Forum Julii* into a Dukedom, and removing the Counts, had placed there as Duke, *Henry* a *Frank*, it's supposed out of design to restrain and keep the *Hunnes* in order. By command of King *Pipin* some years after, he Invaded *Pannonia*; and falling on them unexpectedly, killed *Iring* with other of their Dukes, and Plundering *Rhing* their Palace, sent away the Treasure to *Charles*, which they had been a long time hoarding up, most whereof he sent to *Rome*, and then passed with an Army into *Saxony*: The *Hunnes* having lost their Dukes made themselves a King, under whom they prepared themselves with all earnestness to renew the War, which *Pipin* understanding, sent notice thereof to his Father, and with a choice Party of Men brake into their Territories, took and plundered again their Royal Seat, and with a great booty went to his Father then lying at *Aix*, from whom he returned not into *Italy* till the year following, wherein *Irene* caused the eyes of her Son *Constantine* to be pulled out, that She might Reign without Controll. By this time the *Romans*, the Fear and Awe of the *Lombards* being removed, began to flow with Wealth, and grew wanton with Idleness and Luxury, and not content with the present poiture of Affairs, hatched designs to shake off the Bishop, and recover their ancient Liberty.

A. D. 796.

Pipin makes War upon the *Hunnes*.

A. D. 796.

10. The main Authours and Promoters of this Design were the Kinsmen of the late *Adrian*, *Pascalis* the *Primicerius*, and *Campulus* the *Sacellarius*, the Princes of

of the City. The first were inraged at *Leo* for endeavouring to rescind some Acts of *Adrian*; and the two last because he taxed their naughty manner of Life. They first objected some crimes to him in way of accusation, and when they could make nothing of them, then entred into a Conspiracy against his Life, and on a time, as he was going in a solemn Procession, fell upon him with some of their Creatures they had laid in Ambush, and having indeavoured to cut out his Tongue, and pull out his Eyes, carried him into a Church, and before the Altar sorely beat and wounded him. *Albinus* his Chamberlain found him in a Monastery, and brought him back to the *Vatican*, where he recovered, which so inraged the Conspiratours that they pulled down *Albinus* his House. Upon the report of these Disorders in the Countrey, *Winigise* Duke of *Spoletum*, who had been substituted in the room of *Hildebrand*, came to *Rome* and carried him safe to *Spoletum*, whence he conveyed him into *France* to *Charles*, according to his own desire. *Charles* honourably received him, and granted his request to afford him his assistence against the Enemies of the Pontifical See, for he told him he had none else to whom he could betake himself; the Emperour, whose Duty it was to protect the Church, having lately rather been against it, and no good being to be hoped for from a Woman that now held the place at *Constantinople*. At length by the advice of such Churchmen as came to *Leo* into *France*; it was resolved that he should be sent back to *Rome*, and there the Merits of the Cause should be searched into. At the time appointed *Charles* his Ambassadours held an Assembly with the Bishops and Counts of *France*, in the Palace, and heard what the Conspiratours could say, who pleading nothing but what was judged vain and frivolous, they caused them to be committed, and sent them in Chains into *France*. The same year, *Henry* Duke of *Forum Julii*, after many Victories over the *Hunnes*, was murthered by the Inhabitants of *Tarsatica*, a Town of *Liburnia*.

Sect. 5.

A Conspiracy against *Leo* the Bishop.

11. *Charles* holding an Assembly of his Estates at *Wormes*, propounded these Cases to them, the first concerned *Grimoald*, who had lately again revolted, the second the death of *Henry*, and the third the violence offered to the Person of *Leo*, all which deserving the presence of a King, to punish them, he resolved (and for one thing more doubtless) to goe again into *Italy*. *Autumn* now declining, with *Pipin* his Son he passed the *Alpes* and went streight into *Liburnia*, where he punished the Inhabitants of *Tarsatica* for the death of *Henry*. One *Cadolack* he made Duke of *Forum Julii*; which having done, he departed thence to *Ravenna*, where having spent seven days in preparation for the War of *Beneventum*, he came to *Ancona*. From *Ancona*, *Pipin* with an Army marched against *Grimoald*; and *Charles*, through the Dutchy of *Spoletum*, went for *Rome*; *Leo* and the Senate met him at *Nomentum*, twelve miles from the City, where having discourfed and feasted with him, he returned to *Rome* to take Order for his Reception, after this manner. The next day the Crosses and Holy Reliques, with the Banners of the City, were sent out to meet him; In certain places were placed certain *Chori* of Citizens and Strangers who sang his Praises. The Bishop himself sate upon the steps of the *Vatican* Church incircled by his Clergy, where he received him, and with singing conducted him into the place appointed for Prayers, and thence into the Confession. After seven days *Charles* called the People together, and signifying the cause of his coming, appointed a day to hear their Bishop's Cause. On the day appointed, by the advice of the Bishops, both *Franks* and *Italians*, the Accusers and Accused were cited to appear, and he himself sate as Judge with the rest. The Accusers told their Tale, but the Bishops would not suffer *Leo*, in respect of his Dignity, to answer formally as other Criminals were wont to doe, whereupon he said he would use that course which the Laws allowed to purge ones self of a Crime objected. On another day, he mounted the Pulpit, and in the presence of them all, his Hands laid upon the Holy Gospels, by a solemn Oath he protested that he was clear from the crimes they had slanderously laid unto his charge. This by the Auditours was counted enough, he was esteemed Innocent, and solemn thanks were given to Almighty God and the Saints on his behalf.

A. D. 800.

Which is tryed before *Charles*.

And the Bishop acquitted.

12. Now comes the principal Scene and the Parts which the Bishop and *Charles* were to Act in this Comical expedition. *Leo* had been freed and absolved before *Charles* his coming. The Inhabitants of *Tarsatica* were not so considerable, but that he might have easily punished them by his Officers, and as for *Grimoald*, *Pipin* might have dealt with him as well, if his Father had been in *France*, as where now he remained at such a distance. There was another greater thing for which *Charles* undertook this Journey: He had made broad * signs in the time

* *Quin etiam Carolus vi-*

Sect. 5. time of *Adrian*, but that Bishop either could not or would not understand him. But *Leo* knowing his mind, and being as ready as able to serve him in this affair, set about the work in this manner. He could not for shame but to bethink himself what way he might shew himself gratefull to him, who to free the Church from so great danger and Infamy, had not grudged to take a Journey out of *France*. He found that since *Gregory* the Second his Predecessour, had begun to be Persecuted by the Heretical Emperour, there never were wanting some who earnestly contended that some other Defender of the Church was to be found out, that is some other Prince to be dignified with the Imperial Title. That without doubt, if any one so great an honour was to be conferred, either it was due to King *Pipin*, or at least to *Charles* his Son, who in asserting the Catholick Faith, and in persecuting Infidels, Hereticks, and Rebels against the Church had excelled Kings, yea all Emperours whatsoever. What *Adrian* had omitted, and the King himself in his time, he knew, had affected from the tumults at *Rome*, he resolved now to take occasion to perfect, that he might oblige so powerfull a King, and obtain a Protectour and Patron to the *Roman* Church. The Ceremony he resolved should be on *Christmas* day as a greater grace to the Fact, and that it might be more solemn and stately. *Pipin* himself, having committed the War against *Grimoald* unto Duke *Winigise*, came to the City, drawing with him an infinite number of Mortals to behold the sight.

vente Hadriano eum affectasse titulum videtur, siquidem cum Beneficia Ecclesiis indulgeret, ita præfari consuevit: Carolus Dei Gratia Rex Francorum & Longobardorum, & Patricius Romanorum, si Ecclesiarum Dei Servis Munificentiam nostram impertimus, eorumq; studiis libenter obsequimur, id nobis ad Augustatis excellentiæ culmen proficere credimus, & quod cunctis pretiosius est dignitatibus, æternum Retributionis præmium capessere non diffidimus. Vide Sigonium ubi suprá. p. 160.

Charles is made Emperour, and *Pipin* Crowned King of *Italy* by *Leo*.

13. The day being come, *Charles*, early in the morning went to the *Vatican* Church, and thence to the Confession, where having finished his Devotions, the Bishop, who by former agreement was present, put on him an Imperial Robe, and set on his Head a most pretious Crown of Gold, which had been prepared for this purpose: At this the People three times acclaimed, *To* Charles Augustus, *Crowned of God, the Mighty and most Pious Emperour of the* Romans, *Life and Victory*. God and the Saints being then invoked, this Imperial Title was confirmed by the People, and their Acclamation being over, the Bishop anointed both the Father and the Son standing by, the one for Emperour, the other for King, and then set upon Celebrating of Divine Service. This ended, both *Charles* and *Pipin* offered in the *Vatican* Church, a Cupboard of Silver, and several Vessels for the Service thereof, of pure Gold: in that of *Lateran*, a Cross of excellent Workmanship made of Jacinths, which *Leo* in compliance with *Charles*, ordered to be carried in solemn Processions. Such was the order of the solemnity, by which it appears, as *Sigonius* observes, how untrue the story of those is, who wrote that all this was done by *Leo*, *Charles* neither knowing any thing before, nor consenting, as who should say often, that had he perceived any such thing, he would not that day have gone to the *Vatican*. But this Imperial Title having failed in the West almost three hundred years before, at the Deposition of *Momyllus Augustulus*, the Bishop of *Rome* now renewed it in *Charles*, that his Church might have a Patron and Defender, obliged by such a courtesie as we said before. This is sufficiently evidenced by the form of the Oath, which the Emperours of this Edition at their Coronations, had by these Bishops imposed on them: J. N. *Emperour, in the Name of Christ, promise and ingage before God and St.* Peter *the Apostle, to be the Protectour and Defender of this holy Roman Church, in all its concernments, as I shall be assisted by Divine helps, to my knowledge and Power.*

Sigonius ex antiquissimo commentario qui Ordo Romanus dicitur.

14. And as *Leo* for his own respects, and those of his Successours was ready to give, so *Charles*, to serve his own Ambition and the Dignity of his Family, was willing to receive, though from him, this Glorious Title. For, now rejecting that of Patritian, he wrote himself *Roman* Emperour, and *Augustus*. Being placed in this high pitch of Majesty, he thought it agreeable to his Office, not onely to look after the settlement of *Italy*, but all Christendom, and in that study spent the Winter following. The Accusers of *Leo* he condemned to death, but at the request of the Bishop, exchanged this punishment for that of Banishment. To the Edicts of the *Lombards*, he added such Laws as he perceived from complaints whereas he came were wanting, and by others reformed Ecclesiastical matters. *Sigonius* tells us that the aforesaid Laws were in his time to be seen at *Mutina*, with this Title in the Preface. Charles *by Divine consent (or Order) Crowned, Governing the* Roman *Empire, most Serene* Augustus, *to all Counts, Gastalds, or to all that by our meekness have been appointed Officers of the Common-Wealth throughout the Province of* Italy, *in the year eight hundred and one, from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the ninth Indiction, in the thirty third year of our Reign over* France, *and over* Italy *the twenty eighth, the first of our Consulship.* Being now Emperour, he calls *Italy* not a Kingdom, but a Province, and

The Conspiratours are condemned to Banishment.

and to make the world believe he was Emperour Indeed, a *Roman* Emperour, revives old Titles and Names, Styles himself *Augustus*, and talks of the Consulship; but he entred it seems at the same time that he commenced Emperour, and so shews himself not to be of the true and genuine Stock, few, these excepted, who invaded the Empire, and the Titles of whom were precarious, but were Consuls before they came to be Emperours. And whether in strictness his Title was not precarious, whether he was a Legitimate *Roman* Emperour, or can be so called is a Moot-point, may admit of a little Disquisition. Sect. 5.

15. If he were an Emperour (take the word as one possessing or reigning over divers Kingdoms) yet could he be called by any other addition, better than that of *Roman*. The *Roman* Empire was now almost quite extinct in the West, little or nothing left except a few Islands in the Mediterranean, and perchance a few Maritime Towns lying towards *Sicily*. The Emperour had been beaten out of this Countrey by the *Lombards*, who having made a Prey at last of the Exarchate, became themselves a Prey to Victorious *Charles*, and the Exarchate, by what right soever was challenged as the Churches Patrimony. Grant then that the *Romans* had Power to name him Emperour, to confer that Title upon him or any other, a worthless empty Title must it be, signifying a Sovereignty over the City of *Rome*, and the small Territory of the Exarchate (the rest was quite alienated): such a Dominion they had at the Banishment of their Kings, the Names of one of which would more have fitted him, as *Servius*, *Tarquinius*, or the like, than that of *Cæsar*. That they could give any thing of the Eastern Empire to him or any other, we cannot believe, after that *Constantinople* had been by Imperial Authority made a second *Rome*, and all Co-equal Majesty and Privileges conferred upon it. *Rome* of late had lost the Imperial Title, been a Captive to Barbarians, a Member of a Kingdom, being though restored to her Liberty afterward, yet it was by the Help and Assistence of her Daughter, had all along hitherto truckled under her, and acknowledged the Sovereignty of her Princes, and submitted to the Government of a Duke; till under shew of Religion, she became disloyal, and advanced her Bishops from the Episcopal Chair to the Princely Throne.

M CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Affairs of *Britain*, lately a *Roman* Province, Contemporary with the *Constantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

SECT. I.

From the Departure of the Romans *out of the Island to the Destruction of* Britain, *or the forcing up of the Inhabitants, into the Mountainous places by the* Picts, Scots *and* Saxons.

The space of One Hundred Ninety Seven years.

Sect. 1.

The *Picts* and *Scots*, invade *Britain*.

The Character of the *Britains* in those days.

1. THE *Britains* being again forsaken by their Friends the *Romans*, who as we said were called into *Gall*, the Necessities of the Empire there and then requiring it, became speedily again a Prey to the ravenous *Picts* and *Scots*, who no sooner was their fear and awe removed, but like Wolves they returned, and without any Pity or Compassion renewed their Slaughters, and the Havock they had made of a worse than tame and sheepish Nation. For, such Qualities as are the certain Presages of the Ruine of a People, had long e'er this manifested themselves; Luxury, Effeminateness, and all sorts of vitious Habits and Practices which weaken mens Hands, and enervate their Minds, which in all Ages have destroyed Families, and overturned Governments, abounded amongst them: Never scarcely did a Kingdom, Empire or Estate miscarry, but its Period was usher'd in with Loosenes and Luxury. Let the Example of *Sardanapalus*, of the Army and Court of *Darius*, of *Cleopatra*, and her *Egyptian* Train, and that of the *Romans* after the times of *Lucullus*, speak for the *Assyrian*, *Persian*, *Macedonian* and *Roman* Empires. As for Kingdoms and States, Examples so abound, as it would be too tedious to relate them. Besides the Just Judgment of Almighty God, who in the Destruction of those that pervert Nature, and apply their Strength and Faculties to other things and ends than for which they were made, vindicates the Sovereignty and Right, which he necessarily hath over his Creatures. Luxury and vitious Habits in their own Natures, and by way of Efficiency procure what are the certain Causes of Ruine and Destruction.

2. For if things be preserved by the same means they are got or obtained, this cannot be done but by Labour and Industry. Now Luxury brings Idleness and Lazinesses, renders Men effeminate and impatient of Toil or Industry. This is to be noted of vitious Persons in all Ages. First, such Persons conscious to themselves, that by all Rules of Sobriety they were condemned, found themselves concerned for their Reputation (though this two at last they come oftentimes to slight) to excuse, nay plead for what they were inclined to practise. Hence Sobriety was ever by them branded for Folly and foppish formality, and because they could not out-reason, they were put upon it to jeer, or as they say to droll at all things and Persons serious, and the most solid, substantial, and every way most worthy, they endeavoured to represent and render ridiculous. Learning, Discipline, honest Studies and Endeavours they scoffed at, cried up natural Parts, and flashy trifling Wits, because they could not endure to take pains themselves, being a kind of Euthusiasts in this respect, as expecting Inspiration or *Mahomet's* Pidgeon, for the Infusion

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Infusion of such Abilities as cannot be obtained but by time and labour. Hence all Seriousness being discouraged, none were preferred but vitious and superficial Parasites. When any able Persons spake their Judgments they were derided, and all their good Councils by one twitting and drolling Speech rendred ridiculous. This caused them either to hold their Peace, or comply with the prevalent Humour, and then all good Council being discarded and rash hare-brained Opinions admitted, Reason was banished, Industry and Pains driven away and drew along with them, what are the usual Effects and Products. The wise Man knew what he said when he affirmed, that the Scorner, as it is translated, or the Derider or Droller destroys the City, not the open Enemy, not the Traitour, for Governments usually recover themselves out of such Hazards; but when all Sobriety is scoffed at, when dissolute Persons manage Affairs, and by their drolling render sober and wholsome Councils ridiculous, then is a Kingdom or State in the ready and certain way to Destruction. These are the certain Symptoms of its mortal Infirmity.

Lege Comment. Verulamii in hoc Proverbium. Derisor perdit Civitatem.

3. Such was the State of the *British* Affairs; their Sobriety and Prosperity, if ever they enjoyed either, arose and decayed together. But if *Gildas* their Countreyman hath not injured them, they never much could pretend either to the one, or to the other. For the first, he tells us in General, that they neither behaved themselves well towards Almighty God, towards one another, nor such foreign Princes as had subdued them, and their Subjects. For the other, they submitted to the triumphant *Romans*, and received their Commands without any resistence, a weak and an unfaithfull People, subdued not so much by Sword, Fire and Engines of War (as were other Nations) as by Threats, Punishments and Edicts, and onely in outward shew pretending Obedience. Accordingly, when the *Roman* Souldiers were most of them departed, having left some Governours behind to establish their Power, and not the least thinking of a Rebellion, a wily * Lioness slew these Rulers. When the Senate had notice hereof at *Rome*, and sent an Army to be revenged, nor Fleet was there prepared to fight for their Countrey, nor squared Battallion or Right wing (to use his words) was there to be seen, nor any other warlike Preparation on the shore; their backs were for shields toward such as pursued them, their Necks trembling, and like Women they stretched out to their Swords, and offered their Hands to be manacled, so that it became a byword, and in Derision was wont to be spoken, *That the* Britains *were neither valiant in War, nor faithfull in Peace.*

They Rebell against the *Romans.*

Are beaten.

Hæc erecta cervice & mente ex quo inhabitata est, nunc Deo, interdum Civibus, nonnunquam etiam transmarinis Regibus & subjectis ingrata consurgit. Gildas. p. 7. Impress. Londini, 1568. Operâ Joan. Josselini.

**Leæna trucidavit dolosa. Si per Leænam non ipsam Insulam intelligit (sæpè enim hoc genere dictionis utitur) virilis fæmina Bunuica sive Voadicia est intelligenda, quæ apud Dionem 80000, apud Tacitum 70000 Romanorum, regnante Nerone, dicitur interemisse.*

4. The *Romans* having killed many of these perfidious Men, and condemned others to slavery, that the Land might not turn into a Wilderness, quitted again the Countrey that wanted both Wine and Oil, and returned into *Italy*, leaving a sufficient Power behind them, to be as whips for the Backs, and Yokes for the Necks of the Natives, to afflict and tire them not so much with a military Hand as with stripes, but if need were to thrust the Sword into the sides of the Nation; and however to make the Name of *Roman* Slavery stick to the Soil, so that it should be accounted not *Britannia*, but *Romania*, and what Brass, Silver or Gold it could get, should be stamped with *Cæsar's* Image. Having received the Gospel in the time of *Tiberius*, it cannot be denied but that this Nation afforded several glorious Martyrs, but when *Arianism* once came to spread abroad, readily received the Venome of every Heresie, being ever greedy of Novelty, and never stable in any thing. After this a vast wood of Tyrants (so he phraseth it) sprung up, and the Island retaining the *Roman* Name indeed, but little of the Manners or Laws, sent into *Gall Maximus*, accompanied with many Souldiers, but such as were tumultuous and over and above adorned with Imperial Ensigns which he never decently wore; not obtained legally, but as Tyrants were wont to compass them. This Man by craft rather than any Valour, having brought the Neighbouring Provinces into his Net, and by Perjury and Lies adjoined them to his wicked Dominion; stretched one of his Wings as far as *Spain*, and the other into *Italy*, and establishing the Throne of his most wicked Empire at *Triers*, raved with so great Madness against his Masters, that of two lawfull Emperours, the one at *Rome*, and the other elsewhere, he bereaved of his Religious Life. But presently as he proceeded in such cursed and audacious practices, was he at *Aquileia* smitten on the Head (he means slain) who had cast down the honoured Heads of the whole World, from their Sovereignty.

A vast Number accompany *Maximus* the Tyrant into *Gall.*

5. But by this means became *Britain* bereaved of her Souldiers and Military Men, as also of her Governours (how cruel soever) and in a manner all her Youth, which following the Tyrant into *Gall*, never more returned home, and there-

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Another Invasion by the *Scots* and *Picts*.

thereby growing utterly unskilfull in matters of War, first was invaded by two transmarine and cruel Nations, the *Scots* from the West, and the *Picts* from the North, under which she groned for many years. Being harassed with their Inrodes, and the direfull Effects thereof, she sent to *Rome* with Tears, requiring that Succours might be hastned away to her Relief, vowing in case the Enemy were removed to remain constant in Fidelity to the Empire. A Legion unmindfull of the former Mischief was ordered her, which having passed the Seas presently ingaged the Rovers, and having made of them a great slaughter, quite drove them out of the Countrey, and thereby freed the Inhabitants from cruel Death, or Imminent Captivity. This done, it set them upon making a Wall overthwart the Island to defend them from these Inrodes; but it being made by the Rabble without any Instructour, and not of Stone but of Earth, for the most part did them little or no Service. This Legion being returned with great Joy and Triumph, the same Rovers like so many greedy and ravenous Wolves came again upon their former Prey, no Shepherd appearing to protect the sheep, bore down and trampled on all in their way like standing Corn. Now again are Messengers dispatched to *Rome* with their Clothes rent, and Earth upon their Heads, like as searfull Chickens betake themselves to the Wings of their Damms, beseeching them not to suffer their afflicted Countrey absolutely to perish, nor the *Roman* Name (now indeed merely a Name) to be lost, and extinguished in the Island. The *Romans* receiving as great an Impression from the Story of this Tragedy, as humane Nature was capable of, made asmuch haste to their Rescue, as an Eagle can do in the Air, an Horseman on the Earth, or the most expert Mariner can do upon the Sea; and like as a mighty Torrent falling from the Mountains, removes heaps of Sand which lye in its way, so did they sweep and cleanse the Countrey of these greedy Rovers.

Upon which a Message is sent to *Rome* for aid.

6. They now plainly tell those, for whose deliverance they came, that they must not for the future, expect any such tedious and laborious Journeys from them; and that the *Roman* Legions, or such an Army, was not to be endangered by Sea and Land, for the driving away a sort of inconsiderable stragling Thieves. They bid them apply themselves to the study and practice of Arms, that by their own Valour and Conduct they may be able to protect their Countrey, their Wives, their Children, (and what should be more dear to them) their Lives and Liberty; to stretch out their hands, not naked and disarmed to be pinioned by the Enemy, but furnished with Swords, Spears, and such like Instruments of War ready to assault and slaughter these Nations, which could not be more valiant and powerfull than themselves, except sloth and idleness made them so. They prescribed them the way how they should make another Wall, not according to the former Model, propounding courageous Exploits to a searfull People, and a pattern to such as were not willing to write after it. Upon the Southern Shore where their own Ships lay at Anchor, and the Invasions of these Barbarous People were feared, they build watch Towers at a certain distance one from another, and bid farewell to *Britain*, as never more to return into the Island. They were no sooner gone, but Swarms of *Scots* and *Picts* again appeared upon the Shore, and like a Swarm of Caterpillars overspread the Face of the Earth; differing indeed in manners and Customs from each other, but both alike greedy to shed bloud, having their Faces more covered with Hair than their secret Parts with Cloaths; and they confidently seized on the Northern part of the Island, as their own, from the utmost bounds thereof, as far as the Wall. Upon the Wall the *Britains* set a Guard, but fitter to Eat than to Fight, trembling at the sight of an Enemy, and pining away for the very thought of War. The Barbarians had certain Hooks, wherewith they would pull down to the ground, the unwary and helpless Defendant; who in so great a misfortune was in this respect happy, that he lived not to see those dreadfull Calamities, which shortly after befell his Relations.

A third Invasion.

7. In short, the Guard e'er long quitted both the Wall and the Towns adjoyning, and then followed the usual Flights and Dispersions of a poor sheepish and miserable People; for, to no other than such a preying of Wolves and wild Beasts, can this thing be compared; the miserable *Britains* running away, and when easily overtaken, being slaughtered like Sheep with Complaints, but no opposition. Those that remained alive, in another manner felt the dreadfull effects of this Invasion, so severe a Famine following that havock which had been made of all things, that no food could be obtained, but what small pittance could be got by hunting. The miserable Remnant of the *British* Nation in this desolate condition, having cause to apprehend another Invasion, writes to *Agitius* a *Roman* Officer,

A severe Famine followed.

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ficer after this manner. " To *Agitius* thrice Consul, the Groans of the *Britains*: " then after a few Complaints: The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea " drives us back upon the Barbarians. Betwixt these two sorts of death, we " have either our Throats cut, or are drown'd. But no succour or relief could be obtained. In the mean time the Famine was so violent, that many gave up themselves to the cruel Enemy, purchasing a little bread with everlasting slavery; others more valiantly betook themselves to the Mountains, Caves and Woods, whence they made Sallies upon the Rovers: and now first of all betaking themselves to Almighty God, and trusting in him, had for many years success against, and killed many of them as they ranged abroad for Booty. Now (saith our Authour) the boldness of the Enemy for a little time ceased, but not the wickedness of our People, it being ever, as it now is, the custome of the Nation to be weak to repell an Enemy (to blunt his Weapons as he expresseth it) but strong enough to support Civil Wars, and the heavy burthen of their sins; infirm to execute the effects of Peace and Truth, but able to practise wickedness and Lies.

Agitio ter Consuli gemitus Britannorum: & post pauca quærentes: Repellunt Barbari ad Marc, repellit Mare ad Barbaros. Inter hæc duo genera funerum aut jugulamur, aut mergimur. Hunc Agitium Beda vocat Ætium.

8. The Ravenous *Scots* then return into *Ireland* for a short time. The *Picts* fixed themselves now in the Northern part of the Island, and there continued making some Incursions now and then. During the Truce, the Scarr of the Famine was healed up, another and more virulent Soar secretly growing. For these Hostilities ceasing, so great a Plenty and abundance of all things followed in the Island as no past Age could parallel; and this was accompanied with every way proportionable as great Luxury. So greatly did this evil root sprout up and increase, that at this time it might be truly said, *Absolutely such Fornication is heard of, as is not reported amongst the Gentiles.* But not onely this Vice, but all others that are incident to Humane Nature, and especially (which also at this time saith he undoes all) hatred of the truth, and them that speak it, lovers of Lies with those that forge them; the taking of good for evil, veneration of evil for good, the desire of darkness instead of the Sun, and the entertainment of *Satan* for an Angel of Light. Kings were anointed without any respect to God, but if there were any more cruel than their Fellows: And not long after they were murthered by those that anointed them, without any examination of the matter, and more cruel ones were chosen in their rooms. If any of them had but a shew of mildness or seemed the least inclinable to truth, the hatred and violence of all was upon him, as the Subverter of *Britain.* What was pleasing or displeasing to Almighty God, was all one and alike to them; but rather, what displeased him most pleased them: So that that Saying of the Prophet, may be well fitted to our Countrey, which was denounced against that ancient People. *Children ye have forsaken God without a Law, and provoked to anger the Holy one of Israel. Why should ye be smitten any more ye workers of Iniquity? All the Head is sick, and the Heart faint, from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no health in it.* So they acted all things contrary to health, as if the Universal Physician afforded no Medicine to the World. And these things were not onely practised by Secular men, but by the Lord's Flock and the Shepherds thereof, who ought to be an Example unto the People. They were debauched and grown sottish by Drunkenness, fell one upon another, with Contentious Brawlings, and Emulations, having no discretion to discern betwixt good and evil.

All things tending to ruine.

Isaiah, 1. 5.

9. In the mean while it pleasing Almighty God to purge his Family, and by a Report onely of Tribulation, to cure it of so mischievous an Infection, a swift noise pierced all mens ears of the sudden approach of the ancient Enemy, who was now resolved to destroy all the Natives, and himself to plant and inhabit the whole Countrey. Yet for all this did they not amend their manners, but like to foolish Asses biting upon the Bit of Reason, left the right Path, and hurried on the broad steep way which leads to destruction. Therefore, as *Solomon* says, *When the Servant is not amended by words, the fool is whipped and doth not feel it*; for a dreadfull Plague fell upon this foolish People, which in a short time, without any assistence of the Sword, did such execution upon them, that the living sufficed not to bury the dead. Neither yet were they ever the better, that the Saying of *Isaiah* the Prophet might in them also be fulfilled. *And God called them to sorrow and mourning, to baldness and the girdle of Sackcloath: but behold they fell to killing of Calves and slaying of Rams, to eat and drink, and they said, Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.* And why? the time approached wherein their Iniquities, as in old time those of the *Ammorhites* should be fulfilled. For they fell into a Consultation, what might be the best and most effectual course to prevent the so dismal and frequent Invasions of the forenamed Nations. Then were all the

Prov. 29. 19.

Isaiah 22. 12.

Sect. 1. the Counſellours, together with the proud Tyrant himſelf, blinded, deviſing not a Protection, but the deſtruction of their Countrey; namely, that thoſe moſt fierce and curſed *Saxons*, hateſull both to God and Man, ſhould as Wolves into the Sheep-fold be ſent for to repulſe theſe Northern Nations. Than which nothing was ever more pernicious, nothing more bitter. Oh the groſſeſt darkneſs of under-ſtanding! Oh the moſt deſperate dulneſs and blockiſhneſs of mind! Thoſe whom abſent they dreaded more than death, theſe fooliſh Princes invited under the ſame Roof, giving as 'tis ſaid fooliſh Council unto *Pharaoh*.

The *Saxons* are invited.

Who Land here.

10. Then did a Kennell of Whelps in three Veſſels, called by them *Cynlæ*, in our Language, ſaith he, Long Ships, ruſh out of the barbarous Lioneſſes Den, with a proſperous gale, and lucky *Omen* and Auguries, whereby it was foretold by a certain Preſage, *That for three hundred years they ſhould poſſeſs that Countrey, unto which they directed their courſe; and for an hundred and twenty, or half that ſpace of time, often waſte and depopulate the ſame.* Theſe having Landed, by Commandment of the unlucky Tyrant, firſt fixed their Claws upon the Eaſtern part of the Iſland, as with a deſign to protect it, but truly meaning to offer violence to it. And their forementioned Dam finding that her firſt Kennel proſpered, ſent after them a greater rabble of Dogs, which having paſſed over in Pinnaces, joyned with the former miſ-begotten Crew. Thence it is that the Sprout of Iniquity, the Root of Bitterneſs, the Virulent Plantation, but ſuitable to our Deſerts, ſprings up in our Soil, with their extravagant Buds and Branches. But theſe Barbarians being admitted into the Iſland as Souldiers, and ſuch (ſo they ly'd) as were to undergo great hazards for their Entertainers, obtained what was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; which being allowed for a long time (as it's ſaid) ſtopped the Dogs mouth. Howbeit afterward, they complain that they were but ſlenderly provided for, ſeeking for colourable Pretences to quarrel; and except their Allowances were increaſed, they threaten to break the Peace, and to haraſs the whole Iſland. Without delay they back their Threats by ſuitable Actions. For the cauſe, *viz.* their wickedneſs ſtill continuing the ſame, and being nouriſhed, the fire by the hands of theſe Eaſtern Sacrilegious men, was kindled from Sea to Sea, and conſuming the Neighbouring Cities and the Countries adjoyning, ceaſed not, till having in a manner deſtroyed all the Land with a red and terrible flame, it touched upon the Weſtern Ocean. In this violent Invaſion, comparable to that which the *Aſſyrians* made into *Judah*, is alſo fulfilled in us according to the Hiſtory, what the Prophet by way of Lamentation uttered: *They have burnt thy Sanctuary with fire, they have polluted in the Land the Tabernacle of thy Name.* And again: *O God the Gentiles are come into thine Heritage: they have defiled thine Holy Temple*, &c. Inſomuch that all the Colonies by the frequent battering of Engines, and all the Inhabitants together with the Prelates of the Church, the Prieſts and People, by Swords glittering on every ſide, and cracking Flames, were at once laid flat upon the ground; and which was a dreadfull Spectacle to behold, in the midſt of the Streets the ſtone-works of Turrets and high Walls, ſacred Altars, and pieces of Carkaſſes, cruſted over with a purple bloudy Dye, as in one horrible Wine-preſs to be ſeen mixed together. Neither was there any Sepulchre other than the Ruines of Houſes, and the Bellies of wild Beaſts and Fowls; with Reverence be it ſpoken to Holy Souls, if many ſuch were then found, which were carried by Angels up into Heaven. For that Vine which was formerly good, had ſo degenerated into bitterneſs, that according to what the Prophet ſays, Seldom could a Cluſter, or Ear, be found after the Gatherers or Reapers.

But find fault with their Quarters.

Item quærunt non affluenter ſibi Epimenia Contribui. Pro Epimenia voce Græca Polydorus Virgilius aliique ponunt Annonas, ſed monet Joſſelinus in Saxo. lib. de vocabulis interpretari neꝟt, *i. e. Nidos ſive habitationes.*

Pſal. 73. 7.

Pſal. 79. 1.

Making havock of their Entertainers.

11. Some miſerable Remains being found upon the Mountains, were butchered by heaps: Others, almoſt ſpent with Fame, gave up themſelves to the Enemy into perpetual Slavery, if they were not preſently killed, which was eſteemed the greateſt favour imaginable. Others went into Parts beyond the Sea, inſtead of the Mariners *Celeuſma* (or Song at their firſt ſetting out) howling and roaring under their ſpread Sails, this Ditty: *Thou haſt given us, O Lord, as Sheep to be devoured, and haſt ſcattered us among the Nations.* Others ſtayed in their own Countrey, but betook themſelves to Mountains, to craggy places, and difficult of Acceſs, to thick Woods, and the very Rocks of the Sea, ever trembling for fear, and having their ſafety in ſuſpicion. A little time being paſt, when the cruel Rovers had retired, thoſe that were left behind being ſtrengthened by God, to whom now they flie from all places, as Bees to an Hive upon the approach of a Tempeſt, moſt heartily beſeeching him, and ſending up innumerable Prayers, that they might not utterly be deſtroyed from the face of the Earth; under

Pſal. 43. 12.

Conduct

Sect. I.

Conduct of *Ambrosius Aurelianus* a modest Man, who of the *Roman* Nation alone had survived this Calamity, having lost his Parents therein, who were clad with Purple, and whose Posterity has now degenerated from their Grandfathers goodness; under him they take Arms and Courage, provoke the Conquerours to Battel, and by the Assistence of Almighty God obtain the Victory. From this time forward, saith *Gildas*, now the Natives, and then their Enemies have the better, that this Nation might be tryed, as formerly *Israel* was; whether it would love the Lord or not: even to the Year wherein Mount *Badon* was besieged, and the last defeat given to these Rogues, the forty fourth year (*viz.* of the *Saxons* their coming into *Britain*) as I well know, one Month thereof being past, the same as of mine own Nativity. But even now the Cities of our Countrey are not inhabited as formerly, but lye waste and desolate, for though External Wars are ceased, yet Civil ones are not. However the remembrance of the Desperate Condition of the Island, and of the unhoped for Relief, stuck fast in the minds of those who were witnesses of both the Miracles: as in this respect Kings, publick and private Persons, Priests and Ecclesiastical Men, every one in his Order.

12. But they being dead, and a Generation succeeding which was ignorant of the condition of the time past, and had onely felt the Serenity of the present, all Rules of Truth and Justice were so shaken and subverted, that I may not say no footsteps, but no marks at all of them remain in the late mentioned Orders, few, and they very few, excepted, who in respect of the loss of so great a Multitude which daily runs Headlong to Hell, their Number is so short, that in a manner our Venerable Mother the Church, cannot of those that lye in her Bosome, perceive which are her true and onely Sons. After a few more words, he demands why that should be concealed, which not onely is known, but upbraided by the Nations round about. *Britain*, saith he, hath Kings but Tyrants, Judges it hath but wicked ones, often fleecing and punishing, but Innocent Persons, vindicating and patronising, but guilty Persons and Thieves, having very many Wives, but these Whores and Adulteresses, often swearing but forswearing, vowing and then presently breaking, waging Wars, but those Civil and upon unjust Accounts, prosecuting Thieves mightily throughout the Countrey, and having some of them sitting at their own Tables, whom they not onely love but reward, bestowing Almes liberally, but on the other side, heaping up vast Mountains of Wickedness, sitting in the Seat of Arbitratours, but seldom enquiring after any Rule of right Judgment, despising the Innocent and Humble, but asmuch as in them lies, and as opportunity serves, extolling to the Skies all bloudy Persons, proud, guilty of paricide, unlawfull Company-keepers and Adulterers, the Enemies of God, and who with the very Name it self were to be destroyed and blotted out; keeping many bound in Prison, whom by their own Craft, they oppress and load with Chains, rather than for any thing, wherein they have really offended: continuing with Oaths amongst Altars, which within a little time they despise as dirty Stones.

Its Character in general.

13. After this, our Authour comes to the Reprehension of particular Persons. First he accuses *Constantine* (whom he terms the Whelp of the *Pannonian Lioness*) of killing, notwithstanding a corporal and most solemn Oath, somes Boys of Royal extract betwixt the Altars. Of living many years before in Adultery, having put away his own Wife contrary to Christ's Command. He affirms that he had planted in his Heart, which was like an Earth unable to bear any good Fruit, a slip of Unbelief and Folly taken from *Sodom*, which being watered by many known, though Domestick, Impieties, as so many poysonous showres brought forth to the offence of God, this impudent Crime of Paricide and Sacrilege, that still intangled in the Nets of his former Mischiefs, by his ancient faults he increases his present Enormities. * After this, saying that he reprehends him as present whom he knows yet to be alive, by laying before him the Eternal Punishments which were to insue, and the promises made for his Salvation, he earnestly exhorts him to the amendment of his sinfull life. Now after him he takes *Aurelius Caninus* to task, whom he terms a Lion's Whelp, and demands of him whether he be not worse than the former, swallowed up in the Filth of Paricides, Fornications and Adulteries. Whether hating the Peace of his Countrey, as a Serpent or some deadly thing, by thirsting after Civil Wars and unjust Depredations, he do not shut against himself the Gates of Heavenly Peace and Refreshment. Seeing he was left alone as a withering Tree in the middle of a Field, he bids him remember the idle fancy of his Fathers and Brothers with their juvenile and immature Death. And bidding him not to think to live to the Age of *Methusalah*,

As to particular Persons.

**Age jam quasi præsentem arguo quem adhuc superesse non nescio. f. 25. 6. Quid tu quoq; ut Propheta ait, Catule Leonine Aureli Canine Agis? Alii Aurelium Conanion vocant, Author noster Caninum ut hic quem docti viri sequuntur. Ego eum de industria ita nomen mutasse existimaverim, quod ingenio hujus satyræ satis quadrat.*

Sect. 1. *thusalah*, by the same Arguments, as formerly excites him to a speedy Repentance. The next he undertakes is *Vortiporius*, whom he compares to a spotted Leopard, for the Multiplicity of his Crimes and his gray Hairs, being from the top to the bottom, defiled with Paricide and Adulteries, the Son not of a good King, as of *Hezekiah* was *Manasses*: He accuses him for putting away his own Wife, and burthening his Conscience with defilement of an impudent Daughter, concluding with the like Exhortation to amendment. Then falls he upon *Cuneglusus*, whose Name in the *Roman* Language he saith importeth a *Yellow Batcher*, terming him a Bear, the Contemner or Opposer of God, who had wallowed in the Dregs of Wickedness from his very youth. He demands why he creates so much trouble to his Countreymen by his Civil dissentions, and to God Almighty by his infinite Crimes? why he had driven away his own Wife, and taken her wicked Cousin-German to his Bed, which had promised perpetual Chastity unto God. Then by proposing the like Terrours and Allurements, he endeavours to bring him to a better life.

14. But most pains he takes with *Maglocunus* the last in the Catalogue, but neither the last nor the least in Crimes, whom he calls by the Title of the Dragon of the Island, terms the Suppressour of many Tyrants, but the first in Mischief, greater than many both in Power and Malice, free in giving but more profuse in Sin, in Arms powerfull, but more valiant in such attempts as destroy the Soul, as one who sottishly wallows in the Lake of his old Wickedness, as drunk with Wine pressed out of the Sodomitical Grape. He demands of him, why he heaps such loads of Sins as so many high Mountains upon his Royal shoulders? and why he doth not carry himself better than others, nay why he behaves himself worse than others towards that King of all Kings, who had made him higher than all other Captains of *Britain*, aswell in respect of his Kingdom as in Stature, and the Lineaments of his Body? He upbraids him for having by Fire and Sword destroyed the King his Uncle with most valiant Souldiers, the Countenances of whom seemed not unlike to those of the Whelps of Lions: but especially for devoting himself to a religious Course of Life, after his Violence had succeeded, and breaking those Oaths which he had taken to that purpose; and then returning as the Dog to his Vomit, to as greedy a Prosecution of vitious Courses as ever. He instances in his despising his own Wife, and loving the Wife of his Brother's Son, and the double Paricide which thereupon followed, and at last the Murther also of her by whose Suggestions and Solicitations, his Wife and her own Husband had been made away. He farther upbraids him with being instructed by an excellent Master, and having produced many Threatnings to him out of Scripture, he then leaves off the Prosecution of the History of his Times, and to deter his Countreymen, as well those of the Laity as his own Profession, he proceeds in the Quotation of Scriptures full of Threats, and applies them to his Purpose. His *Latin* is Barbarous, and his Style vehement, and troublesomely Luxuriant, but such as discovers great Wit, and a mind full of Zeal both for his God, and for his Countrey.

Sed monita tibi profectò non desunt, cum habueris præceptorem, penè totius Britanniæ magistrum elegantem. Caveto igitur ne tibi quod à Salomone notatur accidat. Quasi qui excitat dormientem de gravi somno, sic qui enarrat stulto sapientiam, &c. p. 33.

15. His Zeal was no whit extravagant, but adequate to the mischief impending, *viz.* the destruction of his Countrey, and founded not onely on pious, but political reasons; for Vice, as we could be infinite in shewing, has been the forerunner of the Ruine, both of States, Kingdoms and Families. But to come to our business, and to inlarge upon this Text of *Gildas*. The *Romans* having taken their farewell of *Britain*, the Natives were, we see, utterly at a loss, not knowing how to behave themselves, wanting both heads and hearts for the withstanding so great a Storm as fell upon them: The Countrey having been drained of all its Inhabitants, which had either Skill or Courage. Their heavy case required able and faithfull Leaders; glad they were to accept of any that would undertake their Patronage, and to purchase their Conduct and Protection at what rate soever. Hereat it seems many took occasion to set up for themselves, and instead of Legitimate Princes and Fathers of their Countrey, their Countrey abounded with Tyrants, with Theives and Robbers which owned the Title, but disowned the Duty of Rulers, were ravenous after the reward, but utterly careless of the work of Governours; Shepherds who spent all their time in Fleecing, never busied themselves about feeding or protecting the Flock farther than their own mere Interests carried them, to have some remaining over which they might domineer and tyrannize. That they had not one Monarch, but several Kings, appears sufficiently both from the story of those times whereof we now write, and of those which followed, and that this custome began near as soon as the *Romans* had quitted them, is very probable, when like a sick man they were glad

to

Sect. 1.

to shift from one side, and from one thing to another, restless, by reason of that misery which still pressed upon them. At length, harassed and tired out with the Insolencies and Cruelties of many Tyrants; some of them they opposed, others they slew; but still finding that seldom came the better, they thought it best to have one Supreme to curb and check, if need were, the other in their Extravagancies. The Issue of this Resolution was, that one *Vortigern* was chosen King, whom we can grant to *Polydore Virgil* to have been most eminent amongst them, for Authority and Nobility, but scarcely for Vertue; not to alledge any thing against his Valour.

Vortigern chosen King of the *Britains.*

Plures judicabant id decus deferendum Vortigerio, quod esset vir inter viros authoritate, nobilitate, virtute summus. Angl. Histor. lib. 3.

16. Otherwise the Complaints of *Gildas* of the corruption of these times, must be interpreted rather too scant and narrow; for by the greater number of creditable Authours, he is deciphered to have been a proud and unfortunate Tyrant; and yet was he well enough beloved by the People, because his vitious Inclination suited so well with theirs. In War he was neither skilfull, nor in Council prudent, but as *Gildas* deciphers others, Covetous and Luxurious, as insatiable in Lust, as prone to all other Villanies; in Gluttony and Riot he wasted the publick Revenues, and no otherwise endeavoured to propulse common impendent dangers, than by an ungrounded confidence and supine security. Yet the frequent Inrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts*, and the dreadfull effects thereof, awakened the People, and the Clamours of the Multitude him, and caused him at length to summon a great Council, to consult how some better course might be taken, for prevention of these *Northern* Mischiefs. They had had all along great thoughts of their own Valour and Abilities (as all People have which are destined to a Conquest) but the still continued smart was so great, which they received from so many reiterated blows, that it made them, though against their wills, feel their weakness and inability, to repell their Enemies. By general consent therefore it was resolved to call in some foreign Power to their relief, and hire an Army, which should repell these Rovers with such signal marks of their Valour, that they should not dare any more to look upon those grounds which contained the Carkasses of their so many slain Relations. The name of the *Saxons* was at this time very great, by reason of their several Exploits both at Sea and Land, their numerous Depredations and Invasions, they had made into most Countries lying toward the Sea. It was resolved to invite some of them over. They thought them poor, and wanting Habitation. They imagined they would be glad of an Employment, to take off their superfluous numbers, and get them a Livelyhood abroad. They concluded they would be satisfied with reasonable pay, their necessities were so great. At the most they believed they would take it as a mighty favour to have some share of the most barren and inconsiderable part of that Countrey to inhabit, which by their toil and the expence of their bloud, they should protect.

His Character.

Nec manu promptus nec consilio bonus, imò ad illecebras carnis pronus omniúmque ferè vitiorum mancipium: quippe quem subjugaret avaritia, inquietaret superbia, &c. Malmesbur. de gestis Regum Angl. l. 1.

He calls a Council.

Who agree to require aid of the *Saxons.*

17. Ambassadours are accordingly sent, and those of the most eminent of the Nation, with great Rewards. But this was but to desire their aid and assistence, over and above a strict League and Alliance with them. Though our *Britains* were poor-spirited enough, yet not so slavish and base minded as to offer them subjection, and the Dominion of themselves and their Countrey, can we believe, as the *Saxon* Authours for honour of their own Nation have recorded. One of them is so confident as to tell us the very Harangue the Ambassadours used, which was this: *Worthy* Saxons, *the distressed* Britains *tired out, and overpowered by a perpetual invading Enemy, and hearing the fame of your valour, have sent us hither to desire your aid. Their Cauntrey is both fertile and spatious, which they have ordered us to submit to your Commands. Heretofore we lived with freedom under the obedience and protection of the* Roman *Empire. Next to the* Romans *we knew none more worthy than your selves, and therefore now implore your prowess for our relief. Let us not still be subject to our present Enemies. To any thing you shall think fit to impose we shall submit.* Whatever the Ambassadours said or offered, the *Saxons* were very well pleased with the message, as being courted to that which they themselves had infinitely desired, and resolving not to be guilty of any miscarriage by their own delay, first return an obliging answer to the Ambassadours, as that the *Britains* might rest upon their friendship and fidelity, as such who would stand by them no less in their adverse than prosperous Estate. The Ambassadours return very joyfull, as expecting thanks for the success of their errand, and they are not deceived in their expectation, those that sent them now esteeming themselves made for ever.

Accordingly Ambassadours are sent.

Witichind. Gest. Saxon. Lib. 1.

Germania audientes rem mille votis petitam à se ultrò expostulari, &c. Malm. Ubi suprà.

Sect. 1.

18. It appears from what we have cited out of *Gildas*, that the *Pagan Saxons* in their way, were so Religious as to consult their Gods about the success of this expedition, who answered, that the Land to which they directed their course, they should hold for three hundred years, and half so much time spend in contest and bickerings with that Nation. From the three several sorts of People called *Saxons*, *Angli* and *Jutes*, in three long Ships, by them called *Kynles*, were sent a select Company, not so much considerable for number, and the courage and dexterity of the Men, under conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, of choicest Nobility amongst them, as descended in the fourth degree from *Woden*, from whose Loyns most of these barbarous Nations derived the several Pedegrees of their Kings, and whom, for the renown of his Acts, they made their God, sacrilegiously, as our Authour observes, dedicating to his memory the fourth day of the week, as the sixth to the worship of his Wife *Frea*. But they came not so willingly, but they were as joyfully received, the People running out to meet them, and offering them all acts of kindness and hospitality, and the King giving them his hearty thanks for the great pains and peril they had been pleased to undergoe for the sake of him and his Subjects. After some small conference and faith given and received on both sides, the Isle of *Thanet* is assigned them for their support, they ingaging indefatigably to use their endeavours for protection of that Land, the Inhabitants whereof, as strictly engaged on the other side to give them ample rewards for their labours; within a little time they have full occasion to try their Metal. The *Scots* make their usual Inrodes without any apprehension of more resistence than the pitifull *Britains* were wont to make. But they find a fresh Gamester ingaged, with whom, after some tryal made, they think it not fit to meddle, but retreat back to their receptacles, and are very unwilling afterwards to grapple with him.

Cinla, al. Ceolæ, unde nostras. Keeles.

Hengist and *Horsa* with the *Saxons* arrive.

And are seated in the Isle of *Thanet*.

19. The *Saxons* (or *Angles*) were as much elevated with their success, as the *Scots* were discouraged at their unusual disappointments, and *Hengist*, a Man of excellent Wit, as well as Valour, perceiving with whom he had to deal, under other pretences, sends back some of his Companions to acquaint his Countreymen with the beauty and fertility of the Island, and the cowardise and sottishness of the Inhabitants, as well King as People, inviting them to make themselves Masters of so good a fortune as now offered it self unto them. The Messengers easily perswaded such a Company to follow them as filled seventeen Vessels, and together with their Countreymen already landed, would make up a formidable Army. And along with them they brought the Daughter of *Hengist* (by the *Britains* called *Rowen*) for beauty a miracle of Nature, and by it as it seemed, as well as by her Father designed, as a spectacle for Men to gaze on, and therewith to be enamoured. They are invited to a Feast, and *Hengist* appoints her to wait at the Cupboard to Captivate with her looks the affections of the *British* King. His device as speedily takes as executed. For *Vortigern* being exceedingly given to Women by his own Inclination, was immediately wounded by the Darts which proceeded from her Eyes, and could think of nothing else, could no way be cured but by enjoying her, insomuch, that out of hand she must be his Wife. *Hengist* pretends an unwillingness, as loath the King should dishonour himself by so unequal a Match, and at length seems unwillingly willing, being bought off by a gift of all the Countrey of *Kent*, (formerly Governed laudably by one *Gorongus*) which munificence of *Vortigern* he was not able to withstand. The Barbarian perceiving now he had got such hold of him that he might be bold, so far abused his Imprudence, as to perswade him to send over for *Octa* and *Ebissa*, his own and his Brothers Son (some say his Brother himself) that as he took upon him the Protection of the Eastern, so they might defend the Northern Parts from the violence of the *Scots*. By the King's leave then with forty Vessels they Coasted about *Britain*, and coming to the *Orcades*, suppressed both the *Picts* and *Scots*, and in that part of the Island, which afterwards was called *Northumberland*, seated themselves, though without any Title or Name of Regality till the time of *Ida*, from whom the Kings of *Northumberland* descended. But this was not till long after.

Another Company follow.

Rowen married to *Vortigern*.

A third arrive.

Craterem vino coronatum Regi obtulit, flexisque genibus, Liener, inquit, King Wacht heil, i.e. Clarissime (potiùs charissime) Rex observa salutem. Quo per interpretem intellecto, Drinc. heil, inquit Rex, poculúmque accipiens puellam osculatus est. Ab illo die inquit Galfridus Monmuthensis usque in hodiernum manse consuetudo illa in Britannia, quod in conviviis qui potat ad alium dicit Wacht heil, qui verò post ipsum recipit potum respondet Drinc heil. Gildas, Beda, Ninn. Malms.

20. Now the *Saxons* being numerous, and strong enough to accomplish what they had designed, take occasion to pick a quarrel. They complain they are much Arrear in Pay, and when this occasion is removed, after a little pause, they find fault that it is too little, not at all answering the pains and perils they undergoe, threatning War, and a seizure of the Land it self, except their allowance were augmented. *Guortimer* the Son of *Vortigern*, a young Man of far greater Sense and Spirit than his Father, could not any longer dissemble his Indignation, to see himself

The *Saxons* and *Britains* quarrell.

himself and his Countreymen so imposed on, and fully resolving to attempt the expulsion of these Strangers, broke his design to his Father, and obtained his consent for the putting of it in execution, and high time it was to doe it. For the *Saxons*, as we are informed by *Gildas*, making a League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and issuing out of *Kent*, without any considerable resistence, wasted the whole Land in a manner as far as the Western Sea, making such havock of all things, that Towns and Castles were overturned, all sorts of People slain by heaps, and all places Sacred polluted and demolished. Such as escaped the Sword, either betook themselves to the Mountains, whither the same fate shortly after pursued them, or submitted to slavery worse than death it self, or fled to thick Woods and Rocks of the Sea; or else fled over the Sea into other Countries. *Guortimer* as strenuously as he could opposed himself; and the Monk of *Malmsbury* tells us, that after the *Saxons* had been in *Britain* seven years, the League was broken, and for twenty years Hostility continued amongst them, in which space many Skirmishes, or slight Ingagements happened, but four set Battels, wherein both sides ingaged with their utmost force. The *British* Writers here tell us, that *Vortimer* thrice straitned and besieged the *Saxons* in the Isle of *Thanet*; and when by reason of fresh supplies sent from *Saxony*, they broke through and escaped this danger; fought with them four other Battels, whereof three are specified by place and Circumstance. The first on the River *Darwent*, the second at *Episford*, wherein *Horsa*, the Brother of *Hengist*, fell together with *Katigern*, the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third was in a Field by *Stonar*, called then in Latin, *Lapis Tituli*; where he beat them into their Ships with such Execution and Consternation, that they ventured no more to Land for the full space of five years.

Sect. I.

Guortimer beats the Saxons.

Ninn.

Darentum non Eboracense illud hic intelligendum, sed Darentum Cantianum à Darentford sive Dartford oppido illi apposito satis cognitum.

21. This might seem altogether uncredible, but that *Gildas* tells us how, after so great havock and destruction made by them, they retired, which others interpret of returning home, notwithstanding the seeming easiness of the Conquest. In this five years space they will have *Guortimer* to have died, who desired he might be buried in the Port of *Stonar*, perswaded that the secret virtue of his Bones would keep off the *Saxons*, from ever landing in that place, but they neglecting his Commands, buried him at *Lincoln*. The *Saxon* Annals relate these matters otherwise. As that in the first Ingagement it was a drawn Battel in a place called *Eglestrhip*, where on one side fell *Horsa* the Brother of *Hengist* (from whence *Horste* the place of his Sepulture took name) and on the other side *Katigis* the second Son of the King. In the rest, *Saxons* or *Angles* had the better, and the *Britains* were forced to come to Termes; *Guortimer* their Captain now dead, who being of a different humour from his Father's easiness, would have excellently governed, if Almighty God had so pleased; but he being gone, the Affairs of his Countreymen went quite down the wind. After the death of *Horsa*, *Hengist* his Brother took the Royal Title upon him in *Kent*, in which year *Matthew* of *Westminster* writes; that thrice he fought against the *Britains*, but not able to resist the valour of *Vortimer*, fled into *Thanet*, where he was daily vexed at Sea; and at length the *Saxons* left their Wives and Children behind them, and returned into *Germany*. And there they staid, according to what intelligence that Authour had, till such time as they heard of the death of *Guortimer*, who was poysoned by procurement of *Rowen* his Father's Wife. With four thousand men *Hengist* returned into *Britain*, and with so great an Army so alarmed *Vortigern* and his Nobles, that they consulted how to oppose them, which being made known to *Hengist* by his Daughter, he sent to tell the King that he had no design against any person whatsoever, *Vortimer* excepted; who being now removed out of the way, he was ready to submit himself and all his men to his pleasure, to keep as many as he thought fit, and send back the rest into their Countrey. There are others that tell us how two years after the first Fight, wherein *Horsa* was slain in a Battel at *Creganford*, *Hengist*, and *Esce* his Son slew of the *Britains* four chief Commanders, and as many thousand men; the rest being totally routed and flying to *London*. That eight years after this, he renewed the War, and in a Battel at a place called *Wippeds-fleot*, slew twelve other Princes, and lost *Wipped* the *Saxon* Count, from whom the place received its name. And in another Encounter (the place is uncertain) he gave them such a Defeat, that they left Camp and Baggage, and all behind them.

Dies.

Annal. Saxonicis Petroburgensibus Æglesford, aliis Æglesthrep, hodie Ailesford prope quem Catigirni ut putatur memoriæ positum Saxum cernitur monumentum Keith Cotyhouse vulgò appellatum: neque Horsted procul dissitum quod ab Horsa accepit nomen. Tertius Cocus qui, ut quidam volunt Horso fatalis fuit, & Ninio Episford Henrico Huntindoniensi Aeilstren vel Elstre est dictus in Orientalibus Cantii partibus situs fuisse, (si quidem talis locus extiterit) in quibus ad suæ usque tempora Horsam occisum in bello à Britannis monumentum habuisse suo nomine insigne, Beda Confirmat.

22. So different are Writers in their Relations of what passed in these obscure times; but from all laid together it should appear, that for a time the Invaders were repulsed and forced to retreat, if not home into *Germany*, to some remote place of shelter and security; for the Battels were fought in *Kent* it self, and not onely

Sect. 1. onely there, but upon the Sea, as the word *Wippeds-fleot* intimates to us. But *Hengist* being landed, invites *Vortigern* his Son-in-Law to a Feast, together with three hundred of his Nobles; some say the meeting was appointed for a Treaty, to order their Affairs. To be sure, he so ordered his matters, that having a number of his own men, sufficient to overpower these *Britains*, whom he knew to be the chief of those that could perform any thing either in Council or War against the *Saxon* Interest; he first caused them to raise a Quarrel, and then when they were warm with Wine, and more able to brawl than to defend themselves, the Watch-word was given, *Nemet Coar Scanes*, upon which they drew their Scimiters, and murthered all their three hundred Guests in the place. They had another kind of design upon *Vortigern*, knowing he would easily be drawn to what they would have him. He was onely bound and kept in custody, till for his Ransome he assigned them three Provinces, which were afterward called *Essex*, *Sussex* and *Middlesex*. After this, some Authours tell us, that *Vortigern* returned to his solitary kind of Life in that Countrey, which from him was called *Guorthigirniauri*, and thence to a Castle of his own building in those parts, now called *North-Wales*, near to the River *Tiebi*; where living obscurely among his Wives, he was, as it is storied, burnt by fire from Heaven, at whose Prayer, whether *German* or *Aurelius Ambrosius*, it's not material to enquire. For the Reader must know that, according to the same Writers, he having committed Incest formerly with his own Daughter, was censured in a Synod, consisting both of Lay and Ecclesiastical Persons, and partly for that Reason, partly for fear of the *Saxons*, by advice of his Nobility, retired into that Countrey, now called *Wales*; where he built him a strong Castle (in *Radnorshire*) by advice of a young Prophet, by some called *Ambrosius*, and by others *Merlin*. His Son undertook the Government, and in his Absence reigned with great success. After his Death *Vortigern*, either by the power of his own Faction, or by universal consent reassumed the Government, which *Hengist* understanding, was incouraged to return and practise upon his Sottishness and Credulity, with that success as we have now related.

Vortigern's Companions murthered by *Hengist* and his *Saxons*.

Essex, *Sussex* and *Middlesex*, assigned to the *Saxons*.

Ninn.

Malmesb. quò prius.

23. The *Britains* having lost the flower of their Nation in the Massacre, were much startled at it to such a measure, as they began to think of their wicked Courses, and whither they were now bringing them, and began to be more sober, and to betake themselves to Divine Assistence. They were incouraged by some other Retreat of the *Saxons*, upon what occasion it's uncertain, and by the great hopes conceived of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who being descended of *Roman* Ancestours, but such as had born Regal Dignity in the Island, and lost their lives against the *Picts* and *Scots*, had with their applause succeeded *Vortigern*; who, if credit may be given to some Authours, as much out of fear of him and the *Romans*, as of the *Picts* and *Scots* themselves, first called in the *Saxons*. Under Conduct of this *Aurelius Ambrosius*, or *Ambrosius Aurelianus* (as *Beda* calls him) they took courage, and provoking their Enemies to Battel had the better of them. He is said (by the Monk of *Malmsbury*) to have made much use in his Wars of one *Arthur*, and what *Arthur* should this be, but him whom others make the Son of *Pendragon* his Brother. But so various and uncertain are the Reports of our *British* and *Saxon* Authours, that although much be written, yet very little of certainty have we either of the one or the other. As for *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, *Ninius*, as we lately hinted about *Vortigern*, will have him to have been famous, before the coming of the *Saxons*; according to which Assertion *Sigebert* begins his Reign with their coming into the Island, at the year of our Lord 446; and talks of his Reigning and Fighting against them, for full five and forty years, contrary to the Evidence of all History. Yet do some others tell us such Stories as yet farther cast back his Reign into the 430 year of our Lord, which *Henry* of *Huntingdon* brings forward again to the year assigned by *Sigebert*, wherein he writes, that at a place called *Arilestren*, he led one Wing of the Battel against the *Saxons*, and *Gortimer* and *Catigern*, the Sons of *Vortigern*, the two others: And this he accounts the seventh year after their coming into the Island. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* writes, that he burnt *Vortigern*, who after the death of his Son *Vortimer* had reassumed the Government; which *Matthew Florilegus* notes to have happened in the year 496, ending the Reign of *Aurelian*, and his Life together, in the year 497. *Hector Boethius* the *Scotch* Writer, begins his Reign at 498, which he writes to have continued almost seven years. But his Countreyman *Buchanan* agrees with the *Welch David Powel* in assigning 19 years to his Government, which he will have begun in the year 481, and ended just in 500.

Aurelius Ambrosius succeeds *Vortigern* in the Government.

Hist. lib. 1. c. 16.

446

430

Joannes Timuthe nisin vita Dubræij apud Usserum in Primord. Eccles. Britan. p. 447.

496

497

498

481

500

Hist. Scot. lib. f. 8, 9. Rer. Scotic. l. 5. in Rege 45. in Britan. Regum Catalogo.

24. But

Sect. 1.

24. But concerning *Ambrosius*, none is more out of the way than *Baronius* the Cardinal, who imagined, and that for many Reasons, he tells us, that he lived in Exile under *Odoacer* the King of the *Heruli* in *Italy*; whereas, not one tolerable shew of reason can be assigned, more than his very Name, of which there were several besides this our *Britain*, who (he says) took the Purple, but not the Name of Emperour upon him, which he himself first attempted, but not his Parents, as *Beda* hath it, who writes, that these things happened in the Reign of *Zeno* the Emperour. The Cardinal as to his matter was also imposed on by the false Copy of *Gildas*, published by *Polydore Virgil*, wherein the Singular number is pen'd instead of the Plural, which fault crept also into that Copy of *Beda's* Chronicle, which *Paulus Diaconus* used; and the errour became so infective, that *Onuphrius Panninius* and *Octavius de Strada* in their Catalogues of the *Roman* Emperours, talk of the Emperour *Cæsar Ambrosius Aurelianus, Pius Fœlix, Augustus*, as who was saluted Emperour in *Britain* in the year 475, the 1227 of the City, and slain not long after. So much are we in the dark as to *Ambrosius*, whose Commendations yet we are told that *Gildas* an excellent Historian of the *Britains* wrote, above other Kings; nay, in an elegant style faithfully transmitted his Acts to Posterity. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* indeed writes, that he had a Book which *Gildas* the Authour intituled, concerning the Victory of *Aurelius Ambrosius*. It's to be feared the Title belied *Gildas*, but whatever it was, from it and a *British* Copy brought out of *Armenia*, and given him by *Walter* the Archdeacon of *Oxford*, *Geoffrey* tells a long Story of this matter, whereof learned *Usher* thus gives us the Summ.

ad Ann. 476. 477.

Pro indutis indutus legitur.

475

In Scotichronico apud Usserium, p. 449. *lib.* 4. *c. ult.*

25. *Vortigern* being dead, the *Saxons* betook themselves to the Parts beyond *Humber*, where they were no sooner arrived, but *Ambrosius* was at their heels. In his passage he was much affected to behold the Countries so desolate, but especially at the sight of so many Churches laid level with the Earth, which he promised should be rebuilt if he got the better. *Hengist* brought into the field against him, about two hundred thousand Armed men, at a place called *Morisbeli*, but ingaging in Battel was worsted, and he himself, near to the City of *Conan*, by the *Britains* called *Cair-Conan* and *Cuningburg* by the *English*, was taken Prisoner by *Eldole* the Duke of *Claudiocester*. The City being also afterward taken, and they coming to consider what should be done with *Hengist*, *Eldade* the Bishop of *Claudiocester*, the Brother of *Eldole*, a man of great Prudence and Religion, harangued to this effect. *Though all should agree to set him at liberty, I my self would cut him in pieces. For I would imitate the Example of the Prophet* Samuel, *who having in his power* Agag *the King of* Amaleck, *hewed him in pieces, saying: As thou hast made Mothers Childless, so will I make thy Mother this day Childless among Women. Doe ye in like manner to* Hengist, *who is another* Agag: Which said, *Eldole* led *Hengist* out of the City and slew him. This *Marlen*, the Flowergatherer, writes to have happened in the 489 year our Lord, adding, that to *Hengist* succeeded his Son *Osric* in the Kingdom of *Kent*, being sirnamed *Æsc*, from whom all the Kings of *Kent* to this day are called *Asc-kynges*. He differs but one year in his Account from *Ethelwerd* and the *Saxon* Annalists, who making no mention at all of the death of *Hengist*, neither of the many Victories which the *Britains* obtained over the *Saxons*, write that *Æsc* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Kent* the year preceding.

Lib. 8. *Cc.* 3. 4.

Overthrows *Hengist* in Battel.

Hodie Conisburgh in agro Eboracensi ad Danum vel Donum fluvium.

Who is slain.

489

And succeeded by his Son *Osric* in the Kingdom of *Kent*.

26. *Geoffrey* proceeds, and tells us that *Ambrose* besieged *Octa* the Son of *Hengist*, who had shut up himself in *Tork*, and *Eusa* his Kinsman, who had done the like in the City *Alclud* or *Dunbritton*; and constraining them to yield themselves, granted them the Countrey lying near to *Scotland*. For all his Intent was, how to restore his Kingdom to its ancient condition, his study how to reform the Churches, renew the vigour and force of the Laws, establish Peace and the course of Justice. Thence therefore he went to *Gwinton*, to repair it as other places; which when he had performed, by the advice of *Eldade* the Bishop, he proceeded to the Monastery near *Cair Caradoc*, now called *Saleberie*, where lay the Consuls and Princes, whom wicked *Hengist* had betrayed. There in the Mount of *Ambrius* (the Founder in old time as is reported) was a Monastery of three hundred Friars. By others this is called the *Mount of Ambrose*, and said to be that place, *now known by the Name of Stakenges*, where the prodigious Piles of Stones were not, as *Polydore* affirms, raised by *Ambrose* in memory of these Princes, as is vulgarly believed, but by the *Britains* in memory of *Ambrose* himself, who at this place ended his life in Battel. He tells us this Monument is to be seen in the Diocese of *Salisbury* near to a Village called *Amsbery*, or rather *Ambresbury*, the Name

Polyd. Virgil. Anglic. Hist. lib. 3.

Sect. 1. Name denoting the Village of *Ambrose*, whose name or that of *Ambrius* (if any such there was) the famousness of the Relicks of St. *Melorus* (or *Melior*) quite buried afterwards in the said Village. But as to the *British* Princes slain by *Hengist*, that their memory might be perpetuated at the suggestion of *Tremoun* or *Tremorin* the Archbishop of *Carleon*, *Ambrosius Aurelius*, as *Geoffrey* tells the Story, sent for *Ambrosius Merlin* a Prophet, and with an Army of fifteen thousand Armed men under Conduct of his Brother *Uther Pendragon*, sent him into *Ireland*, whence he brought from the Mountain *Killara*, notwithstanding the opposition of *Gillomant* King of the Island, that noble Structure of Stones, which he placed in *Salisbury* Plain, where at this day it is to be seen. Though this be no better than an old Wives Tale, *Giraldus Cambrensis* makes mention of it, as that this Structure of Stones, being called *Chorea Gigantum* (because Giants had brought them from the utmost Borders of *Africk*, and placed them in the Plain of *Kildare*) was by the Divine Diligence of *Merlin*, at the desire of *Aurelius Ambrosius* King of the *Britains* brought out of *Ireland* into this Island, and placed in the very same posture they had formerly stood in that place, where the flower of *Britain*, had under pretence of Peace, been wickedy butchered by the perfidious *Saxons*.

Topograph. dist. cap. 18.

Non procul à Castro Nasensi.

27. In reference to what *Giraldus* writes of *Ireland*, the late Learned Primate thereof observes, that in the Countrey of *Kildare*, about two Miles from the Castle he mentions, two such like Piles are to be seen, which in that Countrey, they call the *Long Stones*, although the Writer of the *British* History seems to have *Killair*, which is situate in the *Western Meath*, where *Giraldus* affirms in his time to have been extant, a certain Stone called the *Navel of Ireland*, as seated in the middle thereof, for which yet at the King's County at *Birra*, another hallowed Stone is at this day shewed. But to that Pile of Stones in *Salisbury* Plain, none in all *Ireland* seems more like than what is to be seen in the County of *Corke*, near a Town called *Cloughtekilty*, from Stones lying in a woody place; where are also to be seen the Foundations of a very large House, which the Inhabitants report to have belonged to Sir *John Mandeville*, so famous for his Travels of four and thirty years. But for the completing of the Fable (which thence seems to have had its rise, that in *Ireland* such kinds of Massy piles have been seen) we must take notice of what *Geoffrey of Monmouth* writes concerning the return and Success of the *British* Army. Being arrived with a prosperous Gale, they began with their Stones to set out the Sepulchres of the murthered Nobility. This being made known to *Aurelius*, he sends out Messengers through the several Parts of *Britain*, to assemble both the Clergy and People to the Mount of *Ambrius*, with Joy and Honour to adorn the foresaid burying Place. They being met accordingly on the day prefixed, *Aurelius* sets the Diadem upon his Head, and Royally celebrates the Feast of *Whitsuntide*, together with the three following days. Having bestowed Honours upon such of his Subjects as had deserved, and particularly bestowed the Metropolitical See of *York* upon *Sampson*, a Man of great fame for Religion, and that of *Caer Leon* upon *Dabritius*, he commanded *Merlin* to set up the Stones he had brought from *Ireland*. He in obedience to his Commands erected them, about the burying place just in the same manner they had formerly stood in *Killair* in *Ireland*, and plainly shewed, that wit prevaileth above strength.

28. Such is the Fable concerning *Stoneheng* (which though a Fable the Reader is to know) and concerning *Ambrose* and his Prophet *Merlin*. But as there is no Law against the Improvement of Fables, *Ninnius* the other *British* Historian joins King and Prophet in the same Person, making that Child which prophesied to *Vortigern* the Son of a *Roman* Consul, and calling him by the Name not of *Merlin* but *Ambrose*; as that he was concealed by his Mother for fear of the King, who yet assoon as he had confessed his Parentage, either to reward his Predictions or as his Right bestowed upon him all the rest of *Britain*, retiring himself to a solitary Life. Amongst these Incertainties of this, we may be certain from a more sure Testimony of *Gildas*, that whatever otherwise this *Ambrose* was, the *Britains* owed much unto his Courage and Conduct, by which a stop was for the present given to the violent proceedings of the *Saxons*, although their Writers conceal all things, that made against the Reputation of their Nation; recording nothing but Success and Victories on their own side. And indeed shortly after they had sufficient occasion to doe it, notwithstanding the real Performances of *Ambrose*, and all the Romantick fine Tales told of his Nephew *Arthur*. For whatever became of *Hengist*; if he was slain in the North, in the South another of his Nation appeared, *Ella* by Name, who made himself King of another part of the Island. In the Year 477, (eleven before the death of *Hengist*, as some place it) with his three

Ella and his *Saxons* arrive in *Sussex*.

Sect. I.

three Sons *Cymen*, *Pleting* and *Cissa*, in three ships he arrived at a place called *Cymenshore* in *Sussex*, whereupon the Inhabitants being cast into a grievous fright flocked in vast multitudes, to the place of their landing from all Quarters. The *Saxons* being tall of Stature, and very stout and vigorous, received them couragiously who came hand over head upon them, and notwithstanding their great Numbers put them to flight with such slaughter as might be expected from so unequal an ingagement, and drove them into the wood, which the *Saxon* Chronology calls *Andredes Leage*. The *Saxons* seized upon the Maritime parts of *Sussex*, and still inlarged their Territories till the ninth year after their Arrival, wherein the *Britains* found themselves so concerned, that they joined their Forces together, and ingaged them near a place called *Mercredesburnanstede*. The Victory was doubtfull, both Armies drawing off after much loss to their own Quarters which caused *Ella* to send for fresh supplies, as *Henry* of *Huntingdon* writes, though others are unwilling to let him pass out of the Field without Conquest, according to their Custome. However five years after this, *Ella* and *Cissa* his Son laid siege to a little City called *Andredes Ceaster*, and taking it used their Conquest with such severity, that they left not one *Britain* therein alive.

And seize upon the Countrey.

Choriol. Saxon ad Ann. D. 477.

Her cpom Ælle to Speaxen lond ⁊ lur III Sunn Cymen ⁊ Plenting ⁊ Cissanmiß Þrym scypum on ða stowe ðe nemned Cymenes cpa ⁊ ðer cyrlogon monige sealas sume on fleame beorn on ðone þron ðe genemned is Andredes leage.

Huntindonensis hanc pugnam ponit ad novum annum adventus eorum. Chronol. verò Saxonica ad An. 485. Ille locum vocat Mercredesburne hæc verò Meapcpedes burnan stede. *Chronol. Saxona ad An. 490. Huntindonensis Hist. l. 2. Chronolog. Saxon. ad Ann. CCCCXCV.*

29. Now is *Britain* become the Field of Fortune, News is perpetually brought to the *Saxons*, of the Success of their Countreymen, and there is no one Eminent for Birth or Arms, but promises himself a good share of so fertile a Countrey, together with a Royal Title. In the forty seventh year after their first coming into *Britain*, as *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, Count *Cerdic* (or *Certic*) the tenth in Lineage from *Woden*, an old and well practised Souldier, with *Cenric* his Son, and so many men as he could transport in five Vessels, arrived at a place which from him was called *Cerdicesore*. No sooner did the ships appear, but the Inhabitants of these Parts sufficiently warned heretofore, stand upon their Guard, and as the Invaders indeavour to land, manfully oppose them. But the *Saxons* still advance, and what ground they once gain never more forsake it, till at last, the *Britains* in vain resisting, they get sufficient footing in this Part also of the Island, insomuch that the *Britains* vehemently suspecting what the Industry and Valour of *Cerdick* and his Son might farther produce, combined against them with all the Power they could possibly make. But within seven years after their coming they had cause to be a little diverted from them by a fresh Onset of new Gamesters, who arrived also out of *Germany*. One *Port* with his two Sons *Bleda* and *Magla* with two Vessels arrived at *Portsmouth* (so named from him) and without much Difficulty repelling such as unadvisedly made head against them, and having slain a young *British* Nobleman of great Eminency, carved for himself and Followers another share out of the Countrey. Yet it seems the Adventures of *Cerdick*, made the *Britains* most apprehensive, and therefore seven years after the Arrival of *Port*, and the sixtieth after the first coming of the *Saxons*, the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* reckons *Nazaleod* the greatest King of the *Britains*, a Man both of a great Name and haughty Spirit, (from whom that Region was named *Nazaleoli*, which reached to the Place afterward called *Cerdicesford*,) gathered the whole force of *Britain* to ingage him. *Cerdick* aware of the danger desired and obtained aid of *Escai* King of *Kent*, *Ella* King of *Sußex*, and of *Port*, and his Sons, which done he divided his Army into two wings, whereof the Right he led himself, and committed the left to the Conduct of his Son *Cinrick*. *Nazaleod*, perceiving the Right wing to be the stronger of the two, bent his whole strength and fury against it with such Execution, that after great slaughter made of his men he forced *Cerdick* to run away, but pursuing with more heat than caution, the left wing commanded by *Cinrick* took the Advantage, and falling on his Rere renewed the Battel with such Vigour, that he himself was slain in the place, and with him for Company five thousand of his Followers.

Cerdic and his Followers invade the Land.

Another invasion by one *Port*.

To *Ambrose* succeeded *Utlar Pendragon*.

The *Saxons* obtain a great Victory over the *Britains*.

Her cuom on ðpeȝen ealdoþmen on Bpetene cenric ⁊ Cynpic hiþ sunu mid þrim scipum in ðone stede þe is ȝecpeden Cenrices hopn ⁊ ðy ilcan dæȝe þiß þeum ȝefulhtan.

30. Such were the Circumstances of the Battel, if the Archdeacon doth not take the liberty to frame these, and many more of his own head. But who this *Nazaleod* should be is much controverted; for the *Britains* own no such King by this Name. Some imagine it might be the *British* sirname of *Ambrose*, who it's certain about this time fought with the *Saxons*, with various fortune. Others think it the Name of *Uther Pendragon* his Brother, whom *Hector Boethius* writes to have governed the *Britains* at this time; but he adds that this *Nazaleod*, was a Man of obscure Original, and that *Uther* made him his General, more out of respect to his Person, with which he had long been familiar, than to his Valour or Military skill; but being the best Captain next the King himself, he was slain in Battel together with fifteen thousand Men. *Matthew* of *Westminster* tells us how *Uther Pendragon*

Cerdicis ora, vel Cerdicsford, noster Cerdford. hodie contractè Chardford. Chronol. Saxon. ad An. DI. Huntindonensis ubi suprà.

Sect. 1. *Pendragon* now lay sick, and therefore sent this Man whom he calls *Nathanlioth* against the *Saxons*, who slew him and fifteen thousand of his *Britains*. But forasmuch as all the *Saxon* Annals unanimously call him a King, and so doth *Ethelwald* and *Florentius Wigoniensis*, and the Archdeacon saith he was the greatest King of the *Britains*; Learned *Usher* conjectures, that his Name might indeed be *Natanleod*, and that in respect of the great things atchieved by him, he might have the Sirname of *Uther*, *viz.* Admirable or Horrible, for so *Uther* signifies, *Mab Uter* being an horrible Son in the *British* Language, and *Arthur* an horrible Bear, or an Iron Mall wherewith the Jaws of Lions are broken. Could we fix upon this the Chronology of these obscure times might be made much clearer, and the beginning of *Arthur* his Son, that King of whom Writers so much talk, and so much differ.

Notæ Ninio adjectæ de Arthuro, vide Usserium in Primordiis, P. p. 466, 467. Ut Græcis Ἄρκτος *ita Britannis Arth, Ursum notat.*

30. Though *Cerdick*, (or *Certick*) obtained the Victory, yet with so much loss and danger, that finding still some difficulties, he was glad to admit of fresh Supplies. Six years after the Battel, came two of his Nephews *Stuf* and *Witgar* with three Ships, and landed at *Cerdicsford*, where they found the *Britains* in a posture of warmly receiving them. For if *Henry* of *Huntingdon* be to be credited, the Captains had marshalled their men according to the exact Laws of War. When they marched with Advice and Caution, some on the Mountains, and others on the Vallies; as soon as the Sun arose and shone upon their guilded Shields, the very Mountains therewith glistered, and the Air it self became inlightned and resplendent, wherewith the *Saxons* were exceedingly affrighted. Yet drawing near to Battel when the two resolute Armies came to joyn, the valour of the *Britains*, became inferiour, because (as our Writer takes upon him to judge) God had despised them, and the Victory was evident on the part of the *Saxons*, who hereby obtained places not a few, and the Prowess of *Certic* became terrible throughout the Countrey. These that came over still prospering in this manner, not a man there was in *Germany* who was either touch'd with a sense of honour, or not well satisfied with his present fortune, but must over into *Britain*, and accept of better, which so easily offered it self. Therefore not long after the War, whereof we write, many more flocked into the Island, and as *Huntingdon* tells us, seized both upon *Eastangle* and *Merce*, though they continued some time in confusion, not reduced under obedience of their respective Kings. For many Noble men there were who scrambled amongst themselves, and in great haste and Emulation snatched and seized on such Regions as they could. Hence innumerable Contentions and Battels followed against one another for such and such Territories, of which we are ignorant, as well as of the Names of these Cavaliers, so numerous they were.

Another fresh supply arrives.

More *Saxons* still come over hither.

31. But for all their success, it's certain they found great opposition, and were not seldomer (probably oftner) defeated than the *Britains*, who were onely tired out and overpowered by their constant swarming into the Island, there being no end of their Numbers; however the *Saxon* Writers conceal all that makes not for the inhancing of the Valour and Victories of their Ancestours. Great pity it is that, as is usual in great Desolations, the Ruines of *Britain* buried these Monuments in the Rubbish, which should have transmitted the noble Acts of its Captains to Posterity, if any such Monuments there were, if the prospect of Death and Banishment, of the loss of all that was near and dear unto them, did not divert their thoughts, and their deplorable condition afford them no other Ink than Tears, wherewith to describe these valiant Deeds, which how daring and gallant soever, were rendred at length useless and ineffectual, by the Crowds of a perpetual swarming Multitude. *Gildas* was no way partial for his Countreymen, to say any great matters of their Valour, yet from that little he mentions of *Ambrose*, and of the Victory they obtained at *Mount Badon*, as also of the vicissitude of success betwixt the Nations, sufficiently evidence they had Commanders sometimes who gave sufficient proof of their Caurage and good Abilities. Though as to the mentioning of any of these Captains, we are destitute of Authentick Writers (*Gildas* excepted) yet Fame, and the Report of some Authours (but such as wrote several hundreds of years after his supposed Reign) make a loud noise with the Name of *Arthur* the Son of *Uther Pendragon*, as *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* is pleased to sirname him.

To *Uther Pendragon* succeeded *Arthur*.

32. Concerning the time of this *Arthur*, (suppose his Person to have been) there is more variety of Opinions than concerning that of *Ambrose*, so formerly related. (*a*) One placeth the beginning of his Reign, so high as to have it flourish in the year 458. (*b*) Another bringeth it down nine years, and placeth it at the

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(*a*) *Meyer Flandr. Annal. l. 1.*

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467 467 year of our Lord, the eleventh of the Emperour *Leo*, and the last of *Hilary* the *Roman* Bishop. (*b*) Some say he flourished in the Reign of *Zeno* the Successour of *Leo*, and another will have him but to have been born in the twelfth
485 year of this Emperour, which fell into the year 485. (*b*) All these were Foreigners. Of our own Writers, *William* (*c*) the Monk of *Malmesbury*, *Geoffrey* (*d*) of *Monmouth*, *Matthew* (*e*) of *Westminster*, and the Authour of (*f*) *Eulogium* would have him made King at fifteen years of Age; whereas (*g*) *Ralph* of *Chester*, *John* (*h*) of *Tinmuth*, and *George* (*i*) *Buchanan* the *Scotchman*, defers this till his eighteenth, *Ralph* of *Baldec* was of Opinion, that he began his Reign in the
515 year DXV, as also was *Thomas Radburn*; *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and *David*
516 *Powell*, place it at DXVI; *Buchanan* at DXXVIII; and *Hector Boethius* casts it back to DXXII. *William* of *Malmesbury* in another place writes, that *Cerdic* coming into *Britain* in the CCCCXCV year of our Lord, so beat and terrified the *Britains*, that he forced them to submit and yield themselves to his victorious Arms, and in the twenty fourth year after his coming into the Island, in the Western part thereof established his Monarchy. But in the place before cited, he writes, that in the tenth year of this *Cerdic*, *Arthur* began to reign over the *Britains*; with whom several others, lately mentioned, concur; placing his beginning at
528 the year DXXVIII. To this one adds, that *Cerdic* often ingaging with *Arthur*, always came off with Victory, so that *Arthur* being tired out, after that *Cerdic* had been in *Britain* six and twenty years, took an Oath from him, and gave him the possession of the two Shires, *Hantshire* and *Somerset*. *Leland* that renowned Antiquary, from other Authority affirms this done after *Cerdic* had been
506 in *Britain* but twelve years, *viz.* in the year DVI. *Thomas Radburn* to his Account, adds ten years more with this Note farther, that *Cerdic* for an Annual Tribute permitted to the Inhabitants of *Cornwall*, the free exercise of the Christian Religion.

(*b*) *Vide Usserium in Primordiis*, p. 467.
(*c*) *De Antiquitat. Eccles. Glaston.*
(*d*) *Hist. Britan. l.* 9. *c.* 1.
(*e*) *Ad Ann.* 516.
(*f*) *Lib.* 5.
(*g*) *Polychron. l.* 5. *c.* 6.
(*h*) *In Aurea Histor.*
(*i*) *Rer. Scot. l.* 5. *Scot. Hist. lib.* 9. *De gestis Reg. Angl. c.* 2.

Several Battels between *Cerdick* the *Saxon* and *Arthur* the *British* King.

33. But however, *Arthur* was beaten and tired out by *Cerdic* the *Saxon* King: There is great noise made of his overthrowing the *Saxons* in no fewer than twelve several Battels. The first of these, they say, was fought near the Mouth of a certain River, called *Glenus* or *Glenn*; the second, third, fourth, and fifth, near another River in the *British* Tongue called *Dulgas* or *Duglas*; the sixth at a Rivers side called *Bassas*; and the seventh in the Wood of *Chelidon*, which in *British* had the Name of *Cattoit Celidon*. *Matthew* of *Westminster* bestows this Flower upon
518 this Battel. In the year of our Lord DXVIII, *Arthur* King of the *Britains* (saith he) having got together a great Army, marched therewith to the City, called then, *Caerlindcoit*, and now *Lincoln*; where finding out the *Saxons*, he made an unheard of slaughter of them; for in one day there fell of them six thousand men, of whom some were drowned, others killed in the fight, or in the flight; for he left not off pursuing them, you must know, till they came to the *Calidonian Wood*, when they rallied and made Head against him. *Arthur* perceiving their Resolution, caused Trees to be cut down and the Trunks thereof so placed about them, that they should have no way to escape, resolving there to starve them to death. Of this they being sensible, begged leave they might return into *Germany*, though with naked Bodies, to which he consented, after he had spoiled them of all they had, and taken Hostages for the payment of a Tribute. But enough verily of this Battel. The eighth was fought near (not the River but) the Castle of *Suinnion*, where all the day he carried the Image of the Virgin *Mary* upon his Shoulders. The ninth in the City *Leogis*, in *British* called *Caerleon*. The Tenth in the shoar of the River, which we (saith *Huntingdon*) called *Tracteheuroit*. The eleventh upon the Hill *Brenoin*, by us (saith he) called *Cathbregion*, or *Catheregio*. And the last was fought at the Hill of *Badon*, where he himself, without assistence of any other *Britain*, slew four hundred and forty men. These Battels and the places thereof, saith the same Authour, doth *Gildas* the Historiographer set forth; all which places yet are to our Age unknown, which we think came to pass by God's Providence for the despising of popular air, flattering praise, and transitory fame. However many Battels were fought, wherein sometimes the *Saxons*, and otherwhiles the *Britains* had the Victory: But the more *Saxons* that were lost in fight, the more came to their succour, being invited by the Countries round about.

34. However true may be his Story of the Battels, the name of this Authour is false, for *Gildas* it was not, but *Ninius* that was his Relatour. For the eleven they must pass, and still continue as unknown, as the Names of the places where they were fought; but for the Battel at Mount *Badon*, that such an one

 there

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35. So doth *Matthew* tell the tale in conformity with *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, who ſetting it out at length, hath this Circumſtance, that the *Saxons* having waſted the Countrey as far as the *Severn* Sea, thence took their way to the City of *Badon*, which they beſieged: After that *Arthur* being entred then into the Province of *Somerſet* and perceiving what was done, animated his Souldiers to Battel, who being cheared up by the Benediction of *Dubricius* Archbiſhop of *Caerleon*, firſt drove the Enemy up to the Hill, and the day following utterly routed them. This City of *Badon* is, as *John* of *Tinmuth* and others rightly obſerve, the ſame with that we now call *Bath*, to the *Britains* known by the Name of *Caer Badon*, as well as *Tr Exinant Twymin*, in *Ptolemy* called ΤΑΑΤΑ ΘΕΡΜΑ, in *Antoninus Aquæ Solis*, and by the *Saxons* Bapancerter & Þæt Bapan, and from Diſeaſed People which flocked to the Hot waters Acman ceſter: In *Stephanus* we reade it *Badica*, and in *Latin* by the name of *Bathonia*. The Hill ſeemeth to be no other than the very ſame, which now is called *Banneſdown*, over a little Village near this City, which they call *Bathſtone*, on which there are Banks and a Rampire yet to be ſeen. And the vale which runneth along the River *Avon* is named in *Britiſh Naut Badon*, or the Vale of *Badon*. As for the time wherein the Battel was fought, *Gildas*, according to the beſt reading of his Text, tells us, that from that to the writing of his Epiſtle, had intervened forty years and one month, the Battel and his Nativity having fallen into the ſame year. This (as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* tells us) was of our Lord the DXX, with whom conſents the Chronographer of the *Britains*, who reckons from this Battel of *Badon* to the death of *Arthur*, two and twenty years. By which account *Gildas* muſt have been born in the ſaid year DXX, and have written the Epiſtle, now extant, in the year DLXIIII.

Camden in *Somerſetſhire.*

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36. This is the laſt Battel ſaid to have been fought by *Arthur* againſt the *Saxons*. But many other Exploits are told to have been done by him, as well within *Britain* as without. *Howel* the *Albanian*, or King of *Scotland*, the Brother of *Gildas Albanius* (not *Gildas* whoſe Epiſtle we have ſo much ſpoken of, but one elder than he) a young Prince of great valour and hopes he ſlew, which that we may not take for a Fable we are told, by one concerned for the *Britiſh* Hiſtory, that in *Venedotia* the place is yet to be ſeen, which retains the memory of the Battel, where is erected a great Stone bearing the Name of the ſaid *Howel* according to the

Arthur ſlays *Howel* King of *Scotland.*

Vide Uſſer. Primord. p. 677.

In inſula Mynaw ſive Angleſeia. Joan. Priſcus.

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the custome of the Ancients of perpetuating the memory of such like things. But *Matthew* of *Westminster* presents us with a flower which grew quite in another Garden. He talks of one *Howel* or *Hoel*, King of the lesser *Britain*, the Sisters Son of *Arthur* by *Dubritius* the King of the *Armorican Britains*. That *Arthur* having besieged *York*, and frighted thence to *London* by the coming of *Cheldrick* with seven hundred Ships out of *Germany*, sent to this his Nephew to let him know the distressed condition of *Britain*, who, understanding the danger wherein his Uncle stood, with an Army of fifteen thousand men, and the next fair wind, arrived at the Port of *Hamon*. He tells us that *Arthur* recieved him with joy and honour, becoming his Quality and Relation; and for four years after hath not one word concerning him, till the year after the fight at *Badon*, he writes how *Arthur* received news, that the *Scots* and *Picts* had besieged him in the City *Alchid*, where he lay sick. Hereupon the Uncle with all speed hasted to relieve him; which when the Enemy heard, he fled to a place called *Mureif*, whither *Arthur* followed and besieged them. But they fled out by night, and got to the Lake of *Lumonoy*; whereupon he got four Ships together, and for fifteen days together besieged them in the Island, where being starved with hunger thousands of them died, which moved the Bishops of the Countrey bare foot and bare leg and with tears in their eyes to beseech him to have mercy on a miserable People, and permit them to inhabit some portion of the Countrey, though under the Yoke of perpetual servitude. *Arthur*, good man, overcome by the tears of the Bishops, whom all the water of the Lake could not before this mollifie, granted them pardon at their request.

Ad Ann. Gratiæ. 517.

37. Two years after this, when he had restored *Britain*, you must know, into its ancient Estate, he married a Wife called * *Guenhumara* (having now leisure enough to doat) one that was descended of the Noble Stock of the *Romans*, and educated in the House of the Duke of *Cornwall*, a Lady surpassing in Beauty all the Ladies of the whole Island. Now doth he invite all notable Persons from all quarters, and becomes so pleasant in his House, that both by putting on forsooth, and wearing his Armour, by speaking and his demeanour, he provokes at distant People to Emulation; insomuch that the Fame of his Bounty and Honesty being divulged through divers Countries, all Foreign Kings, either loved or feared him. And there was good reason; now behold his exploits abroad. With a mighty Navy he first Invaded † *Ireland*, the King whereof, *Gillamurg*, for all his Bravado's, being taken Prisoner, all his Grandees were forc't to come and submit themselves. Then made he nothing of wasting with Fire and Sword, *Holland*, *Juteland*, and the Isles *Orcades*, all which he subdued under Tribute; which done he returned into *Britain*. ‖ Here, it seems, he staid to breath himself a matter of 7 years. Then casting in his mind, and could you blame him, how to become Master of all *Europe*; he resolves to begin Northward, and drive all before him. He Sails to * *Norway*, whither, when come, he finds *Sichelin* the King of the Countrey dead, who had left *Loth* the Sisters Husband of *Arthur* his Successour, being his own Nephew, and a young Man of admirable goodness and beauty. As young as he was, he had a Son by name *Walwane*, of twelve years of Age, sent to *Vigilius* the Pope to breed, from whence he received the Girdle of War. *Arthur* finding things at this pass, having subdued the *Norwegians*, advanced *Loth* to the Crown, and for Joy, would not follow on his Conquest, but returned again into *Britain*, but not without a desire to conquer *Gall* also, which he mightily, yea, exceeding mightily thirsted after. His thirst continued three years very vehement, and at length forced him to take the Sea to quench it, which having prosperously passed, with no more trouble than what the first Penner of the History was put to, he conquered *Neustria*, afterward called *Normandy*, and proceeding farther, wasted all the Provinces of *Gall*, killed *Frillo* a Tribune in a Duel, had surrendred to him the City of *Paris*, and toward the West, conquered all *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Gascoign*, and every Foot of *Aquitain*.

Marries.

Then Invades *Ireland*.

Holland, *Juteland*, and the Isles *Orcades*.

Thence he Sails to *Norway*.

And so for *Gall*.

38. The † year following, being certainly out of breath, after he had Conquered all *Gall* almost at a bit, he came to *Augustodunum* or *Autun*, and there met with *Lucius* the Consul of *Rome*, being thence come to oppose him; but he made nothing of killing both him and all his *Roman* Gallants near *Lengriæ*, in a Valley called (as truly) *Seisiæ*. In the second year after this, the Sun was darkened from its rising till nine a Clock, envious it seems and not willing to behold the Success of brave *Arthur*, who having now subdued all the Provinces about the *Alpes* prepared to go to conquer *Rome*. His Name by this time of day was become mighty throughout the World, whereupon Princes came far and near to live and learn

Having beaten the *Romans*, and subdued all about the *Alpes*, he prepares to conquer *Rome*.

* *Matheus Westmonast. ad Ann. 523.*
† *Idem ad An. 525.*
‖ *Idem ad An. 533.*
* *Legibus Edwardi Confessoris adjicitur quod confœderavit Regnum Britanniæ in unum, quod expulit Saracenos & inimicos à Regno, quod subjugavit Norweiam & omnes insulas ultra eam, scil. Islandiam, & Greenlandiam Snechordam, Hiberniam, Gurlandiam, Deciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherrelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras, & Insulas Orientalis Oceani usq; Russiam in Lappa, scil. posuit Orientales metas Regni Britanniæ. Alii dicunt eum Hierosolyma usq; fuisse profectum. O nimium!*
Idem ad Ann. 536.
† *Idem an An. 537.*
Idem ad An. 539.

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learn under him, and to be refreshed with his facetious manner of converse. But lest you should think this a wonder, you must know all this was foretold by *Merlin* the Prophet of the *Britains*, who affirmed, *That oppressed* Britain *should prevail, and resist the Cruelty of strangers. For a * Boar of* Cornwall *should succour it, and tread his Feet on the Necks of the Enemies. The Islands of the Ocean should be subjected to his Power, and he should possess the Gallican Forests. The House of* Romulus *should tremble at his Fierceness, and his Exit should be doubtfull. But he should be celebrated in the Mouth of the People, and his Acts should be meat to them that should declare them.*

Galfrid. Monmuth. lib. 7. cap. 3.

** Quod scil. in Cornubiæ maritimo castro Tintagel fuisset genitus.*

39. But, for all this, heavy tidings! this Boar is forced back again to recover his own Stye, whilst he is in his way to take up his Quarter in the best Palace *Rome* can afford. You must know, that *Arthur* at his setting out of *Britain*, had committed the Care thereof to *Mordred* his Nephew, together with his Wife *Guenhumar*. *Mordred*, his back being turned, usurps; sets the Diadem on his Head, and takes *Guenhumar* to be his Bedfellow; joining in Confederacy with those *Saxons*, who came in eight hundred ships which they fitted out of *Germany*, and all now became Servants to *Mordred*. As soon as the News of so horrid Vilany reached the high Ears of *Arthur*, who had now began to climb the Ladder of *Italy*, *viz.* the *Alpes*, that he might get up into *Rome*, the highest Chamber of the Empire; out of Anger he would mount no more, but down he comes in a dump, and returns with the Kings of the Islands onely in his company toward *Britain*, burning with such a Rage toward *Mordred*, as all the water in the Sea could not quench, so that as great a thirst he had upon him at his return, as at his setting out. And it was not for nothing, that about this time so dreadfull a Comet appeared in *Gall*, the Countrey through which this King Errant passed, that the Heavens seemed to be on a flame. The same year also to usher in and betoken the gore bloud, which should be shed when doughty *Arthur* laid about him, true bloud dropped from the Clouds, a certain House was found besprinkled with it, and a grievous Mortality followed. Noble *Arthur* hasting towards *Britain* resolved to land in the Port of *Rutupus*, afterward called *Sandwich*, whom *Mordred* there with a great Multitude opposed, and made great slaughter of such as attempted to come on shoar. Here fell gallant *Argusel*, the King of *Albany*, and *Walwane* the King's Nephew, and well-away others innumerable. But at length after vast pains taken, and much very much bloud shed, *Arthur* and his Men got to land, and so hotly, too hotly, pursued his Enemies, that he drove. *Mordred* and his Army after no small loss received, I assure ran away to *Winchester*. This being also brought to the tender Ears of *Guenhumar*, without looking behind her she ran away to *Caerleon*, and hid her head under a Nuns vail, professing her self a (chaste) Nun in the Monastery of *Julius* the Martyr. *Arthur* almost mad with Anger comes to *Winchester*, and there besieges *Mordred*; who the next Morning is so sawcy as to sally out upon the King, and the Villain did much Mischief; but for all that still thought one pair of Legs worth two pair of Hands, and ran away again towards *Cornwall*.

Idem ad An. 540.

Mordred Usurps.

Several Presages of Mischief, ensuing.

Ad An. 541.

Is set upon by King *Arthur*.

40. *Arthur* would not balk him an Ace but followed as fast as he ran, and caught him napping at the River *Camblan*. Would you believe the Rogue, for all this, would set his fellows in order, and give brave *Arthur* battel? He did it, resolving to dye rather than run any more away, for he knew not whither to run, his shoes not being corked to take the Ocean. A sad fray followed. Abundance of Bloud was shed, and the Cries of the wounded, and dying would have pierced ones very Bowels. They had fought almost a whole long day (a whole long day till Noon, as did *Robin Hood* and the Pinder of *Wakefield*) when *Arthur* rushed, not like a Boar, but a Lion into the place where he knew *Mordred* stood, and easily making way with his Sword, and removing the Enemies as he could do his own Servants with his word, he made most bloudy work on't, cutting down the ranks like Corn with his Sickle, nay even there where they were the thickest, and then thrashing them. What shall we say? The battel grows hotter and hotter, and the Air rings again, and sounds with the very blows that were struck. The Villain, the Traitour himself fell, and with him the *Saxon* Whelps *Cheldrick*, *Elaph*, *Egbrith* and *Bruning*, and many thousands with them, and the Victory was *Arthur*'s. But woe and alas! he was mortally wounded in the fray, and was carried to be cured, if it might be, into the Island of *Avalon*, since ycleped *Glascon*. Despairing of Life, when he had caused his Enemies to be slain, he yielded the Diadem of *Britain* to *Constantine* his Kinsman, the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*. The good Soul being ready to depart hid himself, lest Enemies should insult over such a Mischance, and his Friends be troubled. Hence it happens, that Histories making no mention of

And after several bloudy Battels is slain.

Arthur dies of his wounds.

Idem ibid. Vincentius Bellonacensis Specul. Hist. lib. 21. cap. 74. Alan. in Merlin. lib. 1. Radulph. Niger.

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of the death of *Arthur* or his Burial, the *Britains* for the Excessive love they bear him, contend that he still liveth. Here's an end of an old song, to the tune of *Arthur* of *Bradley*. A Fable which deserves not confuting. Pity it was not writ in verse, aswell as the brave Adventures of *Roland*. Alas, poor *Arthur*, that being greater than he both as to Royalty and Atchievements, greater by far than *Achilles*, thou shouldst be so * unfortunate as not to have as brave a Bard to make thee Immortal by Verses dipt in *Castalian* Fountain! as brave a Trump to sound forth thy Virtues. Blind and bald Chanters they were indeed, who took upon them to publish thy Glories.

* For not to have been dipt in *Lethe* Lake
Could save the Son of *Thetis* from to die.
But that blind Bard did him Immortal make
By Verses dipt in dew of *Castaly*.
Which made the Eastern Conquerour to cry,
O fortunate young Man, whose Vertues sound
So brave a Trump thy noble Acts to sound.
Spencer.

41. No height of indignation can be too great against those ignorant Scribblers, who by the deformed brats of their brains, have so imposed upon an ignorant and unwary World. May a blot lye upon their Memories, who sending their Follies abroad, did not cloath them in such Garments, as might discover them to be what they really were. Course enough indeed their Dresses are, and the fancy wherewith they are invested is of a very thick-spun thread. Yet Wisemen indeed are also often meanly clad, (true Histories coursly writ) but Fools should be dressed in fools Coats, a Romance writ like a Romance, a Poetick figment appear like a Poetick figment. Let it dance on six or seven Feet, and jingle with Rithm at every turn, or be set out with the party-coloured Coat of Extravagant fancy, and Effeminate Language, not clad in the grave, serious and substantial, (though course) Habit of an History. Certainly, Reader, if the Sin and Injury of a Lye * consists in this, that it takes away a Man's Right and Liberty of judging or knowing, whereupon he that took away the means or ways of Knowledge was said by the *Hebrews* to steal the Heart, and the greater or more considerable the thing is which should be known, the greater is the Injury, they that belye our Progenitours, and take away the means of our understanding the Originals of our Nations, must needs be guilty of a Theft greater than all others, in the Opinion of a generous Man, who by Nature it self is stirred up with a desire of knowing the State of his own Countrey, the condition of that stock, whence he or his Relations are derived. But though *Britains* and *English* are most concerned, yet hath this Injury extended to † Foreigners, who have, in reference to *Arthur*, in the same manner been imposed on. That *Arthur* should thus lay about him, doe such wonders as never had been done before; that he should conquer both Eastward and Southward, subdue *Gall* and pierce into *Italy*, and no notice of him taken by any Historian of that time, or any time else till *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* began to collect the old Wives tales of his Countrey, and publish them in the *Latin* Tongue; that he should goe and seek work abroad, when he had so much to doe at home, where so many thousand *Saxons* had taken up their Habitations, and already setled several Kingdoms; is a thing that no serious Man with Patience may endure to reade or hear.

* *Vide Grotium de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib.* 3. *c.* 1.

† *Vide Alanum de Insulis in Merlini Prophetiam, lib.*3.

42. These Romantick Tales have produced this Effect upon some more wary minds, that the shadows have brought the substance it self into suspicion; allthough as we say there could not be so much smoke, but there must have been some fire, and one ‖ of those that questions the very being of *Arthur*, builds his Conjecture upon a weak Foundation, and is himself in other matters extravagantly credulous, and obtruding. Against this opinion possibly too extreme on the other side it may be objected, that the Sepulchre of *Arthur* was found in *Glassenbury*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Second; being buried there, as one of the Monks of that Monastery wrote, in the Year DXLII. having come into that Island of *Avallonia*, to have his wounds cured, as writes the so often cited *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*. Nay after *Geoffrey* himself was dead and buried, the Sepulchre of *Arthur* was found out, as several testify, and might have been seen in a great Table of the Monastery, whereon was written to this purpose: *In this Island, which is called the Island of* Avallonia, *yea in this burying place of Saints, at* Glassenbury *rest the renowned King* Arthur, *the flower of the* British *Kings, and* Guenhumara *his Queen. Who after their Departure, were honourably buried, by the old Church, betwixt two stone Pyramids in time past nobly ingraven; and for many years there they rested* (viz. *six Hundred and twenty Eight Years*) *till the time of* Henry de Soili; *who was Abbat of the place after the burning of the said Church. Now this Abbat being often importuned by very many Persons, gave order to some to digg betwixt the Pyramids, and see if they could find the Bodies of the forementioned King and Queen: and before they began to digg they hung up Curtains, and surrounded the whole Plat of ground. Having digged very deep, at length they light upon a great wooden Coffin close shut, which having opened, they found his Body therein with a certain leaden Cross, in*

King *Arthur* and his Wife *Guenhumar* buried at *Glassenbury*.

‖ *Genebrard in Chronogr. ad An.* 498. *Dicit ex Beda posse intelligi Arthurum Magnunquam extitisse; quare? quia illius omnino non meminit. Vide Usser. in Primord. p.* 116. *&c.*

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in one part of which was written, Here lies buried renowned King *Arthur*, in the Island of *Avallonia*. *Then opened they the Queens Grave and found her Hair dishevelled, and lying about her shoulders, as if she had been but newly buried, which yet upon touch fell all to Ashes. The Abbat and Convent with great joy, and the greatest honour imaginable, took thence their Reliques, and bestowed them in the greater Church, in a Tomb which within was divided into two parts, and without nobly cut in a Rock*, viz. *the King's Body by it self at the Head of the Tomb, and the Queen in the Eastern part thereof, over which they caused to be written, their several Epitaphs.*

Avalonia vero dicta est vel ab Aval Britannico verbo quod pomum sonat, quia solet locus ille pomis & pomerii abundare, vel ab Avalone quodam territorii illius quondam dominatore. Item solet antiquitùs locus ille Britannicè dici Ynys gwyclrin, hoc est Insula vitrea, propter Amnem, scil. quasi vitrei coloris in mariscо circumfluentem: & ob hoc dicta est postmodum à Saxonibus terram occupantibus lingua eorum Glastonia, Glas enim Anglicè vel Saxonicè vitrum sonat. Girald. Cambrens. in Specul. Eccles. distinct. 2. c. 9.

43. The Abbat, by whom these Bodies were found, was *Henry Soliacensis de Soily* or *Sully*, and by some called *Suinesius* (not *Henricus Blesensis*, the Nephew of *Henry* the First, as *Leland* mistook, confounding them together) who was made Abbat after the burning of the Church of *Glassenbury*, which happened in the Year MCLXXXIV. afterward Bishop of *Worcester*, and died in the Year, MCXCV. He it was that placed their Reliques in a Marble Monument, and on it two * Disticks for Epitaphs. But more than this *Giraldas Cambrensis*, describes the Bones of *Arthur* to us in this manner, having been shewn them by the Abbat of the place, together with the leaden Cross lately mentioned. *The Bone of his Leg reared up by the Leg of one of the tallest men* (as the Abbat experimented before the Authour's face) *and placed by his foot upon the ground, was higher than the man's knee full three fingers. His Skull was prodigiously large and thick, so that between the Eyes and the Eye-brows one might lay their hand. In it appeared ten wounds or more, all which, one great one excepted, which gaped very wide, and was onely mortal, were grown up and cicatrized.* As for the leaden Cross he adds, that *upon a broad stone, seven foot within the Earth, and three foot higher than the Sepulchre of* Arthur *was found such a Cross, not inserted into the upper, but rather the nethermost part of the Stone, having these Letters ingraved, Hic jacet sepultus inclytus Rex Arthurius in Insula Avallonia cum Weneveria uxore sua † secunda.* This very Cross being taken from the Stone he saw, being shewn it by the said Abbat *Henry*, and read these Letters. But in this Inscription, the five last words seem some way to be added, for they are not to be found in the Monk of *Glassenbury*, who tells this story in the very words of *Girald*, nor were they to be seen in the Cross it self, which was preserved in the Treasury of the Church of *Glassenbury*, till the dissolution of the Monastery which * *Leland* himself with most curious Eyes, and carefull Fingers viewed and handled, moved both by the antiquity and dignity of the object. It consisted of a piece of Lead about a foot long, and in Large Roman Letters, but ill cut, contained these words, *Hic jacet sepultus inclytus Rex Arturius in Insula Avalonia.* To conclude this Business, these Reliques were found in the days of *Henry* the Second, about the Year of our Lord MCLXXXIX. which may check the opinion of those who believed there never was such a Man (the Man we admit of, but the Romantick stories of him we abominate) and had it been known earlier, might have prevented that ridiculous humour of the *Britains*, who thought him still alive many hundreds of years after, and that so confidently, that should any Man have said in the streets in † *Armorica* or *Little Britain*, that he was dead, he should have had the stones immediate flying about his Ears.

The dimensions of his Body.

Which was found in the time of *Hen.*2. A. D. 1189.

**Hic jacet Arthurus flos Regum gloria Regni, Quem mores probitas commendant laude perenni.*

Arthuri jacet hic Conjunx tumulata secunda, Quæ meruit cœlos virtutum prole secunda. al. fœcunda.

Giraldas Cambrensis, de Institutione Principis & Speculo Ecclesiastico.

† Secunda dicta videri possit, respectu Guenniværæ alterius ab Arthuro in ipso Regni sui initio ductæ, quam à Melua Sommersettensium Rege raptam ad An. DIX. Ex Caradoco Lancarvanensi annotavit Usserius. Quæ an illa Guanora Arthuri uxor fuerit cujus in Albaniâ ostendebatur tumulus (quam si mulieres calcavissent, steriles inde se futuras credebant; ut ex gentilium stolorum opinione Hector Boethius retulit) ipsi Scoti Albienses viderint.

** Lelandus apud Usser. p. 120. in Assert. Arturii.*

† Alanus de Insulis.

44. *Arthur* being ready to dye, is said to have left the Diadem of *Britain* to his Kinsman *Constantine*, the Son of *Cador*, the Duke of *Cornwall*, who the year following had the better of the two Sons of *Mordred*, who rose up against him, and pursued them so close, that one of them he slew at *Winchester*, in the Church of St. *Amphibalus* before the Altar, and the other at *London*, where he was hid in a certain Monastery. In the third year they will have *Constantine* slain, and buried at *Stoneheng*, or the *Chorea Gigantum*, to whom succeeded *Aurelius Conanus*, and held the Monarchy of the whole Island, being a young man very well inclined, and every way worthy of a Diadem, onely too great a lover of Civil Wars; for he imprisoned his Uncle who should have reigned after *Constantine*, and having slain his two Sons, obtained the Kingdom. *Geoffrey* writes that he died in the second year of his Reign, and that *Wortipor* obtained the Monarchy, who diligently and peaceably Governed the People four years, which done, he left his place

Constantine succeeds *Arthur.*

‖ Matthæus Florilegus ad An. 542.

to

to *Malgo*. But here *Geoffrey* and his Companions cannot agree about their Verdict; for whereas he gives to the Reign of *Aurelius Conanus*, scarcely two years, *Matthew* of *Westminster* allows him no fewer than two or three and thirty, and gives but three to *Vortiporius*. But both their Accounts are true alike, while they make them to succeed one another in the Monarchy of *Britain*, just like that *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, who makes those Kings to have succeeded one another in one and the same Kingdom; which *Moses* writes to have Governed several sorts of People. For *Gildas* speaks to them all personally, as living and reigning at the same time, in several Parts of the Island, and whereas they call *Constantine* Monarch of *Britain*, he terms him Tyrant of *Damnonia* or *Cornwall*. *Malgo* whom he calls *Maglocunus*, the last in the Catalogue, being another *Regulus* in *Venedotia* or *the Northern Wales*, to the *Cambro Britains* being known by the name of *Maelgun Guineth*, as he whom they call *Aurelius Conanus*, but *Gildas Caninus* rather, is by these Writers called *Kynan Wledic*, so is *Vortiper Gwyrthesyr*. As *Constantine* reigned in *Damnonia*, and *Malgo* in *Venedotia*, so *Vortipor* in *Demmetia*, *South-wales*, as *Carmarthen*, *Pembroke* and *Cardigan shires*; and *Aurelius Conanus*, as is conjectured, in *Powis* or some other Province.

Several Kings or Tyrants Reign together.

45. *Geoffrey* did like our late Writers of Romances, who take some real Subject, some certain Persons for the Basis of their work, but cloath these Persons with such circumstances, add so much of their own Invention, that in their story there's hardly one sentence of truth. Finding all these Names in *Gildas*, and wanting Successours for his *Arthur*, whom he resolved to extend to the seventh Generation, out of this store he resolved to furnish himself, not setting them all at one time as *Gildas* doth; but making them succeed one another in the Monarchy: which thing *Gildas* overthrows in that he calls *Constantine* no Monarch but Tyrant, or *Regulus* of *Damnonia*. In like manner, by either a wilfull mistake, or otherwise came the story of the Church of St. *Amphibalus*. *Gildas* wrote that *Constantine* slew two Boys of Royal Bloud, *sub sancti Abbatis amphibalo*, that is under the Gown-coat or Vestment of the Holy Abbat; for that *Amphibalum* was a sort of outward Vest or Garment, worn by Clerks and Monks, is very certain, hairy on both sides, so that it was doubtfull which was the outward or inward side of it, whence it had its Name. Now *Geoffrey* from this place frames a Tale of the Martyr *Amphibalus* and his Church at *Winchester*. Hence came the very text of *Gildas* to be corrupted so, that in some Copies was written *sub sancto Abbate Amphibalo*, particularly in those which *Polydore Virgil* followed in his Edition of this Authour. Hence also came the Fiction of the New *Amphibalus Gimenus*, Abbat of the Abby of *Amphibalus* the Martyr at *Winchester*, said to have written an Epistle concerning this horrid fact to *Gildas*, as *John Ball*, and from him *Pirsæus* would have us believe. In like manner from some things charged upon these particular Princes by *Gildas*, he has raised particular stories. From his charging *Aurelius* with Paricides, and his being a lover of Civil War, he raised that of his Imprisoning his Uncle, and killing his two Sons. *Gildas* calls *Maglocunus Insularis Draco*, and a deposer of many Tyrants, another *Saul*, being taller than any other of the *British* Captains; and farther adds, that he was as it were drunk with the Wine that was pressed from the Sodomitical Grape.

Amphibalum quid.

De successoribus Arthuri pari impudentiâ mentitur, tribuenseis usq, ad septimam fere generationem Britanniæ Monarchiam. Guil. Neubrigensis. Vide Cambdenum in Brit. de Wall. & Cornwall. Usser, ubi suprà. p. 539.

Lib. 11. c. 7.

46. Hence *Geoffrey* tells us, that his *Malgo* was the most beautifull Person of all *Britain*, that he was the deposer or driver away of many Tyrants, larger than others, and most famous for goodness. Because *Gildas* calls him an Island Dragon, he tells you that he obtained the whole Isle, and moreover, adds since other comprovincial Isles to his Dominion, *viz. Ireland*, *Island*, *Godland*, the *Orcades*, *Norwey* and *Dacia*, having conquered them, by most cruelly Fought Battels. And because the same Authour used this expession, that he was Wet or Drunk with Wine, pressed out of a Sodomitical Vine, he represents him to you as guilty of Sodomy; whereas *Gildas* meant a general or universal heap of Sins and Iniquity, the phrase being taken from the Prophet and elsewhere, which he had formerly also used to set forth the wickedness of *Constantine*. As for *Cuneglasus*, it's a wonder he past him over, for he might have filled up some room in the Monarchical Catalogue; it's to be fear'd, the Copy of *Gildas* he saw had not his Name, there being no Memory of him in the British History. But in reference to *Maglocunus* or *Maglo*, we find elsewhere, that under his Government a dreadfull epidemical Disease raged throughout (*a*) *Cambria* or *Wales*, called the *Yellow Plague*, by the *Britains Y Gall Veleu*, from the yellow colour of those that were infected, but by the (*b*) *Centuriators Morbus Regius*, or the *Kings Evil*, as the *Icterus* or *Jaundice*, is sometimes named by Physicians. As for his Uncle, whom *Gildas* writes, that he slew in his youth, he is by others called (*c*) *Cathwallain*, after whose death he Invaded the Kingdom of

Madidus.

Jerem. 23. 9. Deut. 32. 3. 32.

(a) *Girald. Cambr. Itiner. Cambr. l. 2. c. 1. Plures apud Usser. in Primord. p. 76.*

(b) *Centur. 6. c. 10*

(c) *Usserius in Indice Chronol. 1138.*

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of *Venedotia*. In conformity with this his ravenous and cruel Disposition he is said being King of the Northern *Britains*, to have come (*d*) with an Army to subdue and prey upon the Southern, to have always been an Afflicter of the Saints, especially of St. *Paternus*, and to have been in particular (*e*) cursed by *Thaliessin*, the Bard or Prophet. Yet is he memorable for something not ill; for erecting (*f*) a new City called *Bangor*, upon the River *Meanath*, or *Menai* (an Arme of the Sea rather) which is by no means to be confounded with the other *Bangor* of the Monks killed by *Ethelfrid*, which stood in *Wotton* upon the River *Dee*, not far from *Chester*. This he did, and all these things happened while he was yet but *Regulus* of *Venedotia*. But afterwards *Matthew* of *Westminster* tells us, he was
581 made King of the *Britains* at the year of Our Lord DLXXXI; about eleven years after the death of *Gildas*, the Complainer, who died at or about the year
570 DLXX.

47. At this time he is therefore thought to have been made King over the *Cambrian Britains* in General, the form of his Election being told us by *Humphry Lhuyd*, an excellent Antiquary of *Denbigh*, as appears by his Fragment (*a*) of the Description of *Britain*, directed at the point of death to the Learned *Antwerpian Abraham Ortelius*. After that the *Saxons*, saith his (*b*) Authour, having overcome the *Britains*, had obtained the Sceptre of the Kingdom, and the Crown of *London*, all the People of *Cambria*, assembled together at the Mount of the River *Dee*, to chuse them a King, and thither came the Men of *Guynedh*, the Men of *Powys*, those of *Dehenbarth*, of *Reynuc*, *Esylluc* or *Sylluc*, and *Morganuc* or *Morgan*, and made choice of *Malgun*, whom others call *Maclocun Guened*. From this passage he collects, that *Cambria* or *Wales*, was then divided after the Destruction of *Britain*, into six Regions or Parts, *viz.* about the year of Our Lord DLX. But afterwards we meet with the King of **Dynetia*, falsely called *Demetia*, the Kings of *Guent Powys*; and *Northwales*, and mention is also made of the Kings of *Strat Cluyde*; whence may easily be collected, that this Countrey was subject to divers petty Kings or *Reguli*, till the time of *Roderick* the Great; who obtained the Monarchy
843 of *Cambria*, about the year DCCCXLIII, and dividing it into three Parts, left it so to be possessed by his three Sons, for to † *Meruin* his eldest, he assigned *Guynedh*, to *Anaraud* (whom some make his Eldest) *Powys*, and to *Cadelh* his youngest with the blessing of the whole People, *Dehenbarth*, that is the Right part or Southwales. For the *Britains*, as *Welch* at this day, herein imitate the *Hebrews*, that as to the Coasts they look Eastward, and name the South as on the Right Hand. This *Dehenbarth*, though it was in quantity larger, yet in respect of those Noblemen, by the *Welch* called *Tychelwyr*, wherewith it abounded; who were prone to rebell against their Lords, and dispute with them by dint of Sword, it was accounted much the worst. This Division of *Wales* (as generally all Divisions of Kingdoms) at length destroyed the Government, while the Posterity of these three Brothers consumed it self by intestine Wars, though each Prince was externally laid at by the *English*.

The Division of *Wales*. 560

The poor *Britains* driven from their Countrey.

48. And so at length, and by Degrees were the poor Inhabitants of *Britain* by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and especially the *Saxons*, outed of their Ancient Seats, and driven such of them as fled not over the Sea, to the craggy and mountainous Places toward the West of the Island, naturally fenced with Hills, and the Inlets of the Sea, whither their Ravenous Enemies could not easily follow them. Here they continued a very warlike Nation, as we shall have occasion in the Prosecution of our *English Saxon* Story to demonstrate, and for many years defended their Liberty, and though they were separated from the *English Saxons*, by a ditch or trench, cast by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, yet stood they not onely to the defensive part of War, but made many inrodes into the *English* Pale, and by Fire and Sword wasted the Countrey. Their Success had been much better, but that they fell out amongst themselves, and as formerly when they lived in the Heart of the Land, so now also they groaned under the Yokes of their several *Reguli* or Tyrants, the Names of whom it will not boot much here to mention, and the Acts of whom as remarkable, respect chiefly the opposition they made against the *English*. Of the Parts into which they were driven, that called *Cambria* is most considerable, by them in their Language called *Cymbri*, and *Wales*, by the *English*, after the *German* Custome. For, as one * observes, the Ancient *Teutones* or *Germans*, calling the Strangers that lived near them on one side by the Name of *Galls*, or *Walls*, afterward to all Strangers, and Inhabitants of other Provinces they gave the same Appellation, as at this very day not onely the *Galls*, but *Italians* and *Burgundians* they call by that Name, as all things strange or Exotick

Some into *Cambria* or *Wales*.

(d) *Johannes Tinmuth, ibid.*

(e) *Balæo & aliis Teliesinus Helius, vide & versus Britannicos & in linguam Latin. versos apud Usser. in Primord. p. 547.*

(f) *Mailgo Rex erexit novam Civitatem super fluvium Meanath in Wallia. Erat enim altera Bangor super Dee fluvium, ubi Ethelfridus Monachus occidit in Wotton non longè à Cestria. Johan. Rossus apud eundem p. 133. A pulchro vel excelso Choro Ban-cor sive Bangoræ nomen postea est adepta.*

(a) *Impess. Coloniæ Agrippinæ. A. D. M. D. LXXII.*

(b) *Author antiquiss. libri de legibus Britannorum, à Yno Doethaut, à Guyr Guynedh, à Guyr Powys, à Guyr Dehenbarth, à Reynuc, à Esylluc, à Morganuc, fol. 51. 6.*

* *In miserabili illa pugna contra Ethelfredum Northumbrorum Regem.*

† *Ita Galfridus seniorem nominat cui Lhuydus accedit.*

* *Lhuyd. in Frag. f. 46. 6.*

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tick *Walshe :* The *Wallons* in the Low Countries, the *Wallachians* upon the *Danube* have hence received their Denominations. At first they seized, and solely inhabited all this Region. Afterward it began to be inhabited by the *English*, as far as the Ditch of *Offa*, with whom they had innumerable Skirmishes, and contests till the days of *William* the Conquerour, under whose Son *Henry* some *Flemmings*, who had been driven out of their own Countrey by Inundation of the Sea, received *Rosse*, a Province of *Demetia*, to inhabit, and notwithstanding all the Princes of *Wales* could doe, most valiantly defended themselves, and still preserve their Language and Customs, different from the *Britains*. Afterward the *English* growing by Degrees upon them, seized several other Parts of the Countrey, and at length brought them into full subjection, upon which we must not now dilate. But those that inhabited this Countrey, the English *Saxons* called Brilpealer, or *British Welsh*.

Others into *Cornwall.*

49. Another sort they termed Cornpealer from *Cornwall*, in Latin *Cornavia*, in the *British* Language *Cerniço*, into which another Part of the Remnants of the *Britains* were driven. These also use the British Tongue, all their words almost being radically the same with the *Welsh*; but in contexture of Speech, they do a little differ. Besides these Countries, we are farther told by the Learned Anti-
870 quary lately mentioned, that till about the year of Our Lord DCCCLXX, these Parts lying about *Carlile* and *Galloway* it self as far as the River *Cluda*, were possessed by the *Britains*, at which time being sorely laid at by the *Scots*, *Danes* and *English*, and at length *Constantine* their King being killed in *Anaudra*, they were constrained to betake themselves to their Countreymen in *Wales*, where they beat out the *English*, which had seized on the Countrey *Tegenia*, (by the *Latins* called *Igenia*, but *Tegengel* by the *Welsh*, that is *Tegenia* of the *English*) lying betwixt the River *Dee* and *Conway*. They founded a Kingdom by the *Welsh* called *Stratcluyd* (*a*), from the River *Cluda*, on whose banks they sate down; for by the word *Strat* (*b*) added to a River, they understand the tract of ground lying upon or adjoining to the said River, as *Strad Alyn*, *Strad Towy*, and the like. Here they had often great bickering with the *English*, till at length *Dunwallon*, the last of their Princes, despising his Principality went to *Rome*, at such time as the *Danes* by their
971 Inrodes, sorely afflicted the Island about the year DCCCLXXI. where he shortly after died. Such alternative Successions were there in the places, whither the *Welsh* were driven, though as we e'er now signified, for the main they possessed the whole Countrey called *Wales*, especially that toward the North, *viz. Guynedhia* by *Latin* writers corruptly called *Venedotia*. As for the other called *Dehenbarth* by them, and *Southwales* by us, the *English* having passed the River *Severn*, by degrees seized on all the Land betwixt it, and the River *Vaga*. So that all *Herefordshire*, and that anciently called the *Danish* wood, and *Glocestershire* with a great Part of *Worcestershire* and *Shropshire*, are though beyond the River *Severn*, this day inhabited by the *English*.

Ut illos in Gallia. Galpealer.

Lhuydus quo suprà, fol. 26. b. & 56. a.

(a) *Marianc Scoto Straudiylcad Walanorum corruptè.*

(b) *Ita ferè Anglisurpant voc. Strand, significat enim altam Ripum fluminis ut platea hæc Londino adjacens propriè sic dicta.*

50. This River, together with *Dee* of old, divided *Cambria* from the other part of *Britain*, called *Lhoegria*, and some do farther observe, that all the greater Towns which are built upon their Eastern Banks, were first raised for this very end, to restrain the Irruptions of the *Cambrians*, or *Welsh* into *Lhoegria*, like as the *Romans* very politickly erected very stately Cities upon the Western Banks of the *Rhine*, to hinder the Inrodes of the *Germans* into *Gall*, and the last *Wall* which the *Britains* made, was by the Advice of the *Romans*, drawn by considerable Towns the more to strenghthen it. But to pursue our business, these Countries lately mentioned, together with some Corners of *Flint* and *Denbigh*, were in times past subject to the Kings of the *Mercians*, and to this day the Inhabitants of them are known to the *Welsh* by these words, *Guyr y Mers*, or the Men of *Mercia*. For
770 *Offa* the most potent King of the *Mercians*, as we hinted before in the year DCCLXX, to distinguish, and fence his Limits from those of the *Cambrians*, caused to be digged a very deep Ditch with an high Wall upon it from the Mouth of *Dee*, a little above *Flint* Castle, through most high Mountains, as deep Vallies, Fenns, Rocks and Rivers for an Hundred Miles, as far as the Mouth of the River *Vaga*. This Ditch retaining its old Name, (for by the *Britains* it's still called *Claudh Offa*, or the Ditch of *Offa*) is clearly yet to be seen in all these Quarters; and almost all the Cities and Towns seated on the Eastern side of it, have their Names ending in *Ton* or *Ham* which makes it evident, that in old time *Saxons* there did inhabit. Yet again the *Cambrians* or *Welsh*, reseated themselves beyond the Ditch (on this side as we write) in all places toward *Lhoegria* or *England*, and the Inhabitants of these parts in their own Language are called *Cymbri*, in the pronouncing of which word the force of the letter *b* is scarcely to be perceived.

Sect. 1.

The Language of the *Britains* the same with the *Galls.*

51. So much as to the Places into which our poor distressed *Britains*, were driven within the Island, now having mentioned their Language, it were convenient to speak a little to it. And a little must be spoken by one who cannot speak it at all, and has but little acquaintance with it. That it was the same with that of the old *Galls*, I am still perswaded both for the Reasons I have given in the History of the *Franks*, and also upon farther consideration. Of *Brennus*, and his Exploits all who are meanly studied in Antiquity have read, and that he and his were *Galls*, is the Opinion of the best Authours, both *Greek* and *Latin*. Now it may be proved, that they either spake the *British* Tongue it self, or that which differed a little from it in Dialect. *Pausanias* tells us, that in their Language they called an *Horse Marcha*, and the way of their serving in war each with his two servants, so that they made three Horse, *Trimarchisia*. Now the *Britains* at this day call three in the Masculine gender *Tri*, in the Feminine *Tair*, and an Horse they know by the Name of *March*; yet this agrees also with the *Teutonick*, wherein *Treo* or *Thre* is used in the same sense, as also *Mare*, anciently to denote the whole Species of that Noble Animal. But afterward the same Authour affirms these *Galls*, in their Language, to have termed their Shields, *Tyran*, and a Target now with the *Welsh* is no other than *Tariam*. Farther *Athenæus* writes, that the Remainders of the *Galls* under Conduct of *Bathanatius*, seated themselves upon the River *Ister*, and afterwards divided themselves into two Parts, whereof one named *Scordisci* planted in *Hungary*, and the other seized by the Name of *Brenni* on part of the *Alpes* near the Mountain *Brennerus* in the Countrey of *Tirol*; and *Appian* calls all these by the Name of *Cymbri*. Now *Bathynad* in *Welsh* signifies a *Formed Judge*; for *Bath* is *Form*, and *Tnad* a *Judge* that obtains the second place from the King himself, for *Brennus* being dead, this man they chose for their Captain. Besides, *Tscar* in *British* is to *Separate*, and *Tscaredic* is the same as *Separated*, whence that part of the *Galls* which separated it self, and departed from the rest, was called *Tscaredic*, and thence came the Name of *Scordisci*. The other preserved the Name of their former Leader *Brennus*. Now *Brynn* in *British* signifies an Hill or Mountain, whence he had probably his Name, and so had *Brennerus* the Mountain in the *Alpes*. It's reported that the *Gatheli* or *Irish*, when from *Cantabria* they wandred up and down the Seas to find them out new Habitations, called all *Britains* by the Name of *Brennach*, from that Famous Captain, and so still by that very Name they call them. Yet can I not believe that *Brennus* was a *Britain*, though he and his followers be called *Cymbri*, and this word agrees with that very Name whereby the *Welsh* at this day call themselves, as some learned men of that Nation would have it. But this strengthens the opinion we have elsewhere delivered, that the old *Gallick* and *British* Languages differed not except in Dialect.

In several words it doth appear.

Lhuydus quo priùs, fol. 45 & 46. *At vero in præf. ad Davisii Gram. dicitur nonnullos existimasse Britannos sese Cymro & Cymry, h. e. Aborigenes indigitare solitos. Apud Panvinium.*

And in the beginnings of them.

52. We shall onely make two or three more Remarks upon this Language, and so dismiss it, as is agreeable to our general Design. One Letter it hath peculiar, which commonly they write with *LL* two of these, but the more learned *Lh*, or *L* with a point under it, which is better. The *Spaniards* indeed use a double *LL*, and the *Germans Lh*, as in the Names of *Lhodowick* and *Lhothair*, but neither of them hath the force of that whereof we write. Possibly the Inhabitants of *Mexico* have had it, the *Spaniards* expressing it by *ll*, but this is but a Conjecture, and uncertain; however this of the *Welsh* is pronounced with a sharp kind of hissing, the Letter *L* being pronounced with a strong aspiration, the Tongue being with some violence thrust upon the Teeth half shut, and the Lips remaining unmoved, a matter not to be learnt but by long practice. For *V* Consonant they use *F*, as in the *Teutonick* Language they are used promiscuously. Besides the five Vowels which the *Latines* had, they have two others, therein imitating the *Greeks*; hereof one is written with a double *V* by the Vulgar, or with a single prick underneath by the Learned, and hath a sound not much different from the *Roman V*; or rather is pronounced in the same manner as the more simple sort were wont to pronounce the Latine *O*. The last both of Vowels and Letter is *Y*, and hard to be pronounced. *Q*, *X*, and *Z*, are not necessary to write their words; and instead of *K*, they use *C*. They have many Diphthongs, in which, both the Vowels, or three together, as sometimes it happeneth either retain their full sound, or at least some part of it.

53. As to the peculiar Idiome of the Tongue, this is very remarkable, that as the Greek and Latin have their Variations of Speech, and Cases at the ends of their words; on the contrary, this of the *Britains* suffers this change of Letters at the beginning; whereby it hath happened that in the Names of Provinces, Regions,

Regions, and other things, very learned men have erred by reason of their ignorance in the Language. Every word whereof the first Radical Letter is, *P*, *T*, or *C*, hath three Variations in the Contexture of Speech, to avoid a disagreeable sound. As *P*, is turned into *B*, into *Ph*, and *Mh*; so *T*, into *D*, into *Th*, and *Nh*, and *C*, into *G*, *Ch* and *NGH*. For Example, with them *Pen* is an *Head*, *from the Head*, *O ben*, or, *his Head* (Masculine) *Ben*: *With the Head*, *à phen*: or, *her Head*, *i phen*: *My Head*, *Fy mhen*. So that of this Word *Pen*, there are all these Variations, *ben*, *phen*, and *mhen*. So *Fire*, in *British*, *Tan*, begets, *from Fire*, *O dan*: *with Fire*, *a than*: *my Fire*, *Fy mhan*. And for *C*, *Cariad*, *Love*: *From Love*, makes *O gariad*, *with love*, *a chariad*: *my love Fy nghariad*. Farther, *B*, with *D*, and *G*, being Radicals, have their Variations also: as *Bara*, *Bread*; *from Bread*, *O fara*, (where *F* hath the force of *V* Consonant) *my Bread*, *fy mara*. And as *B* is changed into *F* and *M*, so is *D*, into *D*, *DH*, and *N*, as *Duu* the *Name of Almighty God*, and pronounced as the *French* pronounce their *Dieu*, makes *from God*, *O Duu*: *my God*, *Fy nun*. But for *G*, in the first place it fails, and in the second, is turned into *NG*: as *Gur* signifying *a Man*, makes *from a Man*, *O ur*: *my Man*, *Fyngur*. Besides these, *L*, *M*, and *Ph*, suffer but one Mutation: as *Lyfur*, *a Book*, hath *from a Book*, *O lyfyr*. *Mon*, the *Island Mona*, or *Anglesey*, hath *from Mona*, *O Fon*: and *Rufayn*, *Rome*, makes *from Rome*, *O Rufayn*. The rest either are never Radicals, as *D*, *F*, *Th*, *L*, *R*; or else are never changed, as *Ph*, *Ch*, *N* and *S*. Thus much may suffice to speak of the genius of the Language, and thus much the rather to put some upon enquiry, whether any such footsteps of Variation may be found of the ancient *Gallick*, which if it may, would abundantly confirm us in this belief, that they were the same. That this Language received some Impression and Alteration from that of the *Romans*, we must not doubt, considering how many hundreds of years they lived in the Island, although not so much as those of such Countries as were nearest unto *Italy*. This is clearly to be perceived still in several words, as *Cariad*, *Duu*, *Gur* or *Ur*, and *Lyfur*, lately mentioned, *Tair Tri*, that word whereby they express the *East* and many others. And that as it received some Impression from the Latin, so likewise did the Latin from it, and a barbarous Latin was here of both made in *Britain*, as the Modern *French* or *Gallick* Bastard Latin in the Countrey of *Gall*, and the *Spanish* and *Italian* in the other Countries. But the distance of the *Romans* from the Island, and consequently the weakness of Commerce, were causes that it could not be so considerable, (as neither the Impression made upon the *British*) and their departure so clearly out of the Island, procured the extinguishment thereof.

Sect. I.

Davies in Gram. Cambric. ait Britannos habere novem literas mutabiles quas umbratiles vocant, quia ut umbræ cedant & mutentur: Omnes istæ literæ in principio Dictionis atque aliis etiam in locis ob mollitiem variantur. Ex Ludd fit Lund.

Aix est loci terminatio ut Prydain Brydain, Rhufain Mechain Cedewain Lundain.

54. Thus in our Comment upon the Text of *Gildas*, have we seen the *Britains* banished to the Mountains, and a little considered their condition there. We must remember he writes how some committed themselves to the mercy of the Sea, and sought for shelter and habitation beyond that Element. It's the general Opinion that they seated themselves in *Armorica* in *Gall*. That that Countrey was seized by *Britains*, a Colony as it were of the Inhabitants of this Island, both the Name of *Britain the Less*, and the Language of that People sufficiently demonstrate (for that this *Britain* was denominated from that, is an idle Dream and deserves not confuting) but at what time, and upon what occasion, it's not so easie to determine. The first mention we find of the *Britains* in *Armorica*, is about the year CCCCLXI, about thirty years after that the *Anglo-Saxons* were called out of *Germany* into *Britain*; for at that time *Mansuetus*, a Bishop of the *Britains*, subscribed to the first Council of *Tours* amongst other Prelates of *France* and *Armorica*. In the ninth year after this, these new Inhabitants of *Gall* perceiving the drift of the Western *Goths* to seize the most fertile Provinces of *Anjou* and *Poitou*, were so resolute as to make head against them, and to them the *Franks* were much beholden, for they chiefly hindred the *Goths* from possessing themselves of the whole Countrey. For against them they sided with *Anthemius* the Emperour, and *Arnandus* was condemned of Treason for giving Council by Letter to the King of the *Goths*, to set upon the *Britains* dwelling upon the River *Loir*, and dissuading to make Peace with the *Greek* Emperour, whereby they might divide *Gall* between the *Goths* and *Burgundians*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* to *Riothenius* his Friend (whom *Jornandes* nameth King of the *Britains*) complains that these *Britains* were a *kind of People witty and subtile*, *Warlike*, *Tumultuous*, *and in regard of their Valour*, *Number*, *and Intelligence with one another*, *stubborn*. *Riothenius* being afterward sent for by *Anthemius*, went to him with a power of twelve thousand Men, but before he could joyn with the Emperour's Forces, was defeated by the *Goths*, and fled to the *Burgundians*, at that time confederate with the *Romans*.

Another part of the *Britains* seated themselves in *Armorica* in *Gall*.

Vide Cambdenum in Britannia de Britannis Armoricanis.

Sidonius Apollinar. in ep. ad Vincentium. Hæc ad Regem Gothorum chartavidebatur emitti, pacem cum Græco Imp. dissuadens, Britannos super Ligerim sitos impugnari oportere demonstrans.

Sect. 1.

55. We find them therefore at this time in *Armorica*, but still the Controversie remains undecided, how first they came there. One who was born in that very Countrey, lived near to that very Age, and wrote the Life of St. *Wingalof* the Confessour, committed this also to writing, that *A Progeny of the* Britains *imbarked in Flotes, arrived in that Land on that side the* British *Sea, at such time as the Barbarous Nation of the* Saxons *fierce in Arms, and uncivil in Manners, possessed their Native and Mother Soil. Then* (saith he) *this dear Off-spring seated themselves close within this Nooke and secret Corner. In which place, wearied with travail and toil, they sate quiet for a while without any Wars.* But our *English* Writers report it as a truth, that long before this time our *Britains* seated themselves in this Tract of *Gall*, and particularly at such time as *Maximus* usurped the *Roman* Empire. The Monk of *Malmsbury* relates, that *Constantinus Maximus* being saluted Emperour by the Army, carried away with him a great Power of *British* Souldiers, through whose Courage and Industry having attained the Empire, such of them as were past Service, and had done bravely, he planted in a certain part of *Gall* Westward upon the very Shoar of the Ocean; where at this day, saith he, their Posterity remaining, are wonderfully increased even to a mighty People, in Manners and Language somewhat degenerate from our *Britains*. True it is that *Constantine* concerning Military men made this * Edict, *Let the old Souldiers, according to our Precept, enter upon the Vacant Lands, and hold them for ever freely*; and possibly here these might be placed to help to restrain the then frequent Inrodes of the *Saxons*. Yet doth he also affirm a Colony of *Britains* to have been planted in *Armorica* by *Constantine* the Great; and another will have the same thing done by *Constantius Chlorus* his Father. Generally those that write the *British* History, are confident that *Maximus* there placed his *British* Souldiers; but others as earnestly contend, that there was no Plantation there till after the coming of the *Saxons*.

Vita S. Wingualoei, MS. in Bibliotheca Cotton. apud Camdenum & Usserium in Primord. p. 421.

Hic vetus scriptor Armoricanus; qui Tricanum consobrinum Coronii Regis Britannici, cum filio suo Wingualoco (Winwaloco & Galnutio aliis dicto) è majore Britannia in Armoricam transmigrasse ostendens, de tempore Britanniæ Coloniæ eo deductæ præmittit ista.

** Cod. Theod. l. 7. tit. 20. De Gestis Reg. l. 1. c. 1. Radulph Niger in Chronic.*

56. This indeed makes something against the other Opinion, that *Gildas* speaking how *Maximus* drained the Island of its Men, mentions nothing of his planting them in *Armorica*. But neither doth he speak of this Countrey when he tells us how the distressed *Britains* were driven beyond the Seas, though it was above forty years from the Victory at *Badon* Hill, to the time of his writing his Epistle, and consequently the Colony, or Commonwealth of the *Armorican Britains*, must have been grown up to that eminency, as provokes him to make mention of them; if any thing could divert that angry and querulous Writer from his Theme. Some might be planted there by *Maximus*, as others think, and the Children of these old Souldiers might gladly receive these distressed *Britains* that fled out of their Countrey under Conduct of *Rional*; but the truth is, such Authours as fix the time of the *Britains* setling there after the Invasion of the *Saxons*, are rather of better credit and more considerable. Whenever they came thither they turned within a little time the edge of their Weapons most ingratefully upon those their Friends that gave them harbour, as evidently appears from other Testimonies, and by these words of *Regalis* Bishop of *Vennes*, *We living in Captivity under the* Britains, *are subject to a grievous and heavy Yoke.* The Native *Armoricans* being by little and little subdued, the Name of *Britains* grew so great where they were newly seated, that generally all the Inhabitants passed by degrees into their Name (as of other parts of *Gall* into that of the *Franks*) so that the whole Tract was called *Britannia Armorica*, and by the *French* Writers *Britannia Cismarina*. In the first times they courageously maintained themselves under petty Kings, and afterward under Dukes and Counts against the *Franks*, as we have already shewed out of their Writers, particularly *Gregory* the Bishop of *Tours*, in which Authour we meet with the *Britains* in *Gall*, but never before the time of *Childerick* the First, who began his Reign much about the same time as did *Hengist* in *Kent*, over the *Saxons*. It seems their Quarter was not much better than what their Countreymen obtained, whom they left behind them in the Island. For their Wealth, as one writes, was onely Immunity from publick Taxes, and plenty of Milk. And if you will believe our Monk of *Malmsbury*, "A kind of People they were, needy and poor in their own Countrey (in his "time, and he lived some 550 years agoe) being hired by foreign Money, and pur"chasing a laborious and painfull life. If they be well paid, they refuse not so "much as to serve in Civil War one against another, without all regard of Right "or Kindred, but, according to the quantity of the Money, ready with their "Service, for what part soever you would have them.

Rionalus vel ut apud Sidonium Apollinar. Riothumus, vel ut apud Jornandem Riothimus.

Who destroys most of the Natives.

Whence the Countrey is called after their Name.

Lib. 2. c. 18.

Gleter Rodolphus.

Their Character.

57. This

Sect. I.

57. This Description of them as to their Manners and Disposition suits well enough with what *Gildas* and others write of their Countreymen. However so Industrious and Valiant they were, as to bring under all the Inhabitants of that Tract, and had they had as constant Supplies out of *Britain*, as the *Saxons* had out of *Germany*, might have done as much for the rest of the People of *Gall*, and been before-hand with the *Franks*. In this they equalled them, that as they gave Name to the places they conquered, so did they. But herein they exceeded them, that whereas the Language of the *Franks* being *German*, was swallowed up, and devoured by that, then spoken by the Provincials, or by the Bastard Latin, we now call improperly *French*. Theirs either quite conquered and overcame that of the *Armoricans*, or finding it much the same with it self, as we said the *British* and ancient *Gallick* were the same, preserved it self and it unmixt and uncorrupted. Our *Welch* men hence prove that the *Cornish*, and the *Armorican Britains* were the same Nation, because the Names of their Kings were alike to both, as *Conanus*, *Meriadoc*, (by which Name a part of *Denbighshire* in *North-Wales*, is still so called) *Howel*, *Alan*, *Theodore*, *Rywallon*, and the rest; and almost all their words are the same, although they differ a little in Syntax of Speech, as often it happens in the same Countrey. The Countrey it self is by our *Britains* called *Lhydaw*, which *Cambden* interprets, coasting upon the Sea, and so signifying the same in *British*, as doth *Armorica*. But it seems it's no proper *British* word; for *Lhuid* thinks it came from the Latin word *Littus*, as being a Region of the *Gallican* Shoar. For as the Latin Writers in our words (saith he) turn *D* into *T*, so our Conntreymen in like manner change *T* into *D*, and *L* in the beginning of words they always write with an aspiration. For Example, *Lhadron* with us signifies *Robbers*, the word being borrowed from the Latines.

They preserve their Language unmixt and uncorrupted.

Lhuydas f.9.6.

58. But as some of our distressed *Britains* fled over Sea into *Armorica*, which they called *Little Britain*; so we are told that others of them went into *Holland*, where at the Mouth of the *Rhine*, as it falls into the Sea, near to *Catwyck*, they divided their Sails: and there they built a most strong Castle, which they called *Britain*, and subdued unto themselves the Neighbouring People. This Castle in the *Teutonick* Idiome, as we are told by the same Authour, is called *Die burch te Britten*, as if you should say, *Britains Burge*, or, the Castle of the *Britains*; being in the same sense at this day, by the Neighbouring *Hollanders* called *Het Huys te Britten*, or *The House of* Britain. This Castle was placed in the *Batavian* Shoar, at the middle Mouth of the *Rhine*, and the Ruines thereof are to be seen at a very low Water. It was built four-square, and took up the compass of two *Roman* Acres. And that it was indeed a *Roman* Fort, besides other things, the ancient Coins, Stones and Bricks, which here were found with Inscriptions, do demonstrate; with the view which *Hadrianus Junius* in his *Batavia*, and *Petrus Scriverius* in his Tabulary of *Holland* Antiquities hath presented us. As therefore it cannot be granted this Chronographer that the *Britains* built this Castle, (which might be called *Britten Huys*, because it stood over against *Britain*) so might it, being now left desolate by the *Romans*, be seized by the *Britains*, who might also, as he writes, subdue the Neighbouring People. That this may not be thought incredible, a place of *Procopius* is cited, who in the time of *Justinian* wrote, that *Brittia*, distinct from *Britain*, was inhabited by three most numerous Nations, the *Angles*, *Trissons*, and the *Britains*, who had the same Name with the Island. And if what he saith be true, that it was placed in the Ocean just over against the Mouth of the *Rhine*, this could be no other than the Island of *Batavia*.

Another Company of the *Britains* plant themselves in *Holland*.

Joan. Gerbrand Chron. Belg. lib. 1. c. 13.

Vide Cambd. in Brit. Usser. in Primord. p. 418.

59. Neither ought it to be wondered at that here the *Trisones* inhabited; forasmuch as it's certain, that not onely in the time of *Pliny*, and *Tacitus*, the *Frisii* here had their Seats, but in later times part of *Frisia*, the Province of *Utretcht* was also accounted, and the Western *Holland*, which still retains the Name of *West Freiseland*, and in time past gave to the Earls of *Holland* the Title also of Lords of *Frisia* or *Freiseland*. But whence the *Angli* or *Angili* should thither come, is to be considered. * One Historian of that Countrey reports out of their Annals, as a certain truth, that a great Number of *Angli* came out of *Britain* into *Frisia* under Conduct of *Hengist*. † Another from the like Authority relates, that the City of *Leiden* was first founded on the Bank of the *Rhine* by *Hengist*, the Son of the King of *Frisia*, being beaten out of *Britain*, and having built a Castle upon the Eastern Bank of the said River, made Governour thereof or *Borchgrave* one *Dibald*, to procure safe Passage to Travellers, with free Access and Recess to Merchants; whereupon the City in the Vulgar Tongue had the Name of *Leiden*. But *John Gerbrand*,

Usser. ibid. p. 419.

**Suffridus Petrus de Orig. Frisiorum, l. 2. c. 11.*

† Corn. Kempius Rer. Frisic. l. 2. c. 1.

Sect. 1. *brand*, who himself was born at *Leiden*, relates the Original thereof with more Circumstances. Having said, that *Hengist* gathered Military men together out of the Lower *Saxony* or *Frisia*, his own Countrey, and with the *Sclavenses* or *Hollardenses*, having passed into *Britain*, after this relates what was done by that part of the Army which returned home. The *Saxons Frisons* with the *Sclavenses*, that is, the *Hollardenses* being returned home, the rest being dismissed, when they had now no employment, neither knew what to doe, nor whither to turn themselves; they went along to the *Feirce Wood* with a strong hand, and there at the Course of the River *Rhine*, built a great Castle, which now is called *Leidis*. In the same Castle of *Leide*, by consent of the Elders, they ordained and appointed for the Custody of the Forest, a certain *Burchgrave* or *Castellane*, a Valiant man, with many others like himself, to defend and secure the Merchants going and coming from the said Castle to that of *Wiltenborch* and *Slavenborch*: And therefore that Castle was called *Leyden*, that is, *Ductio* or *Leading*. The common Chronicles of *Holland* relate the same also concerning the *Burg De Burch*, built by *Hengist*. For we must not be so injurious to that Noble City, as to conceal that *Lugdunum Batavorum* was much ancienter both from *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary Table. *In Chronic. Belgic. l. 1. Cc. 9. 10.*

60. That a considerable part of *Hengist*'s Army, after the defeating and dispersing of the Inhabitants, returned out of *Britain*, we have already shewn from more ancient Authours, as *Gildas* and *Beda*. But whereas some will have *Hengist*, a *Dane* by Original, (which we shall hereafter discuss) it would if it could be known whether he being beaten out of *Britain* with his *Angli* (as the *British* Histories affirm) or being Victour, and pursuing the flying *Britains*, planted here a new Colony, and built a new Castle to keep in awe and bridle that which they had formerly seized. For *Procopius* doth not say that these three sorts of People, *viz.* The *Frisians* being *Indiginæ*, and the *Angli* and *Britains* being new Comers made up one People, but signifies that each of them was subject to their own Kings: and indeed from *Brittenburg* or *Huys te Britten*, that *Burgh* is distant but about two hours Sail, (so they of these Countries reckon, and not as we, by Miles) from which the *Bargraves* of *Leiden* of old had their Title. Yet another * Authour will have it not built by *Hengist*, but by one *Mandeth* the Son of *Lemaun*, the first of that Name King of the *Batavi*. *Philip* † *Cluverius* also thinks it was built by the *Romans*, the Stones of it seeming as ancient as those of *Brittenburgh*. And || others think it to have been the work of the *Normans*. But these seem more singular in their Opinions. However, finding that our distressed *Britains* were, by Authours of this Countrey, said hither to have fled for Refuge, and setled themselves; we thought our selves to let the Reader know so much, whom we leave Judge of what on all sides hath been said.

* *Corn. Haemrodius in Batavia.*
† *Antiquit. German. l. 2. c. 36.*
|| *Johan. Latius in Descript. Holland. c. 5.*

61. We thought we had now done our part as to the Text of *Gildas*, (the best course we could take to write the History of these obscure Times, small credit being to be afforded to other *British* Writers) but due favour and respect both to the dead and the living violently calls upon us to take some consideration of that part also of his Epistle which so vehemently inveighs against the Manners and Dispositions of the ancient *Britains*. What he says of the Layety we have already seen of late, and how he paints out the Manners and Behaviour of those of his own Rank, the Reader may see in the Account we give of Ecclesiastical Matters. Most profligate he makes both sorts, as well the one as the other, and as to those we have at present to deal with, he charges upon them breach of trust and perfidiousness, perpetual Emulations, Factions, and Tyranny over one another, makes them to be of a sleepy Nature, as easie to be beaten as ready to rebell, given up to all manner of Riot and Debauchery, and what he says seems not to be meant onely of that time when he wrote, but of their general temper and demeanour in all precedent Ages, whereof he pretends to have the knowledge, *viz.* as far as, the Invasion of *Julius Cæsar*. Hereupon several modern Authours have been emboldned to vilifie the *British* Nation, *Polydore Virgil* in particular, who taxeth it as mean and cowardly in the general course of its Actions and Concernments: And some learned Men of that Original are very much concerned to wipe off that dirt he throws upon it. In this endeavour they urge that *Cæsar* found them at his landing so courageous and Martial, that they put him sore to it, forced him to contain himself in his place, and indeed put him to flight, which he in his own behalf cunningly expresseth, by drawing back the Legions to their Camp; for that a flight it was, they thence prove, that a little after Midnight being past, he stole to his Ships and so departed. But here was not the strength nor

An Aspersion upon the *Britains*.

Which is largely confuted from the best of Authours.

Cæsar ad lacessendum hostem & Committendum prælium alienum esse tempus arbitratus, suo se loco continuit, & brevi tempore intermisso legiones in Castra reduxit.

nor courage of all *Britain* employed, onely a small Company of those of *Kent* hastily gathered together. From *Cæsar* himself it's evident, that they fought with great earnestness from their Chariots, fell with violence upon his Camp, and so discouraged the *Roman* Cohorts, that having lost *Labienus* the Tribune, it's said, they made a safe Retreat. Now what doth this Retreat signifie, but that they escaped away by flight? He confesses that *Cassivelaun* when he sent Ambassadours to him about Peace, was thereto moved by the Revolt of *Mandubratius* and others his Countreymen.

As to their Courage.

62. They farther use the Testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who writes, that the *Britains* being *Aborigenes*, and living after the manner of the Ancients, used Chariots in Fights, as the ancient Greek Heroes are reported to have done in the Siege of *Troy*. That as to Manners they were simple and upright, being far remote from the craft and cunning of those to whom he was related. That they contented themselves with simple and mean food, being absolute Strangers to the delitious living of Rich men. *Tacitus*, they plead, doth wonderfully extoll the Acts of *Caratacus*, and confesses, that after his Captivity the *Romans* were often beaten by onely one Nation of the *Silures*. He writes that *Venusius* (whom he calls fierce, and an utter Enemy of the *Romans*) beat not onely the *Romans*, but the *British* Auxiliaries also. He denies not that the Queen *Boadicia* (by *Dion Cassius* called *Bunduica*) being exasperated, put to the Sword seventy thousand of the *Romans*: And both he and *Dion* with long and evident Speeches celebrate and extoll the more than Manly courage of this Woman and her Facts, which may be compared with those of the most famous Emperours. In the Life of *Agricola*, his Father-in-Law, having told us, that the *Galls* and the *Britains* were very like in their Ceremonies and Superstitious Perswasions; and that their Language differed not much; he adds, that betwixt them there was the like boldness in courting and setting upon dangerous Enterprizes; when Dangers were come, like fear in refusing: But that the *Britains* made shew of more Courage, as being not then mollified by long Peace; for the *Galls* (saith he) were once also as we reade, famous in War, till such time as giving themselves over to Idleness, Sloth crept in, Shipwrack was made both of Valour and Liberty together, which also befell to those of the *Britains* that were subdued of old, the rest remain such as the *Galls* were before. Their Military strength consisteth in their Foot, some Countries fight in Waggons also; the more considerable Person guideth the Carriage, and his Dependents fight. In former times they were governed by Kings; now by their great men they are drawn to Factions and Parties: Neither is there any thing that more benefits us when we have to doe with the most powerfull Countries, but that they do not unite and consult together. Seldom it hapneth that two or three States agree together to propulse the common danger; so whilst each fight for themselves apart, all are overcome. A little after he adds: That *Britains* indure Levies of Men and Money, and all other Burthens imposed by the Empire, patiently and willingly, if Injuries be forborn; these they cannot endure, being subdued to remain as Subjects, not as Slaves. Again; The Noble Mens Sons, he (meaning *Agricola*) took and instructed in the Liberal Sciences, preferring the Wits of the *Britains* before the Students of the *Galls*, as being now desirous to attain to the *Roman* Eloquence, whereas they had lately rejected the Language. After that our Habits began to grow into Esteem, and the Gown was much used among them; and by little and little they proceeded to the Provocations of Vices, to Galleries, Baths, and exquisite Banquettings; which things the Ignorant counted Civility, being in reality a part of Bondage.

As to their Manners.

Βουδίκα *apud Xiphil.*

A Comparison betwixt the *Galls* and *Britains*.

63. They urge farther, that *Dion Cassius* in the Account he gives of *Cæsar*'s Expedition into the Island, delivers such things as make for the honour of the Inhabitants; and namely this, That they did not accept of Peace before they had oftentimes experienced adverse Fortune; that he so set forth his Actions at his return to *Rome*, with Glosses and Flourishes, that a Supplication was decreed upon this account, for twenty days together; elsewhere this same Authour reports Passages tending to the repute of the Nation. So doth *Herodian*, giving this Character of it, that it was most Warlike and greedy of Slaughter, contenting it self as to Arms with a narrow Target and a Lance. *Eutropius* in like manner speaking of *Cæsar*'s Adventure, saith he was tired out with bitter fighting, and being seized by a Tempest, returned into *Gall*, whence returning again into the Island, at the beginning of the Spring following, his Horse at the first Incounter was routed by the *Britains*, and there *Labienus* the Tribune was slain; and in a prosperous Fight at length, but with great loss of his own men, he beat and put them

An account of their Valour.

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them to flight. *Suetonius* farther tells how *Vespasian* conquered two most powerfull Nations in point of War, and fought no fewer than thirty times with the Enemy; signs not of cowardly and effeminate, but of a most valiant People. And *Eutropius* writes, that *Carausius* the *Britain* having been in vain attempted by Arms, at last, as the greatest defence against a man most skilfull in War, a Peace was made. *Sextus Rufus* reckoning up the Legions of the *Roman* Empire mentions the *Britanniciani* and *Brittannici*; the second the *British* Legion, and amongst the Legions of the *Magister Equitum* of *Gall*: the *Britones* twice; with the *Comes Hispaniarum Invictos juniores Britones*, and with the *Comes Britanniarum Vectores juniores Britannicos.* But what need is there, say they, to turn over the Writings of so many learned Men to discover the glory of *Britain?* When so many most valiant Kings, so many Invincible Captains, so many famous *Roman* Emperours issued from the *British* bloud, have abundantly evinced what kind of men this Island brings forth. To what purpose should I, saith *Lhuid*, make mention of *Brennus* that Conquerour of *Romans*, *Greeks*, and of almost all the stoutest Nations of the whole World? Why *Cassivelaun*, to whom, as *Lucan* expresseth it, *Cæsar* shewed his affrighted Back? Why, *Caratacus* that distressed the *Romans* by a War of nine years continuance? Or *Bunducia* that most valiant *Virago*, who procured the destruction of 70000 *Romans*, with the terrour of which Woman *Rome* and *Italy* were so mightily struck, that as one writes, they were not so much concerned for the coming of *Brennus* or *Hannibal?* Or *Arviragus*, that unconquered King of *Britain*, preserving his Liberty in despight of the *Romans*, the Lords of the World? Or those most courageous Captains who thirty times ingaged in Battel with *Vespasian*, and broke the heart of that valiant Emperour *Severus*, because he could not bring them under? Why (saith he) should I make mention of these, when *Britain* bestowed upon the World *Constantine* the Great, not onely a most valiant and most happy Captain, but what is more, the best Man and the first Emperour of the Christian Religion, in which he was instructed by his Mother *Helena* a *British* Woman?

Territaque situs ostendit terga Britannis.

Strabo Geogr. l. 4. & Eustathius ad Dionysium.

Δὶς δὲ φασὶ διαβὰς ἐκεῖ ἐπανῆλθε διὰ παχέων ὑδῶν μίαν διαφεραξάμενος ὑδὸν προελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς νήσου.

64. How much do *Gall* and *Italy* owe to *Britain* for this man born in this Island, being freed from the rage of cruel Tyrants by his means? And much Christian Religion, thus he proceeds, all do well know, except one *Polydore* and his Master *Gulielmus Parvus*, lately published by some ill willers of *Britain*, although unworthy to see the light. And because a late Frenchman, and an ancient Greek Authour, of a greater Name, affirm *Constantine* born at *Dyrrachium*, I will produce the words of a most ancient Panegyrist, spoken in the presence of *Constantine* himself: "O fortunate *Britain*, and now "more happy than other Countries, who first sawest *Constantine Cæsar*. Deservedly hath Nature endowed thee with all good things belonging both "to Air and Soil, in which is neither too great cold in Winter, nor heat in "Summer; wherein is such abundance of Corn, that it hath sufficient of the "Gifts, both of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*; in which are Woods without Savage "Beasts, Land without noxious Serpents: On the other side an Innumerable "Multitude of gentle Cattle distended with Milk, and loaded with Fleeces, "with other things desireable for Life; very long Days and no Nights without some light. For that extreme Level of the Shores doth not raise Shadows, and the view of Heaven and the Stars transcends the limits of "Night, so that the Sun, which with us seems to set there, appears onely "to pass by. Good God what means this, that always from some last end "of the World, new Divinities of the Gods descend to be worshipped by the "whole World! Why should I mention (now *Lhuid* proceeds) *Bonosus*, who from a Duke of the limits of *Rhætia*, became a most valiant and fortunate Emperour? why *Carausius Augustus*, who seven years together, though sore against the wills of *Jovius* and *Herculius*, wore the Purple? And why *Allectus Cæsar*, for the Conquest of whom *Mamertinus* seems to prefer *Maximian* before *Julius Cæsar*. After him, was Emperour *Maximus* a *Britain*, the Kinsman of *Helena*, a valiant and honest man, and worthy of the Title, had he not spoiled *Britain* of its Youth, by which he overthrew *Gratian*.

The several Emperours of the *British* Nation.

65. He by his Wife *Helena*, Daughter of *Euda*, left a Son *Victor Augustus*. *Britain* also, as writes *Paulus Diaconus*, owned *Marcus* and *Gratian* for Emperours. *Constantine* also with *Constans* his Son, were made Emperours in *Britain*, (*Gratian* their Countreyman being kill'd) against whom their Captain *Gerontius* (concerning whose death most ancient *British* Rithms are extant) set up another *Maximus* for a Rival. After these the last Emperour of the *British* bloud

Ambrosius

Ambrosius Aurelius is reckoned by *Panvinius*. Besides these twelve Emperours, *Britain* produced to the World *Arthur* that most invincible King, whose unmatchable glory and most illustrious Acts, our *Leland* by infinite Testimonies, and most invincible Arguments, hath made more eminent against the snarling and Vatinian hatred of doting *Polydore*, and the great gutted Monk of *Rhicvall*, more conversant in the Kitchin than in the Histories of the Ancients. Neither do our Countreymen alone, but the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *French* and *Swedes*, (as one relates out of their Histories) sound forth his Acts in their Books. *Cadvaun* also made from a Prince of *Guynedhia* King of the *Britains*, and his Son *Cadwalla* (whom *Beda* styles a Tyrant) because he pursued the *Saxons* with cruel Wars in the declination of the *British* Government, most valiantly reigned. And after the destruction of *Britain* it self in *Cambria* or *Wales* there were men not to be defrauded of due praise; as *Roderick* the Great and his Nephew by his Son *Howel*, sirnamed the *Good*, both of them famous for matters relating to War and Peace. *Graffith* also the Son of *Lewelin*, the Son of *Gesyl*, most valiantly defended their *Wales*. And after him *Owen* Prince of *Guynedhia*, resisted *Henry* the Second, the most potent King of the *English*, who had thrice invaded *Wales*; and his Son being slain in *Anglesey*, a great part of his Army he destroyed. *Lewelin* the Great, was his Nephew by his Son, whose innumerable Triumphs as writes *Mathew Paris* an *English* man, require particular Treatises to set them forth according to the exigency of their worth.

And other famous Men.

66. Neither onely these but the Remainders of the *Britains* in *Cornwall*, as they are the most robust of all the *British* People, so are they to this day famous for Military Exploits. Neither have the *Britains* in *Gall* the Off-spring of the same Nation degenerated from their Ancestours, having not onely defended their Possessions obtained amidst valiant People for many Ages, but overthrown the *Goths* and *Franks* in most bloudy Battels. They valiantly resisted *Charles* the Great, that most potent Prince. The Army of his Son *Lhodowick*, the Emperour sent against them under Conduct of *Murman*, they put to flight; *Charles* the *Bald* in like manner, Emperour and King of *France*, in open Battel they defeated twice, and caused to run away, leaving his Pavilion and all his Royal Furniture behind him, when *Numenius* was their King. *Herispons* the Son of *Numenius* compelled the said *Charles* to make an ignominious Peace with him, whom *Salomon* the Son of *Herispons*, a Courageous and skilfull Warriour, compelled to retreat as he marched against him. This *Salomon* being dead, the *Britains* (as writes *Sigebert*) out of desire of reigning, waste themselves with Intestine War, and so unwillingly they cease to doe mischief to *Gall*. Wherefore should I make mention (saith *Humphrey Lhuid*) again of *Ursand* that most invincible and most strenuous Captain, his Acts against *Hasting* the *Norman*, and *Pastquitan* the *Britain*? Wherefore *Judicael* and *Alan*, who repelled the *Normans* from their Borders, as they miserably wasted all *France*? Wherefore should I insist upon the Wars which long after being assisted by the Aids and Supplies of the *English*, they waged against the *French* Kings, when as to all men it is evident that this was ever a most valiant Nation? Thus much *Lhuyd* by way of Testimony out of his great, and to be commended, Zeal for the Reputation of his Countrey. He closes all with a direct answer in reference to the Person of that Authour, whence so much matter and evidence for the Accusation of his Countreymen is usually fetch'd.

67. That at last (saith he) I may stop the Mouth of *Polydore* with his *Gildas*, this I say, that this man, if indeed the Work be his, was not an Historiographer, but a Priest and a Preacher, who are ever wont too sharply to inveigh against the Vices of their People. If therefore with *Polydore* we fetch Authorities from Sermons, what Parish, what City, what Nation, what Kingdom shall escape Infamy? What hath *Bernard* written of the *Romans*? He calls them Impious, Infidels, Seditious, Immodest, Traytors, Braggers of much, but small Doers. These things say Divines, that these Vices might be shunned, and life be reformed, not that indeed the *Romans* or *Britains* were the same, although according to the Custome, such they be called out of the Pulpit: Neither doth any man, except he be an impudent Sycophant, make infamous any Society, City, or People, by reason of the Speeches of Priests, their words being wrested to the worst. Avant therefore all cursed Detractours, and let the true glory of *Britain* appear to the World: Neither (Good Reader) account my Tongue too sharp. For (so let God love me) neither Envy to another Man's Name, neither the desire of a little pittance of glory, neither

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hatred to any Nation, but the love of my Countrey, which undeſervedly is ill ſpoken of, and the deſire of illuſtrating the truth, have cauſed me to write what I have written. In ſuch like words, and very modeſt, doth *Humphry Lhuid* of *Denbigh* end his Epiſtle to *Ortelius*, or his Fragment of the Deſcription, a Piece the Authour of which deſerveth what the Publiſher hath put into the Title Page, that *The Reader will admire his Diligence and Judgment*, and pity it is that with it he ended his Life, and had no longer time to ſtudy and publiſh more, which he ſeems to promiſe. His Zeal is to be commended, and if it cauſed him to believe ſuch Stories, as perhaps upon another Subject he never would (for he uſeth the ſilence of *Roman* Writers to confute the Fables which *Beothius* uttereth, and never conſiders this in his own *Arthur*, and other Paſſages of his *Britiſh* Hiſtory) his love to his Countrey, and his Virtues lately mentioned, may eaſily procure his Pardon.

68. As to that work of *Gildas*, and this Perſon's indeavours to beget a contrary Opinion of his Nation; Prudent and Moderate Perſons, as in all ſuch Caſes, will ſcarcely chuſe either of the Extremes but the middle way. That Age whereof *Gildas* wrote, was undoubtedly very corrupt, effeminate, and debauch'd, and made way for the Ruine, which is ever u'hered in by ſuch Practices. But that *Gildas* was a Prieſt and a Preacher, and uſed ſuch a Pious Art as others of his Profeſſion for the amendment of their lives, to whom he wrote, we can eaſily yield and add, not of what another Countreyman of *Lhuid* hath written, though not of the general deſign of his Book. He (*viz. Gildas*) ſeems to have propoſed this onely thing to himſelf in this little Book, that he thought at leaſt his *Britains* would bluſh and repent, if he rather collected all that was blame-worthy in them, and ſet it before their eyes, than if he ſhould mind ſomething worthy of Commendation, which either they themſelves or their Anceſtours had performed. Therefore he partly overwhelms them with all ſorts of Accuſations, partly ſmites them with the Divine Oracles, that none might ſuſpect he did it out of hatred to them. And if the Ghoſt of *Lhuyd* will permit the Name and Teſtimony of *Polydore Virgil* here to be uſed we ſhall add what he himſelf ſaith in this Caſe as to the decay of Religion amongſt the *Britains*: That a few retained the true ſenſe of Chriſtian Religion, whom *Gildas* calleth Good Men, the reſt of them, and eſpecially the Prieſts erring ſo through the iniquity of the Times, he chaſtiſeth and labours to reduce into the way. This was to be ſaid in this place, that every one might know that *Britain* did not beget evil Prieſts, but that the Cruelty and Impiety of men was the cauſe; foraſmuch as this firſt of all Provinces received the Chriſtian Religion, and at all times (ſaith he) and even at this time, hath had and hath a moſt Religious People. Thus far *Polydore* aſcribing this decay of Religion amongſt the *Britains*, to the ancient Perſecutions of the *Romans*. Here now we muſt leave our poor *Britains* in the Mountainous places of *Wales* and *Cornwales*, or elſe ſhifting for themſelves in ſtrange Countries, and now come to thoſe Intruders who poſſeſſed themſelves of their Countrey, and drove them out, whom retaining the old word they ſtill call *Saiſſon*, and their Language *Saiſſonaeg*, not knowing what *Engliſhman* or *England* means. Firſt therefore let us ſee what theſe *Saxons* and others that invaded *Britain* in Conjunction with them, were. Then let us come to a view of the ſeveral Kingdoms they erected in the Iſland. And of theſe in their places.

Priſcus Hiſtor. Britannic Defenſ. C. ult.

Unde venit quod Noſtrates primum retinentes nomen, Anglos omnes Saiſſon & linguam eorum Saiſſonaeg appellant, nec quid ſit Anglus aut Anglia nôrunt. Lhuydubi ſupra. fol. 11. b.

The Countrey called *Saiſſon*, and that Language *Saiſſonaeg*.

SECT. II.

SECT. II.

The Original of the Saxons, Angles *and* Jutes, *which planted themselves in* Britain.

1. THE *Getes* or *Goths*, as we have formerly shewed out of *Scandia*, in most ancient times, not onely made Inrodes into the *Chersonesus*, and the Islands of the Baltick Sea, and the more Northern Parts of *Germany*, but into several Parts both of the *Asian* and *European Sarmatia*, and *Scythia*, whence driving out the Inhabitants, they there seated themselves, as well as in *Thrace* and several other Provinces. In the *Asiatick Scythia* or *Sarmatia*, was there a City called *Asgard*, as the Northern Writers tell us, the Inhabitants whereof *Agardiani* are by some thought the same with those whom the *Greeks* knew by the Name of *Aspurgiani*, both sorts of Authours placing them near to the Lake *Mæotis*, where the River *Tanais*, with great fury empties it self into it, and if some have not wrongly apprehended him, *Ptolemy* the Geographer himself, called the City by the very Name of *Ascard* or *Asgard*. The Country in which this City stood was in a peculiar way called *Asia* by *Strabo*, and the People thereof *Asæi*, and *Asiota* by the other Writers. As for the Names of *Asgard* and *Aspurg* they denote but the very same thing, *Gard* to the *Goths* signifies the same which *Purgos* did to the *Greeks*, *viz.* a Tower or Castle. Such of the *Goths*, as inhabited this Countrey were also called *Turcæ* or *Turks*, as *Mela* witnesseth, who makes them the same with the *Tyrsagetæ*, those that at this present bear that Name having long time after entred into these Quarters deserted by the *Goths*, after they returned back into *Europe*. These *Aspurgiani* had their Kings, the Dominions of whom extended to the farther Mountains of *Scythia*, within *Imaus*, where the *Sasones*, *Syebi* and *Iotæ* inhabited, whom *Strabo* comprehends under the very Name of *Aspurgiani*.

Sect. 2.

Their first Seats.

Lib. 2.

Turcas quasi Tauricas à monte Tauro, ad cujus Radices habitabant, eos dictos putat non nemo.

2. Of this *Aspurgia* or *Asgardia* was King, amongst the rest, one *Othin*, as an ancient Chronicle of *Norwey* calls him, though he has many other Names different in sound yet easily to be apprehended of the same Original, for *Gothick* they all are though variously written, and pronounced according to the several *Gothick* Dialects. The Reader will find him called *Othin*, and *Othen*, *Oden* and *Voden*; *Godan* and *Guodan*, *Eowthen* and *Euoden*; sometimes concisely written *Wode*, *Ode* and *Othe*, *Gode* and *Guode*, *Woen* and *Goen*, but most commonly we find him *Woden*, and from him is the third day of the week named *Wodensdach*, (our Wednesday) as also *Woensdach* and *Gorensdach*, neither are there wanting other Names and Epithetes, whereby he is known. He is reported to have been a stout and expert Captain, aswell wise and cautious, as hardy and daring, and famous for the Art or Faculty of foretelling. Some will tell you, that he was expert in the Art Magick to such perfection, that he would change his shape into that of a four footed Beast, Bird or Fish as often as he listed; in the twinkling of an Eye could remove himself into what place he pleased, with his word alone could restrain the heat of Fire, the fury of the Sea, and doe many other things which far exceed the Power and Capacity of Man, whereby he procured to himself no small Esteem, and Reverence; even asmuch as was attributed to the highest Deity. This well fitted him for the place of Chief Priest, which he bore in his Countrey, where very frequent Sacrifices were offered to Idols. Twelve of the chiefest Senatours he chose from amongst the rest which excelled in Goodness and Wisedom, and made them Overseers not onely over Religious matters, but Ministers of Justice to the People. They were called *Diar*, that is Gods or Divine, and *Drotuar* or Lords, and the People by turns were bound to assist and serve them in their Ministration. While they governed the People at home, he conquered many Kingdoms and Countries abroad; being so prosperous in all his Enterprizes, that in none he failed. When to his Captains he committed any Expedition or other sort of Service, he laid his hands on them, and as it were consecrated them to that Affair, who thereby concluded, that as by a certain Spell they were rendred uncapable of any

Apud Stephanium.

Woden their King.

Who chuses 12 Senatours to be Overseers in sacred and civil Affairs.

Sect. 2. any Misfortune, especially if at time of danger they made but mention of his Name.

3. He had two Brothers, the one called *Ve*, and the other *Velir* or *Vuli*. He being abroad and busied in his Wars, they presided over the Kingdom of *Asgardia*, and took care of all publick business, as of his Wife *Frigga*. He returning, they restored to him his Wife and Government, which he presently again leaving in the same hands, undertook an Expedition against the *Scythians* of *Tanais*, called *Vaner*, who made Valiant Resistence, notably defended their Countrey, and making his Victory often very ambiguous; retreated still with safety to their places of Succour, and constrained him not seldom to procure safety by a seasonable return. Many damages did they receive on both sides, whereof at last being weary, they gave Hostages mutually, and came to an agreement, which ended in a firm and lasting Peace. The *Scythians* gave up to *Woden* two notable men, *Niord*, Sirnamed the *Rich*, and his Son *Troi*: And the *Asiani* were not below them in their choice, delivering to them in exchange one *Heiner*, a Person fit for the management of all matters relating both to Peace and War, and *Mimer* the most wise of all Mortals, whereat the *Scythians* were so touched, that out of a sense that they were overcome in this particular, they delivered up to balance him another Heroe called *Quasir*, who to them seemed the wisest of all living Men. *Heiner* presently obtained the Sovereignty over the *Scythians*, and having at his Elbow so able and faithfull a Counsellour as *Mimer*, did nothing without his advice, who taught him Rules and Methods which he should use in all publick business; but afterwards wanting him when Causes were brought before him, which he was not able to decide, he would often say, *do you agree amongst your selves, and advise together such of you as are skilfull, for from me you can have no assistence.* The *Scythians* now perceiving themselves deceived by the *Asiani*, in an unequal exchange of Hostages, cut off the Head of *Mimer* and sent it to them, which *Woden* receiving, caused it to be preserved with Balsam, with Magick Rhimes made it Vocal, so that it would reveal to him any sacred or concealed thing. *Niord* and *Troi* he reckoned amongst the *Asiatick* Deities, together with *Treia* the Daughter of *Troia*, who having learnt Magick and Inchantments of the *Asiaticks*, therewith wonderfully pleased the *Scythians* her Countreymen. As for *Niord*, he returning home, married his own Sister, which their Laws allowed, where amongst the *Asiaticks* it was esteemed the greatest wickedness for any to joyn in Wedlock, which were so near in bloud.

He makes war upon the *Scythians*.

Who after several Battels deliver Hostages on both sides.

4. But, very high and craggy Mountains, running in length from North to South, separate the greater *Scythia*, as it were by a natural Fence and Limit, from the adjoyning Countries, whereof such as lay toward the South were all subject to the command of *Othin*. At this time the *Romans* being Masters of all, had subdued Innumerable Nations, far and wide, with their Victorious Arms having reduced under the Yoke of their Empire, most vast Kingdoms, most Valiant People, most flourishing Cities, and famous Commonwealths; whereupon many Princes and Governours, forsaking their own Countries, delivered up their Subjects into their Hands. But *Othin* being a famous Magician, and endued with an especial faculty of Divining, and thereby knowing that he and his Posterity should for a long time Reign in the Northern Parts of the world, committed to his two Brothers, *Ve* and *Veler*, the Government of *Asgardia*. He himself went into *Russia*, and thence proceeded into *Saxony*, which having subdued, he delivered it over to his Sons, of whom, *Skiold* he set over *Dania* or *Denmark*, wherein he made *Lethra* his Regal Seat. *Othin* after this having discovered that *Gothia Suetica*, or *Swethland*, over which presided one *Gyluo*, with Royal Authority, was a Countrey fertile, and able to entertain numerous Inhabitants, he betook himself to *Gyluo*, and having made a strict League and Alliance with him, obtained leave to plant himself, and as many as he pleased in these Quarters, for the other was afraid lest by refusal, he should irritate and provoke the *Asiaticks*, to whom he sufficiently knew himself to be inferiour in power. Now do *Gyluo* and *Othin* strive who shall excell in Magical Inchantments, in all which contest, yet *Othin* bore away the Victory, and this done, went and Inhabited on the River *Loger*, where he adorned the City *Sigtun* (of which name saith our Authour, there was a Town in *Sweden* in the days of our Ancestours) and built a most magnificent Palace, where he ordained a course of Sacrifices, according to the Rites and Customs of the *Asians*. Having seized on all this Region, he planted as it were a certain Colony of their *Deastri*, to which he assigned certain Places and Chapels, so to *Niordfell Moalum*, to *Frey Upsal*, to *Theron Trudwanger*, to *Heiner Hundbierg* and

He goes into *Saxony*, and subdues it and *Denmark*.

He makes a League with *Gyluo* Governour of *Swethland*.

and to *Balder Broedeblick*. At length *Othin* with a Troop of his Idols, going back to the Northern Parts of *Suedia*, exercised himself in working wonders by his Magical Art; and thereof, as it were, set up a publick School, there being formerly no use of it in this place. Sect. 2.

His character and cunning in Magick.

5. As for this Person, his countenance, words and carriage, shewed him to be chearfull, pleasant and facetious to an high degree, most agreeable to his friends, but terrible in all respects to his Enemies; for, *Proteus* like, he could change himself into all forms and shapes. He had such a perswasive Tongue, so eloquent as could not be resisted, and the more for that with his Oratory, he mixed Rhimes and Sonnets, whereupon he and his Companions were called *Schialdri* and Poets. By his Magick, he was wont to deprive his Enemies of all sense, and strike them with a pannick fear; nay, joyning Battel with them by his Charming Verses, he could dull the edge of their Swords, insomuch that his Souldiers, without either Shield or Breastplate, like so many fierce Dogs or Wolves, would wound, tear, and rend their Enemies, which were but like so many Sheep before them, they themselves in the mean time being utterly out of danger. Thence was this kind of fierceness, afterward called the Onset of the *Berserkers*. Farther, then this *Othin* was so cunning in deceiving the Eye, that he would cast himself down as dead, and his Body would seem to be changed into the several shapes of Fishes, Birds and Serpents. Returning to himself, he would affirm he had been viewing Countries far distant, and knew exactly what was therein done. With one word he could extinguish Fires, lay Tempests, stop Inundations, and command the boisterous Winds. The Spirits of dead Men he could fetch out of their places, and confine them unto certain Hills, whereupon he was named *Dronga Dratten vel Hunga Drotten, the Lord of Hobgoblins*. He had two Crows which he had taught to speak, which would fly into other Regions, and relate to their Master what Accidents had happened. By his Magick he would open Mountains, and thence from the Veins of the Earth, fetch as much Gold and Silver as to him seemed convenient, and without any ones telling find out Treasures that had been hidden. In summ, *Othin* by his Rhimes, Songs and Inchantments (called *Caldran, Seid, Liod* and *Frolkinga*) did such incredible things, that his Name became Famous, and the Renown of his Wisedom and Power, as also of his *Asians*, reached all Countries and Nations. By this means he so afrighted his Enemies, that they dared not to attempt any thing against him; on the contrary, he so retained his Allies and Friends in their Fidelity, that seldom or never, did they revolt from him.

6. Thence came it to pass, that the *Sueci* and other Northern Nations solemnly sacrificed to him and his twelve Associates, and paid to him that Duty and Devotion, which was due to the Lord of Heaven and Earth alone. Their Names they gave to their Children newly born, calling some of them *Audun* and *Ondun* from *Othin*, *Thord*, *Thore*, *Toraren*, *Stemtor* and *Haftor* from *Tor*, some of which saith the Chronicler are still in use amongst the *Norwegians*. *Othin*, farther, made many Laws, amongst which these are reported the most memorable. The Bodies of the dead or such as were slain in War, he ordained should be consumed with Fire, together with their Choice Goods and Ornaments, the Ashes either buried in the Earth, or cast into Rivers. That Hillocks should be raised in memory of Great and Noble Persons with Monuments upon them, to transmit the fame of their Actions to Posterity. That thrice every year they should offer solemn Sacrifice; in Winter for the Happiness of the year, in Mid-winter for the fruitfulness of it, and at the end of Winter for Victory. The *Scythians* every year paid him a *Denarius* a Head in way of Tribute, he being to protect them from their Enemies, and propagate Superstition amongst them. *Niord* had to wife one *Skade*, which leaving him married a little after to *Othin*, and by her he had many Sons, the Name of one of which was *Semming*. Then did new *Scythia*, viz. *Suecia* get the Name of *Manheim*, and the Great *Scythia* of *Gudheim*. At length, *Othin*, when he had lived long enough, died in *Suecia*. Being near his end, he commanded all his Members and Limbs to be marked with nine Scars, which the Ancients called *Geirs Odde*. He farther commanded, that such as were beaten down in Battel should be sacrificed to him, as the most acceptable oblation that could be. After his death he appeared to many, especially if some considerable Battel was at hand. For many he obtained Victory; others he invited into the Palace of *Pluto*, called *Valhalden*. His Body was solemnly burned, and a Funeral Banquet together with Sacrifices were instituted to the Honour of the deceased. Such is the Account we have concerning the Life and Death of this *Woden*, and his Expedition out of *Agardia* into

He dies.

Sect. 2. into *Saxony*, from an Ancient Chronicle said to have been written by *Snorro*, the Son of *Sturlay*, an eminent Man in *Island*, about the year of Our Lord 1220. And with this Relation, for the main, agrees the *Edda* of *Island* a most Ancient Monument, *Johannes Martini* an Ancient Writer also, as *Joh. Messenius* hath it, and another old *Sueo Gothick* Chronicle published by the said *Messenius*, from several Manuscripts which agreeth in all things almost with the Relation made by *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

7. The *Edda* makes mention of *Odin* his making a long stay in *Saxony*, that he possessed the Countrey far and wide, and distributed it amongst his Sons, whereof *Vegdegg* obtained the Eastern *Saxony*, *Begdeg Westphalia*, and *Sig Francia*. It adds that having done this, he himself went into another Countrey called then *Reidgotoland*, afterward *Jutland*, of which he had to himself as much as he pleased, and over it set his Son *Skiold*, who was Father to *Fridleif*, whose Posterity was called *Skioldungar* or *Skioldrades*, from whom the Kings of *Danemark* are descended. Afterwards relating how he went into *Suithiod* or *Suecia*, it adds that he built the City from him called *Sigtun*, and now enjoying Royal dignity, called himself *Niord*. Therefore in the Annals it is found, that the first King of *Suecia*, was *Niord*, because *Odin* the most magnificent King there reigned, though before him other Kings there ruled. Lastly it relates how *Odin* constituted twelve Persons, for administring of Law to the People according to the *Turkish* Customs, in imitation of what was done at *Troy*. *Johannes Martini* tells the Story how *Woden*, with twelve Judges of the Kingdom called *Drotnarii*, his Wife *Frigga*, and Children, and a great Army went into *Ryfland*, over which having happily conquered it, he appointed Governour his Son *Bo*. His Affairs having so prosperously succeeded in *Ryfland*, he sailed over the Sea into an Island of *Denmark*, called *Oden Soo*, which to this very day saith he from *Woden* his inhabiting there keeps its Ancient Name. Having also made some stay in the Dukedom of *Sleswick*, and from a certain Cunning woman called *Gefion*, learnt how fruitfull and beautifull a Countrey was *Suecia*, having left *Hilfatia* under the Rule of seven of his Sons, he departed thither and a long time lived at *Sigtun*, where he obtained great Fame and Veneration amongst the *Sueones*, who were amazed at the things formerly related which he did by Magick, aud particularly at this, that he could pass vast Seas in a little Skin or Pelt which he was wont to fold up together like a Bag. Dying at last at *Sigtun*, he was with much Honour, and no small Quantity of Gold and Silver burnt, and by how much higher the smoke ascended from the kindled pile by so much they esteemed him placed in an higher degree, in the other World. The *Saxogothick* Chronicle relates, that *Woden* being Prince and also Priest of *Asgardia*, killed and offered Men aswell as other Animals unto Idols. That coming with all his *Diarii*, and a great multitude, of other Men into *Ryfland*, thence he proceeded into *Saxony*, which he committed to the Government of his Sons, and by Sea passed to a certain Island called *Odensæa* in *Fronia*, at the writing of that Book. Having understood, that there was a good Land near *Lagere*, thither he went with his *Diarii*, and took a piece of ground to himself which he called *Sigtun*. *Niord* placed himself at *Nuburg*, *Freyar* at *Upsal*, *Hymdel* at *Hymburg*, *Thora* at *Trundwagn*, and *Balder* at *Bredeblike*, where they introduced the Custome of sacrificing. Here is to be understood, that after *Woden* and his *Diarii* came into the Northern Parts, Art Magick came in use, but prevailed especially in *Finmark*. Concerning his wonders performed by this Art, his death and honours, he relates the same with *Snorro* the Son of *Sturlay*.

His Body is burnt.

8. Such is the Account we have of the return of the *Getes* or *Goths* into *Germany*, under Conduct of *Woden*, from these most ancient Northern Writers: a story the Reader cannot but a little startle at, as savouring of such Poetick fancy, and Romantick humour, as usually covers the Originals of Nations, under the Veil of Obscurity. That such fancy and humour is prevalent in this Story cannot be denied, especially as to the Persons and Practices of our wonderfull *Woden*. We must confess, that these Northern Parts have abounded with Tales inserted into their Magical Songs and Incantations, and that *Edda* the ancient Monument, we have cited, was no other but a Store-house of Allegories and Fancies, a shop out of which Poets were to gather materials, and furnish themselves with fit Conceits, for their Superstitious Ditties. And to speak the utmost, it's to be feared that these ancient Chroniclers from it and Tradition had their greatest Collections. Indeed as *Kranzius* observes in his History of these Northern Countries, it's difficult for any Man to write the Original of any Nation, and not to touch upon some Fables; not onely the *Greeks*, but each other People have their Heroick Story. Yet

as

as in these of the *Greeks* as most think, is involved much also of truth, and real things covered with fictions, which may be discovered to have been real, by consent of other Circumstances of times and places; so perhaps upon disquisition we may find the same in this Subject, whereon we now insist. In the first place, to grant such Stories as are told of Magick to have been general Fables and Rumours of the People; yet this we must say, that to any one who has either travelled into these Parts or hath been conversant in the Histories of these Northern Nations, it will appear, that they have been in former time (whatever they are at present, and let this be considered) most propense to Inchantments, direfull Imprecations and other Magical Charms and Tricks. Many Monuments of their ancient places of burial with their *Runick* Inscriptions, sufficiently testify enough of this matter at this very day.

Magical Inchantments much used.

9. But to put our velitary or weaker Arguments in the Front of our Ingagement, that *Woden* and his Companions came from *Asia*, bears some resemblance of truth; because his sirname is *Aas*, and they have that of *Asiani*. *Æser* in the plural is the same as *Asiaticks*, whereof the singular is *As* or *Aas*, given to *Woden*, in an extraordinary manner with too great an Adjunct, as *Den Almegste Aas*. This is more evident from that ancient form of an Oath, which in old time was used in *Norwey*, *So help me Frier, and Niordar, and that omnipotent As*, meaning *Woden*, whom they sacrilegiously elevated into the place of the highest Divinity. Hereupon the Ancient *Goths* to witness their descent from these their Deities, *Woden*, *Thor*, *Skiold*, and the rest, were wont to add the word *As* unto the Names of their Children, it signifying with them as much as Divine or Saint. As *Asbiorn* (or as the *Danes* write it *Esberne* (we *Osborn*) St. *Beare* or *As Beare*, *Asgeir*, *As-Speare*, *Asgrimur*, *Aswalse*, *Asketil*, *Asdog*, *Aslakur*, (the *Danes* call it *Axell*) that is *Dius Famalus*, or *As seruant*, and as these and others belong to Men, so some there were that appertained to Women. Farther, that in *Sarmatia Asiatica*, there was really such a place called *Asgardia* or *Aspurgia*, and People known by the Name of *Asiotæ*, and *Asiani* a Countrey by *Strabo* expresly and peculiarly called *Asia*, we have already seen. Hence when *Woden* and his Followers came into *Germany*, was the Name of *Asciburg*, or as now it is called *Asburg*, given to an ancient City there mentioned by *Tacitus*, this being far more probable than that it should be founded by *Vlysses*, it being the Custome of these *Gothick* Nations, to give the Names of the places from whence they came, to their newly acquired Conquests. In the Preface to the *Edda*, the Countrey whence *Woden* came, is called *Turcia*, and *Mela* witnesseth that the Inhabitants of *Aspurgia*, were some of them called *Turcæ*; being the same with those *Goths*, called *Tyrsagetæ*, who from the Mountain *Taurus* might receive some denomination. And as such like Denominations, when they come to be fixed upon Nations or Families commonly stick; so probable it is, that after the *Saxons* came into *Britain*, the Name of *Turk* still continued, though the reason of the Name might be in the dark. For in the County of *Lincoln* upon the *Trent*, some four or five Miles from *Gainsborough*, there is a Town now called *Torksey*, which the *Saxons* in their Language called Turcesigge or the Island of *Turks*. But as we said before the present *Turks* came into these parts of *Asia* long after, when the *Goths* returning into *Europe* had forsaken them.

His Sirname was *As*.

His Countrey *Aspurgia*.

Part whereof was called *Turcia*.

10. Farther, that *Woden* came into *Rysland*, is made probable from the proper Names of several Places there. In the Borders of *Livonia*, formerly accounted part of *Rysland*, was a Province from him called *Odenpoe*, as much as to say, *Upon Woden*, denoting as some think, that all their Hope and Expectation was upon him. In the Bay of the *Sarmatian* Sea, is also a certain Island from him called *Wodesholm*, by the *Danes Odesholm*, and *Vodesholme*. *Woden* leaving *Rysland*, left King over that Countrey, his Son *Bo*, as both *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Johannes Magnus* relate, calling the said *Bo* King of the *Rutheri*, the Land of whom by the *Goths* was called *Rysland*, *Roxilania* in the *Latin* Tongue, and in times past *Russia* extending from the Mouth of the River *Vistula*, as far as the Bank of *Mæotis*, and *Tanais* with the Riphean Mountains, in the Circle of which are at this day contained *Prussia*, *Livonia*, and a great Part of *Muscovy*, with other Countries. Now that from *Rysland*, *Woden* by Sea came into the Northern Parts of *Germany*, besides what is said by *Johannes Martini*, other Circumstances render very probable. First it has been the constant opinion and tradition of the *Saxons* themselves, that thither they came not by Land but Sea. Then as in other Places, so in these Quarters of *Germany*, *Woden* left several marks of his Name. From him otherwise called *Wodan* and *Godan*, *Sialand* formerly called *Wetallaheeth*, received the Name of *Goda-*

Vide Sheringhami Discept. de Orig. Gentis Anglis c. 13.

Settles his Son *Bo* in the Kingdom of *Rysland*.

Sect. I.

Godanonia, or *Codanovia*, as also all the Straits beset with Islands, that of *Sinus Godanus* or *Codanus*, the *Bay* of *Godan* or *Codan*. Then it seems very probable, that *Woden* brought Poetry and the *Runick* Letters in use with the *Goths*, because of old they called the *Runick* Speech by the Name of *Asmal*, or the *Asian* Language; which is preserved in *Island* more pure, than in other places. *Fimbul*, who is reported to have been the Scribe and Prophet of these *Asæ*, is indeed said to have invented the *Runick* Letters or Characters; but *Woden* is said to have cut them, and taught the People the use of them, for which reason he was called *Ranhofdi*, or the Head, Principal or Chief of the *Runæ*, which were imagined to have wonderfull Power and Operation in Prayers and Imprecations. But of these more, in a more proper Place.

Stephanius in Præf ad Saxon. Grammaticum.

11. The Removals and Travels of the *Goths* out of the more Northern Parts into *Germany*, and the adjacent Islands are farther made out by the Inscriptions in *Runick* Characters, which are extant both in the said Islands, and in *Sweden*, as well as by the consent of the Annalists of these Quarters. Great Pillars were in *Sweden*, not long since to be seen, which the Inscriptions upon them manifested to have been erected by them in memory of their Worthies, which had lost their lives in *Greece*, *Thrace*, or other places. From *Woden* and his Companions who were *Scythians*, came *Sueica* to be called *Nova Scythia*, and the Inhabitants of the *Chersonesus*, or the *Cimbri* to be called by the *Greeks Celtoscythæ*, being first to them known by the Name of *Cimmerians*, and why by this, but that because they were first in *Scythia* called *Cimmerians*, and into *Germany*, and those Parts travelled from *Bosphorus Cimmerius*. But to come near to our matter, we know that our Ancestours came out of *Germany*, consisting of *Jutes* (*Gutes* or *Getes*) *Saxons* and *Angles*, three of the most valiant People of that Countrey. Now from *Ptolemy* it appears that in *Scythia* or *Cimmeria*, there were three several People which were known by the very same Names. He speaks of *Jotæ*, lying upon the Sea of the *Rhymmii*. Of the *Sasones*, under the *Massæan* and *Alan* Mountains. Now though he mentions not the *Angles*, yet the *Suebi* he doth, or *Suevi*, part of which Nation the *Angli* are rationally thought to have been; being so called from the *Angle* or Corner on which they seized in *Germany*. This is accounted no small Argument, that these People came into the Maritime Parts of *Germany*, at no other time, nor under any other Conduct than that of *Woden*, because before the time of his Expedition, no such Names as these do occur in Northern Writers, but after this they became famous, especially the *Saxons*. In the *Sueogothick* Annals, those of *Norwey* and *Danemark* their Memory flourishes, but amongst the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Writers, the *Saxons* are known; as also the *Jutes* by the Name of *Cimbri*, though the *Suebi* by that of their own.

The *Jutes*, *Saxons*, and *Angles*, came into the Northern Parts of *Germany*, under Conduct of *Woden*.

12. In *Sarmatia* are many Towns, especially in *Livonia*, which it appears plainly to have borrowed their Names from the *Saxon* Tongue. *Reffuel* signifies a place where two Seas meet, *Riga*, *Riches*, and others there are whose Terminations are plainly *Saxon*. And as for the Maritime Parts, there they speak that Language to this very day, which are presumed manifest signs, that these Countries were formerly subject to *Woden* and his *Saxons*, part of whom such as there took not up their abode, passed over the Seas into *Germany*. Let that farther be considered that the *Peninsula*, when *Woden* came thither had the Name of *Reidgothaland*, but afterward received that of *Jutia*, and whence should this change come but from the *Goths*, *Jotes* or *Jutes*, who came and seizing on this Countrey inhabited, especially the Western Promontory thereof? But we had almost forgot what in course should before this have been remembred, that not onely our Ancestours, *viz.* the *Jutes*, *Saxons* and *Angles*, but others the Principal Nations of *Germany*, had their Name *Jutes* in *Scythia*. *Strabo* places the *Macropogones* or *Longobards* in *Cimmeria*, about *Syndica*, near to which *Woden* is said to have reigned in *Aspurgia*; it may be true indeed that other Colonies did afterward go out of *Scandia*, but yet before these Migrations, that such of this Name inhabited part of *Germany*, both *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* may assure us. All know that in *Gerwany* there are the *Treres*, *Trevirenses*, or those of *Triers* in *Saxon die Trerer*, and such there were in *Scythia* also. The *Chatti* lied in *Germany*, under the Mountain *Relibotus*, not far from the *Suevi*, *Angli* and *Camani*, and *Ptolemy* places them also in *Scythia*, next the *Maßagetes*, without the Mountains *Imai*.

The Names of their Towns the same.

13. Yet still this doth mightily (especially in conjunction with the other Arguments) inforce the probability of this Plantation, that the *Gothick* Nations or *Cimbri* in their manners, and Inclinations much suited with the *Asiatick Scythians*. Both the one and the other esteemed it Noble to dye in war, but disgracefull to be

Being very much alike in all things.

De his omnibus vide Sheringhamum ubi prius c. 15.

be ſent out of the World, either by Old Age or a Diſeaſe. By bloud (drunk or ſprinkled) both entred into Leagues and Confederacies. Their Women with both, together with the Men, ingaged in battel, and fought againſt the Enemy. The *Amazons* themſelves were the Off-ſpring of the *Scythians* in *Aſia*. And ſuch *Goths* as inhabited in *Europe* on this ſide *Tanais*, and the *Riphæan* Mountains as far as *Germany*, called with ſome variety *Gothones*, *Gottones*, *Samogetæ* and *Sauromatæ*, and part of them *Alans*, had their *Amazons* alſo, which for warlike enterprizes, equalled the Men themſelves, and as thoſe in *Aſia* had their Right Breaſt burnt off, whereupon from the *Greeks* they received the ſame Name, and were not ſuffered to marry till they had killed three Enemies. Women both of warlike Diſpoſitions and Actions, like to theſe, *Saxo Grammaticus* relates *Danemark* once to have bred. Another though barbarous Cuſtome both agreed in, and that was to make Cups of the Skulls of their Enemies, and drink out of them; this being accounted by the *Goths* the Sum of all Felicity, that after death in ſuch kind of Veſſels they ſhould drink Nappy Ale with *Woden*. But nothing more evinces the thing we are about to prove, than the mixture of the *Greek* Language, and others of the *Aſiatick* Tongues with the *Saxons*, viz. *Armenian*, and thoſe of the *Turks* and *Perſians*. Now how could they reach ſo far as into the *Cimbrick Cherſoneſus*, but as they were tranſmitted by ſuch as were once Neighbours to theſe Nations, and afterward travelled into theſe Quarters? Moreover the moſt ancient Names both of places and Perſons were the ſame, and many of them to this day continue amongſt us, *Erick*, *Berig*, *Filmer* or *Fulmer* are frequent enough in *England*. And as for the proper Names of the *Grand Aſæ* themſelves, as *Woden*, *Thor*, *Siggo*, *Skiold* or *Scyld*, they are here alſo ſufficiently known, and of them we have the Names of Towns compounded, as *Wodensbury*, *Thorsby* (not to ſpeak of days) *Sigſton*, *Shilton* or *Shelton*; and many others an induſtrious Man might find.

Sect. 2.

Hippocrates de Aere, &c. ſect. 3.

Lib. 7.

14. Such are the Arguments brought for this opinion, that the *Aſiatick Goths* with *Woden*, came back into *Scandia*, and ſetled part of them in *Germany*. And though ſome of the Books out of which they are fetcht abound with Fables, yet we muſt needs confeſs ſeveral things there are which laid all and conſidered together, will at leaſt inforce a Probability. Likeneſs of Speech argues ever the ſpeakers to have been of one and the ſame deſcent, and where two ſeveral People bear the ſame Name, a vehement ſuſpicion it is, that though at preſent they are yet, they have not ever been ſeparated from each other. A Tradition it was amongſt the *Saxons*, that by Sea they came into thoſe Quarters of *Germany*, but no Footſteps of any other Invaſion or Migrations, are to be found beſides this of *Woden*. Let this Opinion then ſtand at leaſt as Probationer, and let him receive his deſerved thanks of all that affect Letters, who has lately taken ſo much ingenious pains to make it out. What ſhall we ſay as to the time of this Migration? Some make it to have happened four and twenty years before the birth of Chriſt, about the time whem *Pompey* waſted *Syria*. But *Woden* is ſaid in the Preface of the *Edda*, to have delivered over the Government of *Jutia* to his Son *Skiold*, whence the Kings of *Danemark* were anciently called *Skioldinger*, now this *Skiold* according to the *Daniſh* Chronology, lived almoſt a thouſand years before *Pompey*; and accordingly *Woden* with his *Saxons*, *Sueves*, *Getes*, and other People of *Scythia*, muſt about the pretended beginning of the *Daniſh* Empire have entred the *Cherſoneſus*, and the adjacent places, and to *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Jutia*, have given theſe as their proper Names. And one there is who will have the *Saxons*, to have given occaſion to the riſe of the *Daniſh* Kingdom, and to have invaded the *Danes*, who then endeavoured to ſhake off the *Gothick* Yoke, with whom the *Danes* not able to grapple, were conſtrained to crave aid of *Howel* King of the *Goths*, who ſent them for King his Son *Dan* (from whom *Dania* received its Name) who by his Valour repreſſed the *Saxons*. But theſe things are uncertain.

Both Nations proceed from one Original.

Sheringhamus ubi ſuprâ.

The time of their Migration 24 years before Chriſt.

15. By this laſt Account the beginning of the *Daniſh* Kingdom, ſhould fall into the 2910 year of the World, and *Woden* muſt have been ſomething Ancienter than *Homer*. But how will this conſiſt with the Genealogies of our *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, the Founders of the ſeven Kingdoms, all which are derived in deſcent from *Woden*? *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* his Brother are ſaid by the Monk of *Malmesbury*, to have been but the *Abnepotes* or fourth in deſcent from *Woden*, and *Cerdick*, the Founder of the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, the Tenth; but how could this be? For this Chronology will have *Woden*, live and flouriſh 1038 years before Chriſt, and *Hengiſt* came not into *Britain*, till about 449 years after his Birth, the Great Grandfather, Grandfather and Father of *Hengiſt*, muſt at this rate have been nigh as long lived as *Methuſalah*, ſuppoſing them to have generated in the middle

2910 *Mundi.*

1038

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Sect. 2.

Three that bare the Name of *Woden.*

middle of their Age. Some therefore tell us, that as amongst the *Greeks* there were several that bore the Name of *Hercules*, but that they were all confounded together, and what was done by all was ascribed to one; so also it fell out as to the matter of *Woden*. There is one that thinks there were three of this Name all deified: the first descended from *Saturn* and the *Trojan* Kings, called *Asianus*, and *Odin hin Gamle*, or *Woden the Ancient*, who never came into *Carpoe*, but his Name and Rights were hither brought by others. The second of *Upsal*, to whom in *Suedeland* was a Temple dedicated, which was very sumptuous shining with Gold, who was also called *Asianus*, but a stranger of the *Scythians*. The third was called *Methodinus*, or *Middle Woden*, of whom *Saxo Grammaticus* maketh mention, who, the other *Woden* being abroad, took occasion to feign himself a God, but after his return relinquishing his Prestigiatory tricks fled away into *Phaonia*, there to lurk; but was slain by the Concourse of the Inhabitants. Another produces a fourth *Woden*, who being beaten by *Pompey* out of *Asia*, into the Northern Parts, taught the People the Arts and Laws of the *Asiaticks*, and was therefore had in especial Honour. But his flight is from the *Romans* also ascribed unto him of *Upsal*, although they are reported to have lived in far different Ages. In these obscure matters it's difficult where to fix. If such was the Descent of our *Saxon* Conquerours, there must be a *Woden*, much later than that first we have spoken off, nay later than the last of all these mentioned. But it's a usual thing with Ethnicks to father such upon their Gods as they are at aloss with, as to their Pedigrees. Or some notable Warriour, the more to aggrandize his Name, might assume to himself or have given to him that of *Woden*.

Brynolphus Sucnonsus Episcopus Scalhaltensis in Conjectaneis ad Saxon. Grammat. ex vetustissimis tabulis Genealogicis Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Anholtini.

Amgrinus Jonas.

16. Let us admit then of this story of *Woden*, and the great Army of *Sasons*, *Getes* and *Suebi*, that came with him into *Germany*. Now let us see what there they did, let us take a view of these several sorts of People, there supposed to be planted. *Nicholas Cisner*, a Learned Lawyer of *Spira*, in his Preface to *Krantzius* his History of *Saxony*; having brought the *Sacæ* and the *Saxons* (sprung from them) out of *Asia*, whence from the East they betook themselves Northward, and from the North by Degrees into Countries nearer to these parts of the World, is of opinion, that most of the People of *Germany*, as the *Suevi*, *Catti*, *Alani*, *Cimbri*, *Daci*, *Dani*, *Getæ* and *Goths* almost in the same method and manner, powered themselves into *Europe*; so that what Neighbourhood was amongst them in *Asia*, the same almost continued with them in *Europe*. But, the old *Saxons*, or those that first invaded *Germany*, seated themselves in that Countrey, which at present contains *Holsatia*, properly so called, *Dithmarsh*, *Stonnar* and *Wagria*: the breadth of it lies from the City of *Sleswick* to that of *Hamborough* (placed in the utmost part of *Saxony*) the length from the Western to the Eastern Sea, or from the *German* Ocean to the *Baltick*, having old *France* adjoining to it, between the Mouths of the *Elbe*, and the *Rhine*. For *Ptolemy* places the Southern Border of *Saxony*, betwixt the Mouth of the River *Altis* (now *Elbe*) and *Chalusus* (or *Trave*, which runs by *Lubeck*) the Northern Border as *Adamus Bremensis* fixeth it was the River *Egdom*, which separated the old *Saxony* (from lying North of the River *Elbe*, called *Nortalbingia*) from *Dania*. Of the People inhabiting this *Saxonia Transelbiana*, the same Authour makes this distinction. Of the *Transelbian Saxons*, there are three People: the first are the *Dithmarsi* upon the Ocean, whose Church is *Mildenthorp*. The second are the *Holsati*, so called from the woods where they inhabit, being watered by the River *Stare*: their Church is *Sconenfeld*. The third and more Noble are *Stormarii*, so called because that Nation is also tossed by Seditions: their *Metropolis* is lofty *Hanburg*. With this division agrees *Helmoldus*, in his *Sclavian* History. The old *Saxony* was not therefore *Westphalia*, as *Krantzius*, and several others were of opinion, but that which at this day is called the Dukedom of *Holsatia*.

The Situation of old *Saxony*, being the seat of our ancient *Saxons*.

The sorts of the *Transelbian Saxons*.

Adamus Bremensis Hist. Ecclesiast. l. 1. cap. 9. Holtsaten etiam Krantzio dicitur ab Holts Sylva & Saten Incolis, tanquamessent Sylvestres Incolæ. Alii dicunt Regionem Germaniæ fuisse dictam Olrsaxen veterem Saxoniam, in antiquis scil. manuscriptis Chronicis.

17. But afterward by their Conquests our *Saxons* so inlarged their bounds, that several other Divisions came in use. For all these Maritime Parts as far as the River *Scheld* and *Flanders*, were called *Saxony*; then came up Names of *Saxonia Cissrhenana* and *Saxonia Inferior*, as for new *Saxony*, or that which bears the Name at this day, it's but a small Pittance of the other. All these though distinguished enough amongst themselves in *Germany*, were first known to the *Greeks* and *Romans* by the name of *Cimbri*, as the Sea from the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, as far as *Flanders*, having been called *Mare Cimbricum*. Though the *Saxons* brought their Name out of *Asia* with them, and were by it sufficiently known at home, yet *Ptolemy* is the first Authour that makes mention of it; and after it became known, and

They inlarge their Territories.

Sect. 2.

and famous to *Greeks* and *Romans*, by it they underſtood that Part of the *Cimbri* inhabiting betwixt the Rivers *Rhine* and *Elbe*, which had been conquered by our ancient *Saxons*. So much for the Seats of our ancient *Saxons*, now let us ſee if we can find that of the *Angles*, and we are pointed to it by *Ethelward*, and our own Monk of *Malmsbury*, who tell us, that *Old England* was ſituate betwixt the *Saxons* and *Giotes*, having its Capital Town, in the *Saxon* Tongue called *Sleſwick*, but *Haithaby* by the *Danes*. Betwixt an Arm of the *Baltick* of old called *Slia* and the Bay of *Fleteſtoicke*, did this Countrey lie; which ſtill, by its Inhabitants is called *Anglen*; by *Krantzius* and others that write in Latin *Anglia*. The Inhabitants were more anciently called *Suevi*, being part of the Nation which *Cæſar* witneſſeth in his time to have been the greateſt and moſt Warlike of all the *German* Nations. *Ptolemy*, though others mention more, diſtinguiſhes them into three ſorts of People, *viz.* The *Suevi Longobardi*, the *Suevi Semnones*, and the *Suevi Angili*, whom *Tacitus* and other Hiſtorians contractedly call *Angli*. But ſome make a great doubt, others deny that the *Saxones Angli*, and theſe *Suevi Angli*, were the ſame Nation; and upon this ground, becauſe *Beda* calls the *Angli*, *Saxons*, but the *Saxons* and *Suevi* were not the ſame Nation, being Nations diſtinct both as to Name and Place. To this others anſwer, that ſo it was indeed at their firſt coming into *Germany*; but afterward part of the *Suevi*, with their Seat about the *Elbe* was conquered by the *Saxons*, and after this retained both their own Name, and yet got that alſo of *Saxons*. So the *Normans* and *Britains* retain their old Names in *Gall*, and yet in a general acceptation, are called *French*. And as we ſaid before, the *Saxons* paſſing over the *Elbe*, pierced as far as the *Rhine*, nay, the *Scheld* and all People in this compaſs obtained the ſirname of *Saxon*, eſpecially ſuch as lived within the two former Rivers. Now that part of the *Suevi* were ſeated betwixt theſe two Rivers, *Strabo* is a ſufficient Witneſs, who alſo teſtifies that the *Suevi* were a reſtleſs People, and wont often to change their Seats. Therefore though the *Suevi Angli* in the days of *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy*, inhabited the Inland Countrey, yet ſome time after they might remove, being not wont in *Cæſar*'s time (as he aſſures us) to ſtay any longer than a year or two in a place.

The Seats of the *Angli* where.

Malmesb. Lib. 2. c. 2.

De Anglis Copiosè agit Cisnerus in Præf. ad Krantzium.

18. Being invited by the *Saxons* to joyn with them in War againſt the *Danes*, they mixed with them in the *Cherſoneſus*, or in *Jutia*, the *Danes* being ejected, who ſometimes again recovered their ground and expelled them. But hence the *Angli* received the Name of them under whoſe Patrociny they were, being when amongſt the *Suevi*, called *Anglo Suevi*, when amongſt the *Saxons*, *Angli Saxones*, in *Pomeravia*, *Angli Pomeravi*, in *Friſia*, *Angli Friſij*, and ſome were called *Angli Germani*; but the *Angli Saxones* became moſt eminent, becauſe they came over into *Britain* in Conjunction with the *Jutes* and true *Saxons*, the Name of which *Beda* gives to both the other, which argues this People to have been then under their Juriſdiction. This doth much make for this Opinion of their changing their Seats, that neither *Ptolemy* nor any after him till they came into *Britain* makes any mention of the *Angli* in the *Cherſoneſus* or *Jutia*, and when they come to be mentioned as inhabiting the *Cherſoneſus*, none ſpeaks of their living upon the *Elbe*, a great ſign they were thither removed. Neither after this time doth any Geography ſpeak of two ſorts of *Angli* ſeparated as to the place of their Habitation. But, in making this diſcovery of the Place of the *Angli*, we have light upon that of the *Jutes* too, who inhabited *Jutia*, which ſtill retains its Name being a moſt known and remarkable Member of the preſent *Daniſh* Kingdom. A Geographer ſpeaking of the Parts of the ſaid Kingdom, tells us, that Gothia *is moſt ſpacious and Populous, in the place of which Name, the former Syllable being vitiated, one near to it is retained, and it is called* Jutia: But that the Name of *Jutia* or *Jutland* was ancient, not onely *Adamus Bremenſis*, but *Saxo Grammaticus* witneſſeth, as alſo *Beda*, who more than once calls the Inhabitants thereof by the Name of *Jutæ*. For a very learned man affirms to us that all the Manuſcript Copies of that Authour which he conſulted, ſo read it, and not *Vitæ*, wherewith alſo concur, *Florentius* of *Worceſter*, *William* of *Malmſbury*, *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, *Ralph* of *Cheſter* and others. *Fabius Ethelward* the *Saxon* Writer calls the Countrey *Giota* and the People *Giotæ*; the *Saxon* Annals of *Peterburg* ȝeatum and ıotum. Agreeable to this is the mention which *Aſſerius Menevenſis* makes of *Oſlac* the Grandfather of King *Ælfred* by the Mother, that *He was a* Goth *by Nation being iſſued from the Goths*

The Seats of the *Jutes*.

Vide Suffridum Petrum de Orig. Frizior. lib. 1. c. 11. Sheringhamum quò ſupra, c. 2.

Uſſerius de Brit. Eccleſiar. Primordiis, pag. 391. Saxonica Regis Aluildi verſio habet ȝeatum *Chronologia Saxonica* Jotum.

Sect. 2. Goths *and* Jutes, for it ought to be read *Jutis*, and not as it is most vitiously printed, *Judis*. In respect of those *Jutes* it is that the King of *Danemark* retains still the Title of King of the *Goths*; and with reference to their Progeny may that of *Belisarius* be interpreted in *Procopius*, which has put so many to a plunge, where in his Treaty with the Ambassadours of the *Goths*, he tells them, *we also permit the* Goths *to have all* Britain, *being far better than* Sicily, *and though it was in times past subject to the Dominion of the* Romans.

De Bello Gothico. lib.

The Name whence.

19. But be it that some Copies have it *Vitæ*, this might easily be changed for *Juitæ*, the first Letter being taken away or omitted; and *J* might easily be changed into *G*, as in the Laws of *Edward* the Confessour they are called *Gutæ*, by reason of the nearness there is in the force of these two Letters. Be they *Jetæ*, *Jutæ*, *Juitæ*, *Jotæ*, *Jotuni*, *Getæ*, *Geatuni*, *Giotæ*, or *Gutæ*, it's the same Name as well as thing, the Orthography and Terminations according to the diverse fancy of People, and their pronunciation being onely various, as happens usually in all other Names, scarcely any Nation or Town being written and called every whit the same in any two Languages. Some therefore seem to approve of the present Copy of *Beda*, calling them *Witi*, whereof one tells us, that at several times going out of their own Countrey, some came into *Britain*, others passed the *Rhine*, and seized on part of *Helvetia*, being afterward called *Suiti* and *Suiceri*, which Name still continues; but to speak impartially, the *Suicers* with more probability some derive from the *Suevi*, but *Abbo Flonacensis* in the Life of King *Edmund*, calls the *Jutæ* by the Name of *Viti*, and this is not to be neglected that the Grandfather of *Hengist* is called *Vitta*; and Sir *Henry Spelman* upon other Quotations, approves the reading of the Word *Witi*: *W* and *Gu* being ordinarily used for each other, as in the Word *William* and *Guilielmus*. The *Jutæ* therefore being the same with the *Gutæ* or *Getæ*, the same Original of Name, whether from ȝeat a *Gyant*, or *from their Goodness* the Reader may call to mind what we have said in another place. Theirs was far more ancient than either that of the *Angles* or *Saxons*. As for the *Saxons*, *Isidore* was so good a Latinist, and had so little skill in the *Teutonick* Tongues, as to derive their Name from *Saxum* a *Stone*, because they were an hard and robust Nation, excelling all others in Piracy. Others fetch'd it from *Aschanes* the Son of *Gomer*, but with what tolerable Reason we are to seek. Doubtless the Name as well as the People was *Gothick*, and as to this, several there are who would have them called *Saxones* as *Sacasones*, viz. the Sons or Children of the *Sacæ*, deriving them from this People, which they say made Incursions into *Bactriana*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, the *Hercinian* Forest, and also into *Germany*. But of their Inroad into *Germany* they can bring no proof, and as for the word ȝaex is the Name of a *Saxon*, not ȝe xȝon in the Singular Number, whereof ȝaexen is the Plural. Others fetch the Name from the slaughter of the *Thuringi*, with whom this People having War, hid their long Knives under their Clothes, and with them called ȝeaxen when they were at a Treaty basely cut the Throats of the *Tharingi*, who expected no such Treachery, and thence being before called *Cimbri*, obtained this Name of *Saxons*.

Fabricius Chemnicensis de orig. Saxon. Lib. 1.

The *Saxons* Derivation.

Vide Cisnerum in Præf. ad Krantzium. Sheringhamum ut priùs, c. 11.

20. It's to be imagined that he that first mentioned this had read of Nemet coup ȝeaxen, what the *Saxons* did with the *Britains* on *Salisbury* Plain, and it's well his Learning was not so *British*, as to make them first called *Saxons* from that base Action here; but it was not much better, for they had that Name, as several Learned Men have evinced, long before this *Thuringian War*, or the Name of the very *Thuringians* was heard of. Most therefore and with most Reason take their Name from *Saex*, which signifies a Knife, or a crooked sort of short Sword, having teeth like to a Saw, or from *Seison* or *Saison*, which signifies a *Sickle*, for that such like Swords were in use with the *Getes* is very manifest, and the ancient Arms of *Saxony* (as *Pontanus* tells us, were two such little Swords placed across, the one over the other. This Derivation is as probable as can be brought in Matters that are conjectural, it were to be wished we could satisfy our selves so well about the Original of the Name of *Angli*. *Saxo Grammaticus* derives it from *Angulus* Son of *Humblus* King of the *Danes*, but what it signifies, and of what Language it is, he doth not tell us; neither do we hear any thing of the *Angles* being in *Denmark* in these ancient times, we find several Marks of them, several Towns which took Names from them in *Germany*, as *Ingolstadt*, *Engleburg*, *Engelrute*, and *Ingelheim* famous for the Birth of *Charles* the Great, but no footsteps of them in *Denmark*. *Widiscind* a *Saxon* will have the *Saxons* called *Angli* from a certain Island placed in a Corner or Angle of the

Orig. Francie. Lib. 2. *cap.* 2.

The original of the name of *Angli*.

the Sea, which they subdued: Others more truly (saith *Cisner*) interpret *Anglia* or *England* as an Angle or Corner of the World (but what is this to the purpose) and all these fetch the Derivation rather from the *Latin* than the *German* Tongue. *Aventinus* and *Goropius Becanus* will have it of *German* Extraction. *Aventinus* acquaints us, that *Angel* or *Engel* in this Language signifies three things, an Hook or Sling, an Hinge, and a Border or Limit, and hence in a general sense, he thinks that *Ptolemy* calls them *Anguli*, and *Tacitus Angili*. *Goropius* makes choice of the first Interpretation, whereby is signified a Fishing or Angling Hook, as we even at this day call it, and he is of Opinion that the *Saxons* so called themselves as Hooks which caught all that was in the Sea: And as for the *Suevi Angli*, they might well also have this Name, because living near to the *Sicambri* and *Ubii*, they hook'd in all they could snatch from their Neighbours. Amongst these Opinions (if one may interpose) I cannot see any Reason why the Names of other *German* Nations should be *German* or *Gothick*, and this of theirs onely taken from the Latin; certainly this is no common, but an extraordinary thing; and I believe they were called *Angili* or *Angli*, before the *Romans* had much knowledge of these Parts, for certainly *Tacitus* did not give them the Name but found it before his time fastned on them. In so Conjectural a matter where it is free for any one to declare his Opinion, I must confess I side with *Cisner*, who believes the word to be *German*, but modestly rather agrees with *Aventine*, who deduces it from a general rather than a special signification and force of the word, leaving the choice thereof to the pleasure of the Reader. From some accident in respect to their Habitation, they might be called Borderers at some certain place and time, and this might stick by them afterwards; or rather being, as we find, a Roving, Wandering People, it was not for nothing they roved and wandered, but for their advantage, to seek, doubtless, what they could farther snatch or hook in to themselves. It's no strange or unordinary thing for Nations, from their Preying and Rapine to receive Names. Sect. 2

21. So much for their Places and Names after these three People came into *Germany*. We must now look upon them all under the general Name of *Saxons* awhile, and see what they did till such time as they Invaded *Britain*. For a long time we find them strugling with the *Danes*, for the *Chersonesus*; or that Countrey called *Jutia*, in which Contest they had such success as War affordeth, sometimes coming off with loss, and otherwhiles driving out their Enemies; but at last they were quite driven out themselves, and forced to leave that about which they had so long contended. But the very first Quarrel betwixt them was not about *Jutland*, but a Love business, if we give heed to what *Krantzius* writes, but what scarcely himself believed. One *Sirublus* King of *Phinus* or *Finland*, had a very fair Daughter, and on her *Gram* the King of *Denmark* and *Sweden* was so enamoured, that he must needs quit his former Wife, the Daughter of the late *Swedish* King, whom he had conquered, and marry her. Yet was he not in such haste but that he could stay from Consummating any Marriage quickly, you must know he was contracted to her now, and then departed into *Norwey*, whither his Military Affairs called him. Being there intangled in such Difficulties as was judged he would hardly master, *Siblus* began to repent him of what he had done, and Married his Daughter to *Henry* King of the *Saxons*, a People he knew to be fierce and Warlike, which would presently be upon his Back, in case he Invaded *Finland*. But *Gram* was aware of the Plot, and having timely notice of what they were about, came upon them unexpectedly and quite spoil'd their sport, killing the Bridegroom e'er he could enjoy the Bride, which he took instantly from her Father. This is the first mention made of the *Saxons* in the *Danish* Antiquities, and I assure you upon a very sad occasion. But this Feast, and especially the last Course stuck in their Stomachs, they would spoil *Gram*'s sport also in *Norwey*, where they joyned with the Natives against him, and within a little time made him past mocking, sending him after their good King *Henry*. Neither was it difficult for our *Saxons*, who long before this were potent at Sea, from *Jutia* to pass into *Norwey*. But how, saith our Authour, doth time change all things! Then did the *Saxons* there Wage War, and Intermarry, whither now, a vigorous trade on the Coasts of *Germany* flourishing in the hands of the *Saxons*, scarcely any would vouchsafe to Sail, who got their living upon the remotest Seas. But hence you may take a scantling of the greatness and strength of this Nation by its Warring abroad, and thus being courted to Marriage and Alliances.

Henry their King kill'd on his Wedding day by *Gram* King of the *Danes*.

Sic Saxoniæ suæ Præfatur. Gentis Saxonum primordia & originem & (quas putant) Antiquitates, apud nostros relegentem pudor occupat & confusio faciei: ita puerilibus fabulis & anilibus deliramentis omnia scatent ut nihil in his sibi constet, nihil quadret. Una est omnibus sententia, aliunde profectam gentem, navibus à mari adventasse: Sed unde & quo tempore, non inter scribentes convenit, &c.

22. The

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They lose the possession of *Juteland.*

22. The next King of the *Saxons* mentioned by *Krantzius*, is *Sifrid*, who lived in the time of *Hadding* King of the *Danes*, with whom he had some Skirmishes, but still he kept possession of *Jutia*, which was lost by *Hundinck* his Son, who was worsted in a single Combat, to which he was provoked by *Roe* the *Danish* King, who founded *Roschild* a Town once famous in *Danemark*. From this time the *Saxons* never had the entire possession of *Juteland*, though sometimes the Dukedom of *Sleswicke*, the principal part of it was in their Dominion. The next Adventure made by our *Saxons* was about another Love business, liking it seems in such to intermeddle. *Hother*, you must know, the King of *Sweden* had a Mistress he much affected, and a Rival one *Balder*, his Subject by Birth, and so in this respect his Inferiour; but Superiour to him in the Opinion of the People, which for his Magical tricks, as it seems, had fansied him to be a God. To War they went, a supposed God, for a Mortal Woman; and he did not so confide in his Divinity, but that judging himself too weak for his King, he sought to *Gelder* the King of the *Saxons* for aid, a Person that very readily complied with his Demands. Though the *Saxons* had now lost *Jutia*, yet their Ships they had not, which had transported them into *Sweden*, but that that King's Fleet met them by the way and streight ingaged them. Now, as our Authour observes, a supposed Divinity could not prevail against the Arms of poor Mortals. *Balder* is beaten and runs away. The *Saxons* stick to it, and are slain every Mothers Son: Which the Enemy perceiving, made a fair Funeral Pile of their Vessels, and therewith most nobly and gently consumed them. A Fact, doubtless to be compared with that Generosity which *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* shewed towards slain *Marcellus*. The next Act of the *Saxons* shewed but little of Generosity. They would have hector'd *Wermund* the King of *Danemark* out of *Jutia*, being now very old and blind, and having a Son, in whom for his reputed Stolidity, he had no pleasure. The Ambassadours in a jeering way offer a Combat betwixt this Son and their Masters, which contrary to all expectation, the Fool accepts; nay, offers to meet in the Field both him and his Squire, and that with such success, that he first doughtily slew the Squire, and then his Master.

And are beaten at Sea by the *Danes.*

23. By this means the proud *Saxons* were forced to submit their own Necks to the Yoke which they had been fitting for others, though not long they continued in that condition. For shaking off the Yoke of Servitude again, in the days of *Dan*, the third of that Name, King of the *Danes*, they sent another proud Challenge to them, either to pay Tribute, or to expect them to come and fetch it; but in this Adventure our daring *Saxons* were once again beaten. Here *Krantzius* satisfies the wonder of his Reader, why he should so much hear of Sea Expeditions, and nothing of the Mediterraneous Parts; why the *Danes* should still come off with Victory, and the *Saxons* ever with loss and discredit, a thing which did not so fall out in after times. He tells him there's no Body has written of these Matters but *Saxo Grammaticus* an Islander, one who made it his design to extoll the *Danes*, as all other Writers *Greek* and *Roman* have done by their Countreymen; had *Saxo* been a *Saxon* by his Countrey as well as by Name, he would have done the quite contrary, and not obtruded these Fables upon the World, but perhaps others as bad on the contrary side. Doubtless he is very fabulous and partial, and for that cause we refer the History of these Northern Kingdoms to another Period, when he may have something certain whereon to fix; but when we have certain footing as we have in the case of the *Britains*, *Saxons*, and others, then judge we it necessary to give the Reader an hint of Fables, though Fables, which by that habit we dress them in, and that distinction we put upon them he may easily discover from rational and probable Stories. Then comes *Krantzius* to write the History of the *Cimbri*, which made War in *Italy*, and other places, which we have heretofore dispatched in the Accounts we have already given of those Nations, against which they made War. We have already told the Reader, that unto the *Greeks* and *Romans* the *Saxons* were first known, as well as others, by the Name of *Cimbri*; but so were all down to *Gall*, and even the *Galls* themselves, of which Nation these *Cimbri* that invaded *Italy* and *Greece*, seem to have been. And whereas *Krantzius* saith they were *Saxons*, we shall grant them so to have been, in a large acceptation, as their Name was also communicated to all that inhabited, even as far as the *Scheld*.

Another defeat.

24. After this he reassumes his Story of the War betwixt the *Saxons* and *Danes*. They paid Tribute to *Fronte* the Great, who reigned when our Saviour was born, and to his Son *Fridleve* as valiant and victorious as himself, but grudged to doe so to his Son *Frothe* a Child of but twelve years old. They rebell, and the

They have the worst again.

the Armies meeting, the Controversie is referred to another Duel between one *Starcater* on the side of the *Danes*, and one *Hama* on the *Saxon* part, who came by the worst, having his head cloven asunder, from whom the Writer guesseth the Town of *Hamburgh* might receive its Name. Yet still would not the *Saxons* rest, but shortly after passing the *Elbe* (for they had lost to the *Danes* all lying beyond that River) they were again overcome and lost their Captain *Hanef*, from whom he thinks *Hanofer* might also receive its Name; and truly one as likely as the other. But for all this *Swerting* the other Captain of the *Saxons* would not be discouraged, and presuming he should doe nothing by force, betook himself to Wiles and Craft. He invites the King of the *Danes* to his House, and then sets it on fire, willingly therein perishing like another *Decius* or *Samson*, that thereby he might destroy his Enemy. The Sons of this *Swerting* took off his Son and Successour from revenging his death, by giving to him their Sister in Marriage, which procured so good an understanding betwixt them, that they lived lovingly with him in his Court for a long time, till stout *Starcater* returned thither. He (you must know) so rated the poor young King for harbouring these Snakes in his bosome, that to prevent stinging he knock'd them on the Head, notwithstanding what their Sister and her Children could doe to preserve them. Yet could not he get any Tributes from the *Saxons*, who now stood upon their guard and stoutly defended their Liberty.

De Orig. Hamburgi vide Cisnerum in Præf. Krantzio & præcipuè Lambecii Origines Hamburgenses.

25. What was done in the mean time in the Island Countries by the *Saxons*, *Krantzius* complains that we are ignorant, blaming *Tacitus* for being too much *tacitus* in this Particular. He then mentions in short what was done in *Germany* by *Drusus* and *Germanicus* in the time of *Augustus*, concluding, that those they had to doe with were *Saxons*, although such they be not called. After this he tells us another Tale of one *Siwar* a Nobleman amongst them, who had got the consent of the young Queen of the *Danes*; but one *Haldan* of *Norway* who had had a Months mind to her, but was diverted, by some Wars he waged with the *Russes* hearing of the Wedding, came as *Gram* had done upon them on the very day, and cruelly slaying the Bridegroom, took the Bride away with him: And these are the *Saxon* Antiquities (and goodly ones they are) which *Saxo* the *Danish* Writer (in Name alone being *Saxon*) hath communicated to us; the rest are buried in Oblivion. From these goodly Antiquities he passeth to what was done against the *Batavi* in the time of *Vespasian*, but insists on this Subject but little, as unproper by his Confession. Next he falls into a grievous Complaint that none hath transmitted to Posterity the Actions of the *Saxons* in the Inland Countries, not doubting but that such as had been so stout at Sea, would not be Cowards at Land, but have acted something against or with the *Turingi* and *Vandals*. He doubts not but they had an hand in that War of the *Marcomans*, in the days of *Marcus Antoninus*, which affrighted the *Romans* no less than the *Carthaginian* Wars had done. But neither any of the *Marcomans* nor *Saxons* committed any thing relating hereunto to writing; we onely enjoy what the *Romans* wrote, which they did, as all other Stories, for the advantage and grandeur of their Empire, onely being silent as to the valiant deeds of their Enemies. We see a Man hath plainly the advantage of a Lion, because a Man was the Painter. Could a Lion have painted, we should have seen another kind of Picture. Of these things we may complain, but cannot amend them. Thus *Krantzius* Wittily.

They pay for their Leachery once more.

26. He farther observes, that till about three hundred years after the Birth of Christ, there is no mention made of the *Saxons* in any *Roman* Writer. The first that mentioned them, is *Eutropius*, and after him *Orosius*, in the Reigns of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. *Eutropius* relates how *Carausius* being appointed to clear the Coasts of the *Armorican* and *Belgick* Seas, which the *Franks* and *Saxons* infested, though he often took many Barbarians, yet neither gave up the Booty to the Provincials, nor sent it to the Emperours, was suspected for favouring of the Pirates, that he might rob them as they passed by, and for this reason being commanded to be slain by *Maximian*, took upon him the Purple at *Bononia* or *Bulleign* in *Picardy*. This is related by *Orosius* in well nigh the same words, and by *Beda* in his *Britannia*, as he calls it. Here our Authour insults upon two sorts of Writers, as well he may; First, such as fetch the *Franks* from the Lake of *Maotis*, in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperour, who was not yet born; then over those who deduce the Original of the *Saxons*, from the times of *Theodorich* King of the *Franks*, who was neither in being two hundred years after: This is to be taken special notice of, that in those days the *Saxons* exercised Piracy upon all

these

Sect. 2. these Coasts, and that as well the *British*, as the *Gallick*; so false is that which some have affirmed, that before the coming over of *Hengist*, they were unknown to the *Britains*. For *Claudian* the Poet, inveighing against (a) *Eutropius*, about the year of our Lord 400, makes mention of their Infesting the Sea in general, (b) in another place of the *Orchades*, and in (c) another introduces *Britain*, speaking how *Stilico* had Fortified her both against the Invasions of *Picts*, *Scots* and *Saxons*. Moreover, (d) *Sidonius Apollinaris*, about the time of their coming into the Island, describes most elegantly their Piracy, both in his Epistle to *Lampridius*, and in his Panegyrick to his Father-in-Law.

(a) *Quantum te Principe possum Non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone Tethis Mitior.*

(b) *De 40 Consulatu Honorii —Maduerunt Saxone fuso Orchades.*

(c) *Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit Munivit Stilico. Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.*

(d) *Istic Saxona cœrulum videmus, Assuetum ante salem solum timere Cujus verticis, &c. Quin & Aremoricus piratum Saxona tractus Sperabat, &c.*

27. Moreover, in the *Notitia* of the Dignities of the Western Empire, we have mention made of the *Comes litoris Saxonici per Britannias*, of the Count of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain*. Now the *Saxon* Shore was all that Tract from the *Cambrica Chersonesus* on that side the Sea, as far even as the Western Part of *Gall*, where the *Saxons* were wont both to rove and rob upon the Sea, and also land and make depredations on the Continent; and from this Shore it is, that a very Learned Man of our own will have the Count of the *Saxon* Shore throughout *Britain*, to have received his Title, denying that this Shore of *Britain* could be called the *Saxon* Shore, because here they never landed, but onely robbed off at Sea. In a matter of truth we must be impartial, and affirm him strangely overseen when he saith that, * *We reade not any where that the* Saxons *had at that time, either setled themselves upon the Shores of* Britain, *or were wont to sail thither, or that they infested any thing of* Britain, *except the Sea.* From the verses of *Claudian* lately cited, it sufficiently appears that *Britain*, as he brings her in, did not fear the *Saxon* roving, but the *Saxon* coming, and how could he properly be said to come to her except he landed? But *Ammianus* himself, whom that Learned Man so often cites, sufficiently clears the controversie, where he relates that a message came, how *Britain* was extremely vexed by Conspiracy of Barbarians, that *Nectaridius* the Count of the Maritime Tract was slain, and *Buchobandes* the Duke was circumvented by their Hostile lying in wait; now what Barbarians these were, is evident from his words which follow, that the *Saxons* were at this time wont to Conspire with the *Attacotts* and *Scotts*; and in another place he writes, that as the *Allemans* did depopulate *Gall*, and *Rhætia*, and the *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi Pannonia*, so the *Picts*, *Scotts*, and *Attacotts*, vexed the *Britains* with continual miseries. Can we imagine that these Rovers would not land any where, where they could get booty; and that *Britain* should be so poor and beggarly, that it should not afford them Incouragement, as well as the waterish places of *Holland*, and the barren Coasts of *Brabant*? their aim, if they rightly understood their Trade, should be to prey at Sea upon the *Batavians*, whose ground could scarcely maintain them, as at this day, and plunder the Land of *Britain* more fruitfull, affording more incouragement than the other. We find by *Claudian* they landed in the *Orchades*, and were the *Orchades* Islands more tempting than the Island of *Britain*? As for the opinion of *Pancirollus*, that the *British* should be called the *Saxon* Shore, because the *Saxons* were before called in by *Vortigern* to assist the *Britains*, and there inhabited, in those times, it is a mighty oversight also, the *Saxons* being called in long after there was a Count of the *Saxon* shore throughout *Britain* in the times of the *Romans*. But it was but an oversight not worthy to be so charged with ignorance by that Learned Man, *Pancirollus* being sufficiently known to have been excellently skilled both in History, the series of Times, and other Learning.

Infesting Sea and Land.

* *Seld. in Mar. Claus. Lib. 2. c. 7. Lib. 27. Lib. 26.*

28. That our *Saxons* then were great Pirates and Rovers at Sea, it's granted on all hands; but as one of our Learned Men denies they landed or made any abode in *Britain*, so another as eminent in things of this nature also, will not yield that before the coming of *Hengist*, they had so much as passed the *Elbe*, and seated themselves upon that Shore betwixt it and the *Rhine*, so commodious for Riding of Ships and Navigation. He grants that in the time of *Domitian*, *through the Tract of* Belgica *and* Aremorica, *they infested the Sea*, as *Eutropius* witnesseth, and that *the* Saxons *were a Nation active, in Piracy on all the Coast from the River* Rhine *to the City* Donia, *now called* Danemarc, at such time as they were called into *Britain*, as *Fabius Ethelwerdus* affirms in the second little Book of his Annals. He denies not that they exercised Piracy in that Maritime Tract: but cannot yet, he saith, find that they fixed any where in the Continent of that Tract: For, whereas it is read in *Zozimus*, that the *Quadi* Part of the *Saxons* seized upon *Batavia*, having thence beaten the *Franci Salii*, and that *Julian* taking upon him the defence of the *Salii*, reduced the *Quadi* into obedience, he cannot assent

Usserius in Primord. Eccles. p. 399.

Hist. lib. 9.

assent to it first, because the *Quadi* were no part of the *Saxons*, and then because (a) *Eunapius Sardianus* (whose History (b) *Zosimus* rather transcribed than wrote one himself) neither said they were *Quadi*, neither *Cauchi* (whom *Cluverius* would substitute in their Rooms) nor *Saxons*, but *Chamani*; (c) *Julian* himself in his Epistle to the Senate and People of *Athens*, setting forth what he had done to the same purpose. But to this may be opposed, first, that they made many Inrodes, and these Inrodes made by them were not small and contemptible, but to some extent; for (d) *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes, that in the days of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the Coasts of *Gall* were wasted by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, bordering upon them, each making excursions as far as they could by Land or Sea, with grievous plunderings, firings, and slaughters of such as they took Prisoners. And farther, the *Saxones Baiocassini*, or the *Saxons* of *Baieux*, are mentioned by *Gregory* of *Tours*, as ancient Inhabitants upon the Shore of *Aremorica*. It's not the opinion onely of *Krautzius*, that the *Saxons* long before their coming into *Britain*, had inlarged their Borders from *Holsatia*, on this side the *Elbe*, almost as far as the *Rhine*, but *Aventinus* placeth the *Saxons* between these two Rivers, even in the days of *Augustus Cæsar*. Some Eastward extend their Dominions through all the *Sarmatian* Sea, even almost as far as the River *Tanais*, which separates *Europe* from *Asia*. And an ancient Chronicle in Rhime alledges from other Books, much more ancient, that all the Countrey beneath *Neomagus*, was in old time called the lower *Saxony*, and that the River *Scheld* taking in its Waters from the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*, was its Western Border. To be sure that after the removal of the *Franks* into *Gall*, by degrees they setled themselves in their Seats, and not onely possessed the Maritime Coast betwixt the *Elbe* and the *Rhine*, but pierced into the inward Parts of *Germany*, on all hands is agreed. These things speak the extent of the *Saxon* Power; which indeed was so terrible both at Land and Sea (wherever they planted) that amongst all other Nations, in the decay of the Empire, they by the *Romans* were most fear'd.

Sect. 2.

(a) *In Eclog. legat. ab Hæschalio Edit. p.* 8.
(b) *Phot. bibliotb. num.* 98.
(c) *Oper. Julian. par.* 1. *pag.* 514.
(d) *Lib.* 27.
Lib. 5. *c.* 26.
Boior. Annal. lib. 2.
Vide apud Sheringham. cap. 2.

Are chiefly feared by the *Romans*.

29. We have now presented our *Saxons* ready to take Ship, or their Keels for *Britain*, to which Voyage they were sufficiently inclined, doubtless from the knowledge they could not but have of the Island. And so great inclination they had, that some there are who speak nothing of an Invitation, but say like unwelcome Guests, as they proved, they came absolutely without sending for; yet partly because they could not stay at home. For *Ninius* will have them driven by their Relations out of *Germany*, which another limits unto *Frisia*, as the *Galls* of old when their Countrey was not able to maintain their growing Multitudes, sent out as to travell, three hundred thousand of their Brood, to seek out new Habitations; so *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* would have us believe it to have been the Custome in *Saxony*, to send out their Numbers by Lot, to free themselves from a superfluous Multitude. But we have good security from *Gildas*, *Beda*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and many others, that they were sent for over by *Vortigern*, whom *Gildas* calls a proud and unlucky Tyrant, and *Witichind* makes a formal Embassy to be sent, as we have before related. Therefore *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* will have both Causes to have concurr'd, which is not improbable. *It pleaseth them all* (saith he) *to send for the* Saxons *and* Angli *out of* Germany, *being valiant at their Arms, and a wandering People. Hereby would accrue double profit, for being invincible, they would easily beat back their Enemies; and hitherto being uncertain where to fix, they would take it for a mighty favour, if they might have but some rough and barren Soil, some dry and hungry Heath to inhabit. They never imagined they would act any thing against their Countrey, the fresh memory of this favour would so oblige them and soften the fierceness of their Disposition. This Advice being approved, Ambassadours are sent into* Germany, *men really of quality, who would worthily discharge themselves of that publick Character. The* Germans *hearing they were courted to a thing which they themselves a thousand times had desired, quickly condescended; the pleasure they took in the Enterprize, spurring them on to all expedition imaginable. Bidding therefore farewell to the Places that bred them, and renouncing the Affections of their Parents, they commit themselves to the favourable Gale of Fortune and the Winds, which in three long Ships, which they call Ciules or Keels, waft them into* Britain. *Now at this time and afterward they came from three sorts of People in* Germany, *viz. The* Angles, Saxons *and* Jutes.

Joh. Gerbrand Chronic. Belg. l. 1. *c.* 9.
Hist. Britan. l. 6. *c.* 1.

They take Ship for *Britain* being invited by *Vortigern*.

De Gestis Reg. Angl. l. 1. *c.* 10.

30. *For, almost all the Land which lies under the Northern Pole, because it doth germinate so many Men* (so the Monk plays with the word) *is not undeservedly called* Germany, *though distinguished by many Limits of Provinces. Wherefore in like manner, as they whose work it is, are wont to cut off the Luxuriant boughs of a*

Sect. 2. *Tree, that it may have Juice enough wherewith to keep in Life the remaining; so do the Inhabitants by the Expulsion of some of their Number ease their Mother, lest by feeding so numerous an Off-spring she should be exhausted; but to prevent grudgings and discontent, they use Lots for deciding the Controversie, who shall be sent away. Thence is it, that the Men of that Land have made a Vertue of a Necessity, that such as were driven from their Native soil, might by their Arms make themselves room in foreign Countries, as the* Wandals *who formerly overran* Africk, *the* Goths *who possessed* Spain, *as the* Lombards *which still inhabit* Italy, *and the* Normans *possessing that part of* Gall, *which they had won with their Arms, have called it* Normandy. *Out of this* Germany *then came first into* Britain *a small Band of Men, but such as made good its smalness by its Valour, two brothers of hopefull Inclinations, and not ignoble in their Countrey, viz.* Hengist *and* Horsa, *being their Captains. For they were the* Abnepotes, *or Great, great Grandchildren of that most ancient* Woden, *from whom almost all barbarous Nations derive their Pedigree, and whom the Nations of the* English, *madly fansying to be a God, have by a perpetual Sacrilege consecrated to him the fourth day of the week to this very time, and the sixth day to his Wife* Frea.

Casting Lots who shall goe.

Hengist and *Horsa* arrive with a small, but valiant Company.

31. This is to be observed from what we have formerly said, that such as came over into *Britain* were of the Ancient *Saxons*, *viz.* those peculiarly so called whose seats we have shewn, and of the *Jutes* and *Angles*. *Ninius* will have *Hengist* to have come out of an Island called *Oghul*, whether by it he means the whole *Cimbrick Peninsula*, or as Learned *Usher* found in one Copy *Angul*, that is that part of the *Chersonesus*, which at this day is called *Angleu*, and gives a certain representation of the whole *Peninsula*. But (*a*) others from the Chronicle of *Leyden*, will have *Hengist* a *Frisian*. *John* (*b*) of *Leiden*, in his *Belgick* Chronicle, affirms him to have been King of *Frisia* or *Freiseland*, which he says was called Lower *Saxony*. *Suffridus* (*c*) *Petrus* contends, that he was the Son of *Udolph Haro*, the seventh Duke of the *Frisians* by *Suana*, the Daughter of *Vetgist* Prince of the *Saxons*; and adds that he led forth two several Colonies: the former in the two and twentieth year of his Age into old *England* near *Jutia*, where for sixty two years he continued sustaining his Company, partly by Tillage, and partly by a piratical kind of War: the second in the eighty fourth year of his Age from that *England* into *Britain*, where he lasted not above four years dying in the eighty eighth year of his Age, which was of our Lord the four Hundred fifty third. But whatever he fondly talks of Books written in those days upon these subjects by the Father of *Hengist*, and two I wot not what Dukes, our Learned Primate very rationally concludes, that if *Hengist* and *Horsa* were *Frisians*, they were born rather in the *Danish Frisia*, than in that which borders upon *Holland*. For in *Danemark* there is a *Freiseland*, which in respect of the other *Saxo Grammaticus* calls the less in the beginning of his History, being the most Southern Part of Southern *Jutland*, having on the East *Old England* or old *Anglia*, and on the South the Ancient *Saxony*, and separated from both by the River *Eidore*, from which its Inhabitants are called *Eidersteds*, as from the shore they inhabit *Strand Freiselanders*. That these People were a Colony of the *Frisians*, the Agreement both of their Name and Language do testifie, as the same *Saxo* writes, and *Ubbo Emmius* affirms, that still they retain through so many Ages their Speech uncorrupted, having so much affinity with the *English* Tongue, that it comes not nearer any Language of their Neighbours.

(a) *Vorper Thalorit. Histor. Frisi. l. 1. c. 8.*
(b) *Johan. Gerbrand.*
(c) *In Apol. pro Antiquit. Frisi.*
In Primord. p. 397.
A supply from *Frisia*.
Hist. lib. 14.
Hist. Frisic. lib. 2.

32. Now if these *Frisians* were of one and the same Original, and agreed in their Speech both betwixt themselves and the *English*, it's the less to be wondred saith the Primate, that the *Frisones* are also with other Nations, which gave Original to the *English Saxons* reckoned by *Beda*; the other are, besides the Ancient *Saxons*, the *Rugini*, *Dani*, *Hunni* and *Boructuarii*, some of which might possibly come over amongst the constant supplies which were sent to *Hengist*, and the rest out of *Saxony*; for that the main Body of the Colony consisted of the three Nations, *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes* is universally accorded. Neither is there any other Testimony besides this of *Beda*, that the *Anglosaxons* were of *Frisian* descent, for as for that which *Emmius* produceth out of *Marcellinus*, in the life of *Suidbert*, this *Marcellinus* is a forged Authour, discovered to be such by *Stephen White* (one most knowing not only in the Antiquities of his own *Island*, but of other Nations also) as *Mailew* the Great Patron of that Book himself confessed. But he produces another Proof out of *Procopius*, who writes that the Island of *Britain was inhabited by three most numerous Nations, over each of which commanded its own King, these are called* Angili Frisones, *and* Britones, *having a Name near a-kinn to the*

Lib. 1. Hist. cap. 10.

Island

Island it self. And what can you now farther require saith *Ubbo*? But *Procopius* meant nothing less than *Britain*; he wrote of *Brittia*, which in the self same place in plain words he distinguisheth from *Britain*, placing it betwixt *Britain* and *Scandonavia*, which he calls *Thule*. This shews how to correct that Passage of *Isaac Tzetzes*, the Scholiast upon *Lycophron*, which saith, *that in the Ocean is the Island of* Britain *placed betwixt* Britain *which lies Westward, and* Thule *towards the East.* And whatsoever the two *Tzetzes* Brothers, *John* upon *Hesiod*, and *Isaac* upon *Lycophron*, have fabled concerning the Souls of the deceased, they being carried into *Britain* (as we reade it,) *Procopius* writes all this with Relation to *Brittia.* Sect. 2.

When they landed.

33. We land therefore our *Saxons* in *Britain*, being such as were descended from those properly so called from the *Angles* and *Jutes*, though some of other Nations might possibly intermix in some of their supplies, and now let us enquire what time it was they were sent for over. Those of *Holland* and *Freiseland*, say their
385 Passage happened in the three hundredth and eighty fifth year of Our Lord. Out of the Ancient *Welsh* Chronicles, *Price* in his defense of the History of *Britain*, presents us with this Chronology: *From the time of* Guorthigirn, *till the Battel of* Badon, *when* Arthur *fought with and vanquished the Saxons, passed* 128 *years: then from the Battel at* Badon, *to the Battel of* Camilan, *wherein* Arthur *was slain* 22 *years more are reckoned. Now the death of* Arthur *in the* British *History is placed*
392 *at the Year* 542, *out of which Number first* 128 *and then* 22 *being deducted,* 392 *will remain to have been the Year of our Lord.* But at this time the *Britains* were under the Command of the *Romans*, the yoke of whom though *Zozimus* writes that they cast off, and made themselves a free People; yet if so it was, this was but a rebellious fit of theirs suitable to what *Gildas* writes of them, for the *Saxons* came not to their assistence till they had petitioned again the *Romans* for Relief, and wholly submitted themselves to them again, and yet they were forsaken by them, and left to shift for themselves. This is certain whatever *Irenicus* a German hath written, that the *English Saxons* on a sudden passed over into *England* (*Britain* he means) in the Days of *Valentinian*, and killed the *Romans* every Mothers Son of them; their opinion is absolutely to be allowed, who write that under *Theodosius* the younger, or else of *Martian* his Successour, this great Alteration happened in *Britain.*

Vide Usserium ubi suprá. p. 401. *Germanic. Exeg. lib.* 6. *c.* 37. *Prosper, in Chronic.*

On heopa Dagum Hengest ⁊ Horsan þone cyning gelaðode Breta Cyninge to fulltame ⁊ hia, &c. *Hist. lib.* 1. *c.* 15.

The last Edition is mended by Mr. *Wheelock*, according to the best Copies, and the *Saxon* Translation of King *Alured*, which runs thus,

Ða þæt ymb feoweþ hund winter ⁊ nigon ⁊ feowertiges þrum, uper Drihtnes mennisc ȝere þ Martianus Casere ricesonfeng ⁊ seofon ȝeaþa ríce. --- Ða Angelþeod ⁊ Seaxna þæt ȝelaþod þam forþfecenan Cyninge ⁊ en Breotone com on þrym myclum scypum ⁊ on eastsæle ðýrest ealondes eastdunȝ stope on Kent, &c.

34. Therefore an Interliner of *Ninius*, who ever he was, hath placed the coming
428 of the *Saxons* in the year CCCCXXVIII, at the Consulship of *Fœlix* and *Taurus*, in which Consulship the *Franks* their Neighbours lost to *Ætius*, the Count, part of *Gall* lying upon the *Rhine*, on which they had seized. To pass by other foreign Accounts, which deserve no credit, because they contradict what *Gildas* clearly hints, that before the third Consulship of *Ætius*, the *Saxons* were not called hither, *Sigebert* placeth their coming in the very year of his third Consulship, of our
446 Lord CCCCXLVI. But the *Latin Saxon* Annals left by *Cambden* to *Cotton*'s Library,
448 refer it to the year CCCCXLVIII. *Fabius Ethelward*, and with him the Annals written in the *English Saxon* Tongue, published by *Wheelock* lately, and by him called a *Saxon* Chronology, *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, *Alanus de*
449 *Insulis*, *Matthew Florilegus*, and others assign it to the year CCCCXLIX, induced as *Usher* believes by those words of *Beda*, that *in the year* CCCCXLIX, *from the Incarnation of our Lord* (so the Manuscripts have it, not as the Printed Books CCCCIX) *Martian being the forty fourth from* Augustus, *together with* Valentinian *obtained the Empire, and held it seven years. Then the Nation of the* English *or* Saxons, *invited by the foresaid King* (Vortigern) *passed over into* Britain *in three long ships.* But it being evident, that *Martian* came not to the Government till the year following, their coming is either to be referred (as *Florentius* of *Worcester* doth
450 it) to the Consulship of *Valentinian* and *Aviennus*, that is to the year CCCCL, or as it is in the Common Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus* to the Consulship of *Herculanus* and *Asperatius*,
452 which, as appears from the *Fasti*, fell into the year CCCCLII. For *Beda* doth not mean, that just in the year that *Martian* was advanced, but within the compass of the seven years he reigned, the *Saxons* arrived in the Island, or rather within the five years, wherein he jointly governed with *Valentinian.* For in the Epitomy of his History, *Beda* signifieth, that *in their times the* English *were sent for by the* Britains.

35. What number they were which *Hengist* first brought over with him, is no where told us, but coming over but in three Vessels by them called *Ciules*, by us *Keels*, by the *Freislanders Schieulen*, they could not be very many. They first landed, or as *Gildas* says, set their terrible Claws, on a place called *Hip-winesfleot*, as both the *Saxon* Annals or Chronology, and *Ethelward* do call it, thought

Where they landed.

Sect. 2.

to have been *Ebsfleet* in the Isle of *Tanet*, which Isle being the Eastern part of *Kent*, as *Kent* is of *Britain*, several Authours affirm to have first been given up into their Hands. They shew'd themselves so valiant against the *Picts* and *Scots*, against whom the Nation intended them, and so cunning withall for their own ends, that by the means and methods we have formerly shewed, they got such footing in *Britain*, that of Friends they turned Enemies, and from Guests would be Masters and Owners of all; and driving the poor *Britains* up into the Mountains, and barren places of the Island, or forcing them upon Rocks, or beyond the Seas into foreign Parts; the best part of the Countrey they seized, where their Posterity at this day continueth, notwithstanding what alteration was afterward made by the *Danes* and *Normans*, in its possession of their however got Inheritance, their very Language, notwithstanding too much altered by ridiculous affectation of worse words, still surviving. Having for a time considered them all as *Saxons*, now we shall distinguish them again, and acquaint the Reader what parts of *Britain* were seized and planted by each several People. First then the *Jutes*, or such as came out of *Jutia*, possessed themselves of *Kent*, the Isle of *Wight*, and part of *Hamshire* lying over against that Isle, where the River *Umble* enters the Ocean; for though afterward it fell to the Province of the *Westsaxons*, yet in the first times of these *English Saxons*, the Inhabitants were called Jutnacynn or of the Nation of the *Jutes*. The *Saxons*, or such as came out of *Saxony*, properly and anciently so called, came to be distinguished into Southern, Eastern and Western. The *Southsaxons* possessed themselves of *Sussex*, which still bears their Name; not that they were so called in their own Countrey, but from the Situation of their newly acquired possessions. The Eastern *Saxons* obtained for their share *Essex*, which still bears their Name, with *Middlesex*, and that Southern Part of *Hertfordshire*. The *Westernsaxons* anciently called *Gennissi*, got to themselves that which we now call *Surrey*, all *Hamshire*, that part excepted which we said was seized by the *Jutes*, *Berkshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Devonshire*, and some part of *Cornwall*; for, most part of it is still retained by the Remainders of the ancient *Britains*.

The Possession of the *Jutes*.

The Possession of the *Saxons*.

The Possession of the *Angli*.

36. The *Angli*, or those that came out of *Anglia* (which *Beda* calls *Angulus* and saith it was so exhausted by this Plantation, that to his time it remained desolate, but it was afrerward replenished by the *Jutes*, as we may perceive by *Adamus Bremènsis*) had the greater share, and therefore it was reasonable they should give denomination to the whole, though there might be another occasion. They gave Original to four sorts of People, *viz.* the Eastern *English*, the *Midland English*, the *Mercians*, and *Northumbrians*. The Eastern *English* possessed these Provinces called afterward Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridge* with the Isle of *Ely*, and, as some think, part of *Bedfordshire*. The *Midland English* inhabited *Leicestershire*, which was subject to the Dominion of the *Mercians*. The *Mercians* by the River *Trent*, were divided into Southern, and Northern. Within the extent of the Southern *Mercians* were comprized the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, and (what was once a Part of it) *Rutland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bedford*, the Northern Part of *Hertford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Stafford* and *Salop*. Within that of the Northern *Mercians*, the Counties of *Chester*, *Derby* and *Notingham*. Lastly the *Northumbrians*, were they that lived beyond the River *Humber*, who were distinguished into the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*. The *Deiri* dwelt in *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, *Westmorland*, and the Southern Part of *Cumberland*, on this side the River *Derwent*. The *Bernicii* were Masters of *Northumberland* (which at this day onely bears the Name of that large Kingdom,) the Northern Part of *Cumberland* with some Portion of *Westmorland*, contiguous to it, with the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and the Southern Part of that we now call *Scotland*, lying betwixt the River *Twede*, and the *Frith* of *Edenborough*. For though the Name of *Scotland* came afterwards imposed upon that Countrey, yet that the People inhabiting there, and possibly farther Northward were the Off-spring of the *English* is evident from their Language, which being *English Saxon* could not have conquered and over-powered the true *Scotch*, but by the great Multitudes of them that spake it.

37. Now last of all before we take our leave of this Subject, what *Britains* were expelled, by what other sorts of New-comers, whether *Jutes*, *Saxons* or *Angles*, we shall inform the Reader, that of his own Countrey he may receive as full information as we can give him. Know then that *Kent* retains the old Name, being by *Cæsar* as well as others called *Cantium*, and as *Cambden* guesseth from a Gallick word, signifying a Corner, which the *French* still call a *Canton*; for, a certain Nook or Corner in *Scotland* is called *Cantir*, the Inhabitants of another part

An account of the *Britains*, that were expelled by those New-comers.

part of the Island are by *Ptolemy* termed *Cantæ*, the *Canganæ* in *Wales* were possessed of another Corner, and the *Cantabri* in *Spain* amongst the *Celtiberians*, dwelt in another *Angle*. Certainly *Kent* is a *Canton* or *Angle* of *Britain*, looking toward *Gall*. And to take the rest rather as they lay in the Island, than as we have named them in respect of their New possessours, *Cornwall* and *Devshire* were before inhabited by the *Damnonii* or *Danmonii* so called in *British*, either from the Mines of *Tinn*, called by them *Moina*, or from their dwelling under Hills. *Dorsetshire* belonged to the *Durotriges*, so named possibly from *Dour* or *Duor* water, and *Trig* an Inhabitant, the Coast lying for about fifty Miles full of turnings or windings upon the *British* Sea. *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* were the Possession of the *Belgæ*, who as most hold passed over from the *Belgæ*, a People of *Gall* into *Britain*, being originally *Germans*, having passed over the *Rhine*. The Isle of *Wight* adjoining, was probably peopled by them. The *Atrebatii*, who came also from the *Atrebates* in *Gall*, were Masters of *Berkshire*. The People called *Regni* of *Surry* (or *Southrey* from its Situation Southward from the River) *Sussex* (or *Southsex*) and the Sea Coast of *Hampshire*. The *Dobuni* of *Glocestershire* and *Oxfordshire*, so named from *Daffen*, signifying low places lying under Hills; their Successours the *English* were termed *Wiccii* from *Wic* in *Saxon*, signifying a *Creek*, for they inhabited round about the Mouth of *Severn*, which is very full of small Creeks and Reaches. The *Cattieachlani*, being as is rationally conjectured first called *Cassii*, inhabited the Counrties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford*. The *Trinobantes*, those of *Midlesex* and *Essex*, rationally thought to have taken their Name from *Tre Nant*, or *Towns in a Vale* by the side of the River *Thames*.

Sect. 2.

The Trinobantes Cæsari Trinoantes Tacito & Ptolomæo.

38. Next to the *Trinobantes* lived the *Iceni* (possibly so called from *Iken* a *wedge* in *British*) and possessed what was afterward called East-*England*, *viz.* the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon*. The *Coritani* spreading themselves very far through the Mediterranean Part of the Island, inhabited as far as to the *German* Ocean, the Counties of *Northampton*, *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham* and *Derby*. The *Cornavii* dwelt in *Warwickshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*. The *Brigantes* whose Territories were afterward contained within the Kingdom of the *Deiri*, held *Yorkshire*, the Bishoprick of *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmorland*, *Cumberland*. The *Offadini* (who rather should have been called *Offatini*, for that they lived beyond the River *Tine*) had their Habitation in *Northumberland*. The *Gadeni* were next to them, and were seated in that Countrey, which lies betwixt the Mouth of the River *Tweed*, and *Edenborough Frith*. All these were by degrees dispossessed by these resolute and hardy Incomers, and either killed or driven out of the Island, or forced up into *Cornwall* or *Wales*, which once signifyed all lying beyond the *Severn*, but afterward was much contracted, and when the *Romans* ruled in *Britain*, was inhabited by three sorts of People, the *Silures*, *Dimetæ* and *Ordovices*, who held not onely the twelve shires as they now call them of *Wales*, but those two also beyond *Severn*, viz. *Herefordshire* and *Monmouthshire*, which have been now long reckoned amongst the Counties of *England*. What sorts of People were dispossessed by *Jutes*, *Saxons* or *English* properly so called, the Reader may distinguish by comparing what has been said; and may farther understand by that to which we have now brought him, *viz.* a particular Description of the several petty Kingdoms, these New Planters founded in the Island. Of which severally according to the measure of our Intelligence.

SECT. III.

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of the Jutes *in* Kent, *from the first founding of it by* Hengist, *to the Conquest of it by* Egbert *King of the* West-Saxons.

The space of three hundred seventy four Years.

Sect. 3.

Hengist made King.

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1. HEngist the Son of *Victigiske*, whose Father was *Vitta* (*Veta*, *Wehta*, or *Withar*) the Son of *Woden*, after the death of his Brother *Horsa*, was made King of *Kent* by his Followers, in the year of our Lord CCCCLVI, as *Mathew Florilegus* writes, or as all the *English Saxon* Annals consent in the year CCCCLV; the same wherein the Battel was fought betwixt them and *Vortigern* the Son of *Vortigern*, about the very same time that *Childerick* the First, King of the *Franks*, of the Race of the *Merovingii*, or the Son of *Meroveus* began his Reign; the Affairs of the *Romans* now every day more and more going down the Wind in these Parts, and the *Goths* and *Suevi* being together by the Ears about the shares of that Countrey.

Is beaten to his Ships by *Vortimer*.

2. This same year he is said thrice to have fought against the *Britains*; but as the said Flowergatherer tells us, was not able to resist the skill and prowess of *Vortimer*, but was glad to flie to the Isle of *Thanet*, where being daily vexed with Sea Fights, at length the *Saxons* being scarcely able to recover their Boats, leaving their Wives and Children, returned into *Germany*. *Henry* of *Huntingdon* writes, that once he fled to the Isle of *Thanet*, and once to his Ships, and sent into his Countrey for such as were gone away. If these Writers say he was beaten, we may be assured *Ninius* the *Britain* will swear it, who plies you with his Verbs *Conclusit*, *Obsedit*, *Percussit*, *Comminuit*, *Tenuit*, meaning *Vortimer*, (or *Guorthemir* as he calls him) his *Welsh* Bloud being up, as it had reason to flie out against these Infidels, these that were wretched Unbelievers themselves, and like Miscreants had broken all Faith and Covenants, and of Hirelings and Servants turned Tyrants and Masters; who being called to protect, were now turned Destroyers, and with Fire and Sword prosecuted the *Britains*, the true and right Proprietours of the Countrey. But being thus beaten, he saith, they sent Messengers into *Germany* to bring more Keels full of a great number of stout and lusty Warriours, and afterward fought against the Kings of our Nation. Sometimes they overcame and enlarged their Borders, other whiles they were worsted and driven back. And *Guorthemir* greedily fought four Battels against them, whereof the last was by *Lapis Tituli* upon the Shore of the *Gallick* Sea (still called *Stonar*, as we said, in the Isle of *Thanet*) where the Barbarians were overthrown, and he remained Conquerour. They ran away to their Keels, and got fearfully into them like so many Women, and he died not long after. He of *Huntingdon* agrees with him as to the death of *Gortimer* (so he calls him) with whom, he adds, that the hope and success of the *Britains* died. After this, *Hengist*, and *Æsc* his Son having received fresh Supplies out of their Countrey, and being much incouraged by the death of *Gortimer*, prepare themselves for another Battel at *Creganford*. The *Britains* bring forth against them four Bodies of men, each conducted by a most valiant Captain; but coming to the Ingagement, find themselves over-matched by the Numbers of their Enemies. For those that were newly arrived being fresh, and all of them choice men, with their Axes and Swords so laid about them, that they made great slaughter of the *Britains*, who yet left not off till they saw their four Captains dead upon the place. Then being frighted and discouraged beyond belief, fled from *Kent* as far as *London*, and never after durst come thither for to fight. That this Battel fought at *Creganford* (a Village in *Kent*, so called, because situate upon the River *Creke* or *Crey*, about a Mile and an half from *Dartford*, in the Bailywick of *Sutton Dartford*, Hundred of *Little* and *Lesness*, lately of *Sutton* at *Hone*, West Division of the County, and at this day called *Creiford*) was fought in the year CCCCVII, wherein *Leo* the Elder began his Reign. *Fabius Ethelward* also testifies, besides *Florence* of *Worcester*, the *Saxon* Annals both of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, and the

But in another Battel he beats the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*.

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the other of *Peterbrough* continued, although in others it be referred to the preceding year. Sect. 3.

3. But *Ninius* tells us another kind of Tale of what happened after the death of *Guorthemir*, and after the Return of *Hengist* with his Troops. The *Saxons* then began to consult how they might craftily circumvent King *Guorthigirn* and his Army. They sent their Ambassadours to make a Peace and a perpetual League and Amity with them. Hereupon *Guorthigirn* called his Council, and consulted what was to be done; the Result whereof was, that they would accept of a Peace, and with this Answer the Messengers returned. After this a friendly Meeting was agreed on, and Caution was given, that neither *Britains* nor *Saxons* should come to the meeting with their Arms; the more to suffer their Minds and Affections to unite and strengthen. But that most wicked *Hengist* commanded his Followers, that each of them should carry his short * Sword with him, saying, when I call to you and say *Nemet cour · Saxes*, then draw your Knives (or Swords) and fall upon them courageously. But kill not their King, but for my Daughters sake, whom I gave him to Wife, keep him safe, that he may redeem himself. The place was appointed, and they met together. The *Saxons* cunning Foxes seemed very kind, giving marvellous good words, and they sate down man by man very sociably. But *Hengist*, as he said, gave the word, and all the three Hundred Noblemen (*Seniores* † he calls them) of *Guorthigirn* were slain, he alone being taken Prisoner and put into Chains. And for his life he was constrained to give them large Countries, *viz. Eastsex*, *Southsex* and *Middlesex*. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* tells us, that this Meeting was near the Convent of *Ambrisis*, not far from *Salisbury*, where || four hundred and sixty Persons were slain, the Bodies of whom were buried by *Eldade* the Bishop of *Gloucester*, with Christian Burial, not far off in the ordinary place. The Chronicle of *Leiden* mentioned but three hundred Princes of *Britain* to have been slain, which account another of that Countrey follows in his Chronicle of the Low Countries, though he mentions in another place twelve, whom he calls *Duces Britanniarum*, as being the chief in Place and Dignity. But these Outlandish Writers confound the Affairs of *Britains* and *Saxons*. What they say concerning *Hengist* his being beaten out of *Britain*, and his founding the City or Castle of *Leiden* upon the Bank of the River *Rhine*, let the Reader remember what has been said before, that we may not here again repeat it.

A Massacre.

* *Ninio artavus, i.e. Cultellus, jubet Hengistus ut in medio ficonis sui poneret. Fico verò theca est quæ Græcis barbaris etiam φικάδιον est. Quippe brevis gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur. Unde sibi Saxo nomen traxisse putatur.*

† *Ex Senior Lat. Signior Ital. Sennor Hispan. & Signieur Francic.*

|| *Vel* 480 *ut alia exemplaria habent quæ Johannes Tinmuthensis in vita S. Dubricii est sequutus. Vide Usserium in Primord. p.* 415.

4. In the year CCCCLXV, *Hengist* and *Æsc* his Son again ingaged with the *Britains* at a place called *Wippedsfleet*, and therein indeed slew twelve Captains of their Nation, as both *Fabius Ethelward*, *Florence* of *Worcester*, and the *English Saxon* Annals do testifie, these they might mistake, for having been slain in the Massacre. But still about that Massacre there is more variety of Stories. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* talks of *Hengist* his having associated himself for this Enterprize, or Evil Merry-day, no fewer than three hundred thousand men. As to the number of the slain, our *Caxton* and *Johannes Major* in his *Scotch* History will have *Hengist* to have entered *Britain* with fifteen thousand men, and *John Harding* will have the *Saxons* to have kill'd there near *Salisbury* treacherously, one thousand and threescore of the *British* Noblemen. A certain *Scotch* Chronicle agrees with *Geoffrey* in the number of four hundred and sixty; and *William* of *Malmsbury* sides with *Ninius* in the smallest number of three hundred. As for *Hengist* he having been the death of so many *Britains*, at length was slain himself at *Conings burgh* near the River *Dun* in *Yorkshire*, as we have told already, if that be true which the *British* Writers relate of him. There is a great suspicion he came to some such kind of end, because the *English Saxon* Writers say nothing of his death, as neither of any of the Victories obtained by the *Britains*; what made against the honour of their Countreymen they conceal, but are zealous to publish their Conquests and Trophies. *Matthew* the Flowergatherer placeth his death in the year CCCCLXXXIX, and from him *Ethelward* and the *English Saxon* Annals differ but in one years computation. According to both their Accounts he reigned then thirty and three, or as *Florentius Wigornienfis* hath it thirty and four years; so false is that which *Suffridus Petrus* writes of his being but four years in the Island. He was by consent of all, a most stout Warriour; cruel enough, and as cunning as courageous, knowing very well, in case the Lion's skin was too scant, how to piece it up with the Fox's. As his Brother had his Name from that Noble Creature we still call an Horse, so he from the Male of that Species intire as Nature leaves him, without any mutilation of Members. And he being a man deserving Honour in his Countrey, from that great Planta-

Hengist is slain at *Conings burgh* in *Yorkshire*.

Pro veteri voce Hors utuntur hodierni Batavi Paerd, at equum integrum quem Franci vocant un cheval entier, nos Ston'd Horse, dicunt Hengist.

Sect. 3. Plantation he settled in this Island, his Countreymen the *Saxons* might possibly give in memory of him that Animal for their Arms, which formerly were two little Swords or Seanes born cross or Salter-wise.

Oseric his Son succeeds.

5. To *Hengist* succeeded his Son *Oeric* or *Oseric* sirnamed *Æsc*, as *Beda* informs us, from whom the Kings of *Kent*, saith *Matthew*, to this day are called *Æsckynges*. *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* tells a story, how when *Hengist* was taken and killed in *Conisburgh*, *Oeta* his Son shut himself into *Tork*, but was forc't to yield himself up to *Ambrose*, who granted to him, and to *Eosa* his Kinsman, who had also fortified the City of *Alclud* or *Dunbritton*, a Countrey near to *Scotland*; but though *Oeric*, *Oseric* and *Oeta* being something, yet this seems not the same with the Eldest, who came into *Britain* with his Father, with whom he was invited by *Vortigern*, as *Beda* writes, and who is said to have begun his Reign also together with his Father over the *Saxons* (*Jutes* who by a general Name were so called) in the Kingdom of *Kent*. There is little or nothing more spoken of him, than that he reigned twenty four years, though some add ten to this number. The Monk of *Malmesbury* says he reigned quietly, *Florentius* of *Worcester*, gloriously, being content with the Dominions his Father left him, rather than striving to inlarge them, though *Henry* of *Huntingdon* saith he did this too; but most dark are these times whereof onely the main things, as great Battels and notable Successions are mentioned, so as Memory and Tradition could transmit them from one Generation to another. For who should relate the many and considerable Actions which happened in this great Revolution? the poor *Britains* were massacred and driven from House and Home: the *Saxons* were Heathens, nothing of humanity, nothing of civility or letters amongst them. They took care how to get and hold their Possessions, nor thought at all how to transmit the method and course of their Exploits to Posterity. They thought they should doe bravely if they but left goodly Inheritances to those that should come after them; how they came by them they cared not whether ever they knew, seeing they should leave them possession, nine points of the Law, and a title written by the Sword's point.

Ethelwardus sic, denique Æthelbyrht Eormenrices filius fuit, cujus avus Ochta qui prænominabatur Æsc, propter quod postea Reges Cantuariis Esingas sunt nomen sortiti, ut à Romulo Romani, & Cecrope Cecropidæ, & à Tusco Tusci. Æsc quippe pater fuit Hengist qui primus Consul & Dux de Germania fuerat Gentis Anglorum, cujus pater fuit Wightgels, avus Wicta, proavus Wither, atavus Wothen, &c. Chron. li. 2. c. 2.

After him reigned *Otha* and *Ermerick*.

6. To *Oseric* succeeded his Son *Otha*, to whom Sir *Henry Savil* in his *Fasti* gives twenty years, although *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us that *Oseric* had for Successours his Son *Otha*, and *Otha's* Son *Ermerick* more like to him than to the Grandfather and great Grandfather: that to them both are ascribed fifty three years in the Chronicles; but whether they reigned apart or jointly together it's uncertain. But the *Fasti* now mentioned give to *Ermerick* nine and twenty years.

Then *Ethelbert*.

After them followed *Ethelbert* (or *Egilbert*, or *Æthilbyrht*, as some Copies reade him) who at his first coming to the Government was very contemptible in the eyes of his Neighbours, and ingaging in War with some of them, was once or twice worsted, particularly by **Ceaulin* and *Cutha*, who beat him back into *Kent*, and slew, in a place called *Wibbandune*, two of his Noblemen, *Oslac* and *Cnebban*, and with much adoe could defend what was left him by his Ancestours. But when he grew older, and came to more experience in the World he grew more skilfull in military matters, and so plied his business, that he obtained Victory where-ever he engaged, and quarrels arising betwixt him and the other petty Kings, as one gave occasion unto another, he subdued them all one after another, and by continual success brought under all the *English Saxon* Nations except those of *Northumberland*. This made him so considerable abroad as well as at home, that seeking for Alliances he was not denied, but obtained *Bertha* the Daughter of the King of the *Franks*, say some, or rather one that was of the Bloud-royal of that Nation. Now had he and his Court by more acquaintance with the World, and especially by conversation with the Nation of the *Franks*, which had been civilized before, began to relinquish their barbarous manners, and the Queen being a Christian, and having a Christian Bishop, by name *Letard*, attending upon her, by this means he became more susceptible of that Impression which was made upon him by *Augustine* the Monk and his followers, who being sent hither by *Gregory* the Bishop of *Rome*, and finding better acceptance, no doubt, by reason of the Intelligence he might hold with the Queen, without much adoe brought him over to the Christian Religion. Having abolished Paganism, and brought in true Religion, that his Subjects might grow into a more civilized Body, like to the other polished Nations of the World, he set upon making Laws, such as most fitted their Temper, and suited with the present occasions of the State. In making these Laws, *Beda* tells us that he followed the pattern of the *Romans*, and compiled them in the *English* Tongue, in the first place making provision for restitution

Ethelwardo Æthelbyrht.

**Chronol. Saxonic. ad An.* ȝixvii þep Creatinȝ cuṗa Beruhton þiṗ Ædelbyṗht ȝ hinc in Cent ȝeþlýmeon þreȝen ealdonmen on ṗibbandune oṗ-ṗoȝon Oṗlac ȝ Cnebban.

Who was converted to the Faith,

And made Laws in favour of the Church.

Juxta exempla Romanorum. l. 2. c. 5.

Sect. 3.

stitution to be made, in case a Church, Bishop, or others in Orders were indamaged, resolving to protect those the Doctrine of whom he had received. He died on the twenty fourth day of *February* after he had reigned six and fifty years, in the one and twentieth year after the receiving of the Christian Faith, the year of our Lord DCXIII, as the present Copy of *Beda* hath it, but as the *Saxon* Translation of King *Alfred* about the year DCXVI, it being placed by the *Fasti* above mentioned, in the year following, which was the seventh of *Heraclius* the Emperour, and the first year of *Boniface* the Fifth, the *Roman* Bishop, in the days of *Clothair* King of the *Franks*.

Then dyes.

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Da pærymb ryx hund pintna ⁊ ryxtýne pinter ryram ðnihtner mennýrenerre, &c.

Lege Bedam in Hist. Lib. 2. c. 6. & Willielm. Malmesburiens. de Gestis Regum Anglorum. c. 1.

7. To *Ethelbert* succeeded *Edbald* or *Eadbald* his Son, unlike him both in his Disposition and Success. He cast off the Christian Yoke and incestuously polluted himself by the Marriage of his Father's Wife, which was followed by a defection of those People which lately had obeyed his Father. Yet by means of *Laurentius* the Successour of *Augustine* in the See of *Canterbury*, he was reduced to the Faith, and left the Bed of his Step-Mother, but never could reduce those Nations which had fain off, not being able to prevail with the Citizens of *London* to receive back *Mellitus* their Bishop, whom out of an Heathenish Rage they had expelled. He was forced therefore to be content with his Kingdom of *Kent*, and never could recover that height of Power from which he was fain. He reigned, according to *William* of *Malmsbury*, four and twenty years, and was then, or is as some Copies, succeeded by *Ercombert* his Son begotten of *Enima* Daughter to the King of the *Franks*, who reigned the same number of years, and with better fortune; being famous for his Religion towards God, and his goodness towards his Countrey. He is indeed much commended upon the account of Religion, the Reformation whereof he much perfected, as we shall shew in its proper place. He Married *Senburg* the Daughter of *Huna* King of the East *Angles*, and having governed with great Commendation (though by some he is noted to have fraudulently usurped upon his Brother *Ermenred*, whose Right was precedent to the Crown) four and twenty years and some odd Months, then left this World and his Kingdom to *Egbert* his Son, his death being ushered in with an Eclipse of the Sun on the third of *May*, and a grievous Pestilence. *Egbert* either caused to be slain, or winked at the Murther of his Uncle's two Sons *Elbert* and *Egelbright*, and being not famous for any thing done (onely infamous for doing or suffering this) died after he had held the Royal Seat nine years. He being dead, *Lotharius* his Brother seized on the Kingdom, though he left a Son called *Edrick*, with ill luck as it happened. For *Edrick* for eleven years together would never suffer him to take any rest, but perpetually vexed him with Stirs, Insurrections, and Battels upon his own account, in one of which *Lotharius* received his Deaths Wound; for being pierced with a Dart he died as the Wound was dressing. Both he and his Brother were cut off after a short continuance, as some observed, for their Usurpation, Injustice and Cruelty. For *Egbert* as we said procured the innocent Sons of his Uncle to be murthered: And *Lothair* is taxed for abusing and deriding the Martyrs, (so they are termed) though he repented of the deed, and in way of satisfaction, granted to their Mother, part of the Isle of *Thanet*, whereon to build a Monastery.

Edbald succeeds him.

Then *Ercombert.*

After him *Egbert.*

Next *Lothair.*

8. *Lothair* being removed out of the World in that manner, *Edrick* then enjoyed the Power, but onely a short time, for before two years were well at an end he was both spoiled of his Life and Kingdom, and left his Countrey exposed to the Lust and Tyranny of his Enemies. These were *Cadwalla* King of the West *Saxons*, and *Millo* his Brother, who finding the *Kentish* Affairs all in a confusion and out of order, resolved to take the opportunity offered of invading it: But he found not the People so unprepared as he imagined, for they made a very stout resistence, and after their Houses had been burned, and their Countrey depopulated, gave them Battel with great Indignation. They had the better of them, and forcing *Cadwalla* to run for his Life, drove up his Brother *Millo* into a little Cottage wherein shutting up himself, and not daring to break through, fire they set to the Cottage, and therein burnt him alive. This did very much provoke *Cadwalla*, who, as appears from the Chronology or *Saxon* Annals, either staid in *Kent* well onward of two years, or else invaded it two years together, and the later of them twice, to which they add, that he wasted not onely *Kent*, but the Isle of *Wight* too, which was under the Jurisdiction of the Kingdom of the South *Saxons*. To revenge his Brothers death he raged with all manner of Depopulations and Cruelties against them, and so desperate was the condition of *Kent*, that for six years it had no King except it were Foreigners that intruded.

Edrick follows, who was deprived of Life and Kingdom by *Cadwalla* King of the West *Saxons.*

Chronol. Saxon. ad An. ðclxxxvi Þep Ceadpalla ⁊ Mul Cent ⁊ pıght ronhengeton.

Sect. 3.

Who being bought off, *Withred* Reigned.

intruded. In the ſeventh year *Withred* the Son of *Egbert* having by his great pains and induſtry taken off the Envy and Prejudice which lay upon himſelf and Family, and by Money bought off the publick Enemy, obtained to be King, and much ingratiated himſelf with his Subjects, who conceived extraordinary hopes of him. At home in his own Houſe he ſhewed all manner of reſpect and civility to his People, Religion he every way countenanced and promoted. Abroad he was famous for having inlarged the extent of his Dominions, and after three and thirty years continuance in his Government, dying full of Age and Honour, left three Sons behind him as his Heirs in due time and place, if need ſhould ſo require; the greateſt felicity which uſually is accounted can happen to Mortals.

To whom ſucceeded *Edbert*. Then *Edilbert* and *Alrick*.

9. Of theſe his three Sons *Edbert* the eldeſt ſucceeded him, of whom nothing ill is recorded, though nothing good. After he had reigned twenty and three years he gave way to his Second Brother *Edilbert*, who reigned other eleven, his Reign being onely unfortunate in the accidental burning of the City. He dying after theſe eleven years, *Alrick* the youngeſt Brother took his place, and held it for four and thirty, the luſtre of his Reign, as his Brother's by the fire, being much obſcured by an unfortunate Battel, which he fought againſt the *Mercians*. So ſaith *Malmsbury*, if any ill Accident happen, it ſhall be ſure to be mentioned, but if any good luck or accident, it will be forgotten in Chronicles, whether ſo it be done on purpoſe and by deſign, or it ſo falls out through the badneſs of our Nature, through which it comes to paſs that the memory of good things quickly is obliterated, but any thing that cauſeth ſmart and ſorrow is never forgotten. But though this may be true as to matters that happened among themſelves, yet the Monk's Obſervation is much amiſs in reference to the Wars betwixt them and the *Britains*, their Annal talking aloud of their Victories, but wholly ſilent as to their Defeats. But in theſe three Brothers the Royal *Kentiſh* ſtock quite withered, the generous bloud was extinct, ſaith our Authour, and every impudent Fellow, whoſe bold Tongue had procured him Wealth, or Faction and Turbulency had rendred formidable, would aſpire after Tyranny, and dare to aſſume the Royal Diadem. Of theſe *Edilbert* or *Pren* having governed the *Kentiſh* men two years, to ſhew himſelf a King indeed would attempt greater things againſt the *Mercians* than he was able to perform, and being taken Priſoner by them was kept in cuſtody, whence not long after he was yet diſmiſſed by them, but could obtain no entertainment from his late Subjects, and to what end he came is utterly uncertain. After him one of the ſame Faction ſucceeded to his pitifull condition, and was King onely in Name for eight years more. The laſt of all was *Baldrede*, whom *Malmsbury* calls an Abortive Brat of the Royal Dignity, who after he had rather beſieged than governed *Kent*, for other eighteen years was by *Egbert* the King of the Weſt *Saxons* driven into Baniſhment. So this Kingdom of *Kent*, which from the year CCCCXLIX had ſtood for the ſpace of CCCLXXIV years became ſubject to another Juriſdiction. So writes *William* of *Malmsbury*. The end of the Kingdom of *Kent* is noted in the *Faſti* to have faln out in the twenty fourth year of the Reign of *Egbert*, the third year of the Reign of *Michael Traulus* Emperour in the Eaſt. The tenth of *Ludovicus Pius* who bore that Title in the Weſt. *A. D.* DCCCXXIII.

After whoſe Death ſeveral Uſurp the Government.

But are driven into Baniſhment by *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*.

SECT. IV.

SECT. IV.

The Kingdom of the South Saxons *in* Sussex. *From the founding of it by* Aella *to the Ruine thereof.*

1. THE next Kingdom that was founded by these New Planters in *Britain*, was that of the South *Saxons* in *Sussex* by *Aella*, who as we have already said with his three Sons landed in that Countrey, and for several years fought with various success against the *Britains*. The place where he first landed is by the *Saxon* Annals called *Cyrnenes ora*, and *Cambden* tells us, that near to the Haven of *Chichester* is a place called *Witering*, where, as the Monuments of the Church testifie, *Ælla* the first founder of the Kingdom of *Sussex* arrived. How he and his Sons cunningly drove off the *Britains*, who flocked to him at his landing, we have already said, and still inlarged their Bounds, till nine years after their Arrival, when another Battel was fought at a place called *Merix desburnanstede*; where, though the Victory is said to have been doubtfull, and the *Saxon* Annals are very unwilling to let him go out of the Field but with flying Colours; yet that his Victory was none, or such as did much weaken him, appears in this that he sent for new Supplies out of *Saxony*. Whereas he is said in his first Ingagement with the *Britains*, to have beaten them into a Wood called *Andredesleage*; by the Annals the Reader must know that this Countrey in old times was hardly passable by reason of Woods. For the Wood *Andradswald*, or *Andredsleage*, in the *British* Language *Coid Andred*, having its Name from *Anderida*, the City next adjoyning, took up in this Quarter an hundred and twenty Miles in length and thirty in breadth. Of this vast Wood are (or lately were) Remnants toward the West, the Forest of *Arundell*, St. *Leonard*'s Forest, *Word* Forest, *East Grensted*, *Ashdown* Forest, and *Waterdown* Forest.

Sect. 4.

The Countrey very full of Wood.

Cantiani & Suith-Saxones locum sylvæ ad huc Walden appellitant: Nescientes tamen unde hoc dimanavit Nomen; cum alii Welden, alii Wylden, sed falsò vocitent: Nam Anglo Soxones Sylvam Walden ut nunc Germani, Wolden verò planitiem appellitabant; ut in nominibus Cottesiwalden & Pothewolde apparet. Hæc Lhuydus f. 13. b.

2. *Ælla* found it seems so much opposition, and was so long in subduing such an Extent of Ground as would brace the Title of a Kingdom, that some Fourteen years he staid without the Title of King, which at last he took by the Name of King of the South *Saxons*, in the fourth year of *Esc* King of *Kent*, first of *Anastasius* the Emperour, *A. D.* CCCCXCI. In the third year after the death *Hengist*, *Huntingdon* tells us, that new and great Supplies came to him out of his own Countrey, with which he went and besieged a most strong City called *Andredeswaster*, supposed to be that now called *Newenden* in *Kent*, in Latin *Anderida*, as in the *Notitia* of the Provinces, and in *British Caer Andred*, being that we now find to have given Name to the Wood of *Andredesleage*. For the constant Tradition of the Inhabitants testifies it to have been an old Town and Haven, whereof they still shew the Plot. Then is it situate by the Wood *Andredeswald*, that took the Name from it, being separated from *Sussex* but by the River *Rother*. And lastly because the *English Saxons* seem to have termed it *Brittenden*, (as they also called *Segontium* an ancient Town of the *Britains*) or the Vale of the *Britains*, whence the whole Hundred adjoyning is named *Selbrittenden*. The *Romans* to defend this Coast against the *Saxon* Rovers, placed here the Band and Captain of the *Abulci*. *Hengist* after his Arrival being resolved to drive the *Britains* quite out of *Kent*, and thinking it would much quicken his work to increase his Numbers by new Supplies out of his own Countrey, sent for this *Ælla* out of *Germany* with a strong power of *English Saxons*, and while he gave a violent Assault to this Town *Anderida*, the *Britains* out of the adjoyning Wood where they lay in Ambush, so fiercely fell upon him, that at length, after much loss on both sides, when he had divided his Army and routed the *Britains* in the Wood, and at the same time forced the Town by Assault, his

Ælla King of the *South-Saxons*.

Cambden in Cantio.

Sect. 4. his barbarous heart was so inflamed with desire of revenge, that he put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and levelled the Town with the very ground. The place lying thus desolate was shewn (as saith *Henry* of *Huntingdon*) to those that passed by many Ages after. Till the *Friars Carmelites* newly come from Mount *Carmel* in the Holy Land, who sought for such solitary places, built them here a little Priory in the time of King *Edward* the First, at the Charges of Sir *Thomas Albuger* Knight, and presently after there rose up a Village, which in regard of the old Town demolished, began to be called *Newenden*, or the New Town in the Vale. Thus *Cambden* in his Chorography of *Kent*.

3. Who when he speaks all in one course of Speech of *Hengist* his sending for *Ælla* out of his *Germany*, and his laying Siege to this Town, is to be understood with that distinction of time we have lately mentioned, not that after his coming he set presently upon it, as the uninterrupted course of words would seem to intimate; for that it was after the Auxiliaries came to him, which arrived in the third year after *Hengist*'s death, *Huntingdon* plainly affirms, and the *Saxon* Annals do confirm. The said Writer tells the Story with some Circumstances, but such as well suit with a People unwilling to be turned out of their ancient Possessions, to be utterly ruined. He tells us the *Britains* upon notice of his coming flocked to the place like Bees; by Day they overmatched the Besiegers by Wiles and lying in wait, by Night with Onsets; there was neither Day nor Night wherein some sorrowfull Message did not afflict the *Saxons*. But by each loss they were but the more provoked, and the City they plied with continual Allarms and fresh Attacks; though the *Britains* were still upon their Backs, and gored them with their constant Showres of Darts and Arrows. The *Pagans* therefore were constrained to intermit their work at the Siege, and retire back upon them, who then being more nimble of Body than their Enemy, betook themselves into the Woods, and as the *Saxons* retired again toward the City, failed not to fall upon their Rere. By this means were the Besiegers tired with their work, and great Slaughters were made of them, till such time as they divided themselves into two Bodies, that while one plied the Siege the other might divert and keep the other *Britains* in action. Hereby they did their work vigorously in both places, no interruption being given, but each Party solely intending what it was about, till the poor Besieged being weak with hunger, and more violently than ever charged, could not endure another shock, were with their Wives and Children all pitifully butchered, insomuch that not one escaped. And the Strangers because they had received so much loss, would not suffer the Town a Monument of their disgrace to stand, but so destroyed it, that it was never after rebuilded: Onely the place of a most noble City is shewed to such as pass by; so the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who calls this Town a most fortified City, a most Noble City, though the Translatour of the Chronology or *Saxon* Annals hath interpolated the word *Urbeculam*, for which he had no ground in the Text.

Besieges *Andredscester*.

Which is taken and raced.

Ad An. CCCCXC, Hæp Ælle] Cissa ymbraton Andredescester,]orrlogon ealle þa ðe ðar inne eaþðe dan, ne þeaþð ðæne þorðon an Bryt to laþe.

4. By the violence and severity in this place used by *Ælla*, we may conclude there was vigorous opposition made by the *Britains*, who it seems, notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Hengist*, kept some footing still in these Quarters till after his death. This evidences that they were not easily beaten out of their Inheritances, nor sheepishly quitted their Countrey, though perpetual Supplies to the very exhausting of the places from whence they came, at length overpowered them: And pity it is we have so small intelligence of so great and famous a Revolution. But, to return to *Ælla*, as he began his Reign with so terrible a blow to the *Britains*, so he followed on the course of valour and victory with such success, that as *Beda* testifies he had under his Power and Command all the Dominions of the *English Saxons*, being the first of these seven Kings he mentions who extended their Authority over all the Southern part of their Provinces, which was limited by the River *Humber* and the places adjacent. He Reigned twenty four years as the *Fasti* have it, or twenty seven as writes *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, and was then succeeded by his Son *Cissa*, or *Scissa* as some call him, who being mentioned the last of his three Sons which came over with him, it seems was the onely one that succeeded him, or else for his Courage and Prowess was appointed his Successour, being indeed still named with him by the Annals in any great or dangerous undertaking. After his Fathers death there is little memorable of him, but that from him a little Village or Hill, called *Cisbury* in *Sussex*, took it's

Lib. 2. *c.* 5.

Cissa succeeds him.

Sect. 4.

it's Name, where there is a Fort compassed about with a Bank rudely cast up, wherewith the Inhabitants are persuaded that *Cæsar* entrenched and fortified his Camp; but the Name of the place sufficiently testifies it was the work of this *Cissa*; and that he built the City *Chichester*, which though in Latin it be called *Cicestria*, and in *British Caercei*, in *Saxon* is read Cirranceaster or the City of *Cissa*. It lies in a Nook of *Sussex* in a Champion Countrey. Yet before the Conquest it was of small or no Name, known onely by a Monastery of St. *Peter*, and a small Nunnery. But in the Reign of *William* the First, as witnesseth Dooms-day Book in the Exchequer, there were in it one hundred Hages; it was in the hand of Earl *Roger* of *Montgomery*, there being in it threescore Hages or Mansion Houses more than there were before. Fifteen Pounds it paid to the King, and Ten to the Earl. But afterwards a Decree being passed in the days of the said King, that the Sees of Bishops should be removed out of small Towns to Places of greater Note and Resort, it was honoured with the Residence of the Bishop of the Diocese, which formerly was at *Selsey*, and by this and other helps began to rise to some degree of eminency, which had been greater but that the Haven is bad, and somewhat at too great a distance.

Who builds *Chichester*.

Vide Cambdenum in Sussex.

5. After *Cissa* Reigned some of his Posterity, but through the Vicissitude of Humane Affairs, or some defect in him or them, lost quite that Power and Reputation, to which *Ælla* their Predecessour and Founder of the Kingdom had arrived. By degrees their Dominions lessened, and after the Reigns of several inglorious Persons, few of whose Names are now extant, they became a Prey to their Neighbour Kings, and were for the most part either subject to those of *Kent*, or of the West *Saxons*. Indeed the second King that after *Ælla* had Dominion over all the other *English Saxons*, as far as *Humber*, was *Ceaulin* King of the West *Saxons*, by whose greatness and Neighbourhood it's more than probable that the Fortune of these South *Saxons* was curbed and much abated. Then when the fortune of *Ceaulin* abated, grew *Ethelbert* the *Kentish* King, and their Neighbour on the other side, to that great Power whereof we have spoken, that *Beda* makes him the third, whose Arms and Authority extended as far as to *Humber*. By this means lying betwixt such potent Neighbours, the Kingdom of *Sussex* so dwindled, that after *Cissa* scarcely is any of their Kings mentioned, except *Adelwold*, whose memory continues upon this Account, because he was the first King that imbraced the Christian Religion. After him *Brentius* is mentioned: And *Aldwin* was the last, whom *Ina* King of the West *Saxons* despoyled both of his Life and Kingdom. For after the decay of *Ethelbert*'s greatness, and that his Son had made Shipwreck of that great Power he had, and could hardly defend what *Hengist* left them; this Kingdom of the West *Saxons* got ground, and though it received some Checks and Rebukes, at length prevailed over all the rest, as in due time and place will be discovered.

Aldwin the last King, deprived of Life and Kingdom by *Ina* King of the West *Saxons*.

Cæteros penuria scriptorum vel fama obscura recondit præter Regem Adelwold qui jure adhuc nomen habet, quia primus nomen Christi agnovit. Henric. Hunting. lib. 2. in fine, Qui autem Huntingdonensi Adelwold alias Adilwalch.

SECT. V.

SECT. V.

The Kingdom of the East Saxons *in* Essex, Middlesex, *and part of* Hertfordshire. *From the founding of it by* Erkenwin, *to the conquering of it by* Egbert *King of the West* Saxons.

The Space of Three Hundred and One Years.

Sect. 5.

1. THE next Kingdom in order after that of the South *Saxons*, was the other of the West *Saxons*; but, forasmuch as this swallowed up all the rest at length, though we assign it here its place, it's most convenient in the last place to speak of it. The next after it was the petty Kingdom of the East *Saxons*, in *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*. It was begun by *Erkenwin*, in the sixteenth Year of *Otho* King of *Kent*, the first year of *Justinian* the Emperour, the Consulship of *Mavorsius*, and the year of Our Lord DXXVII. This *Erkenwin* was the Son of *Offa*, he of *Biedcan*, he of *Sigewolfe*, *Sigewolfe* of *Spoewz*, he of *Gesac*, *Gesac* of *Andesc*, and *Andesc* of *Saxnat*. After *Erkenwin* succeeded his Son *Slede* according to *Huntingdon*, who by the Monk of *Malmesbury*, is made the first of these East *Saxon* Kings, and the tenth from *Woden*. He married *Ricula* the Daughter of *Ermerick* King of *Kent*, and Sister to *Ethelbert*, by which Lady he had a Son named *Sebert*. This *Sebert* first received the Christian Faith at the preaching of *Mellitus*, and his Monument they shew to Passengers in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Westminster*. He dying, his two Sons *Sextus* and *Seward* (*Beda* saith he left three) being always Pagans in their Hearts, banished *Mellitus* from his Cure, but not long after ingaging with the *Genissi*, or the West *Saxons* in Battel, they and all their Men were cut off. *Sigbert* sirnamed the Little, the Son of *Seward*, succeeded them; and dying, left the Kingdom to *Sigebert* the Son of *Sigebald*, who was Brother to *Sebert*. This *Sigebert* being in amity with, and often using to visit *Osrei* King of *Northumberland*, was persuaded to relinquish his Idols and be baptized, which done, he caused the Christian Religion to be restored in his Kingdom.

Erkenwin. *Slede.* *Sebert.* *Sexeus.* *Seward.* *Sigbert.* *Sigebert.*

2. Having imbraced Christian Religion, he was murthered by two of his Kinsmen (two Brothers) for obeying the Christian Doctrine, which bids us pass by Injuries, and forgive our Enemies, they which confessed had angred and provoked them to commit the Fact. After him reigned *Swidhelm*, the Son of *Secbald*, said by *Malmesbury* to have been his Brother, who also was baptized by Bishop *Ledda*. He being dead, *Sigher* the Son of *Sigebert*, sirnamed the Little, and *Sebba* the Son of *Seward*, held the Kingdom jointly together. *Sigher* died first, and left *Sebba* sole King, who reigned thirty years, and at his death took the Habit of Religion upon him. He left two Sons, *Sighard* (who by *Beda* it should seem was a Monk) and *Snefrede*, both who succeed him, though how long they reigned, or what they did we are ignorant. They both being dead, *Offa* the Son of *Sigher*, a young man of a pleasant Countenance, sprightly wit, in the flower of his Age, and extraordinarily believed by the People, for some time governed this Kingdom; but as *Beda* writes, left his Wife, his Lands, Kindred and Countrey, and going to *Rome*, there lived and died in Monastical life; *Malmesbury* saith, that by the Counsel and Advice of *Kineswitha*, Daughter of King *Penda*, whom he had sought in Marriage, being taught to breathe after Celestial loves, he went to *Rome* with *Kenede*, King of the *Mercians*, and blessed *Egwin*, Bishop of the *Wictii*, and there being shaven, at his time passed to the heavenly Kingdom. To him succeeded *Selrede* Son of *Sigebert*, sirnamed the Good, and reigned thirty eight years. He being slain, one *Swithede* reigned over the East *Saxons*, and in the same year that *Egbert*, King of the

Swidhelm. *Sigher.* *Sebba.* *Sighard.* *Snefrede.* *Offa.* *Selred.* *Swithede.*

Vide Bedam in Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 22.

Al. Sebbi.

Beda l. 4. c. 11. Nam subitò astante Episcopo & filio Regis ejusdem ac monacho Sighardo qui post illum cum fratre Snefredo regnavit, &c. Lib. 5. c. 20.

the West *Saxons* conquered the Kingdom of *Kent*, was by him also driven away and outed of his Royalty. Yet was *London*, and the parts about it, subject to the Kings of the *Mercians* so long as they continued. But such end had this petty Kingdom of the East *Saxons*, which most commonly was under command either of the *Mercians* or West *Saxons*, in the same year that the *Kentish* Kingdom was subdued, as writes the Monk of *Malmesbury*, but the *Fasti* continue it four years longer, and make it to be united to that of the West *Saxons*, in the year of our Lord DCCCXXVIII. so that according to this account it must have continued (in this mean condition) the space of three hundred and one years. Of the extent of the Reigns of the Kings there's little certainty, as also of those of the Kingdom of the East *Angles*, therefore it is that no certain years can be assigned. Sect. 6.

SECT. VI.

The Kingdom of the Northumbrian Angles *in* Britain. *From the Founding of it by* Ida *to the Conquering of it by* Egbert *King of the West* Saxons.

The space of Two Hundred Eighty One years.

1. THE Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was founded by *Ida*, in the one and twentieth year of the Emperour *Justinian*, in the days of *Childebert* King of the *Franks*, the sixteenth of *Ermerick* King of *Kent*, and the thirteenth of *Kenrick* King of the West *Saxons*, A. D. DXLVII. His Ancestours are thus reckoned, *Eope* (or *Coppe*) *Esc* (or *Ese*) *Inguim*, *Angenwit*, *Alock*, *Beonock*, *Brand*, *Beldet*, *Woden*, *Fredlelaf*, *Fredeulf*, *Fin*, *Godnulf*, *Heata*.

2. It must be remembred that *Hengist* after he had fixed his footing in *Kent*, sent to *Otha* his Brother and *Ebusa* his Son, Men of tried experience in military matters, under a specious pretence of repelling thence the *Picts* and *Scots*, to seize upon the Northern parts of *Britain*. They being there arrived, at length with much labour and travel performed that for which they were sent; for very often ingaging with the *Britains* in Battel, at length they brought them under, and forced them quietly to submit unto their yoke. But if these two were *Octa* and *Eosa* the Son, and Brother (for so it ought to be, and not the Brother and Son as we reade it in *Malmesbury*) of *Hengist*, of whom *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* writes, that at such time as *Ambrose* took and slew *Hengist* at *Coningsbourgh* shut themselves up in the Cities of *Tork* and *Dunbritton*, others tell other Tales concerning them. *Geoffrey* writes that after they had surrendred themselves, *Ambrose* granted to them part of the Countrey lying near to *Scotland*. *Matthew* of *Westminster*, from those *British* Writers, saith, that *Ambrose* having laid siege to *Tork*, *Octa* being of opinion that he could not hold the place against such a multitude, took advice with those that were with him, and with the Nobility that accompanied him, came out of the Town and spake to this purpose. *My Gods are overcome, and I am content that thy God reign who compells so many Noblemen to come to thee. Take us, and if thou wilt shew no mercy, bind us and use us as thou wilt, for we are willing and ready.* With these words *Ambrose* was moved to pity, and shewed himself merciful to them: And by this pattern *Eosa* and the rest were moved to come in and submitted to *Ambrose*, who gave them a Countrey near to *Scotland*, and made a League of Friendship with them. Though he tells us of this Countrey bestowed upon them here, yet in another place, and nineteen years after, he tells us another story, that their Keepers being corrupted, let them out of Prison, where they had led a miserable life, and fled with them into *Germany*, whence with a great Fleet they returned, to the destruction of *Britain*. Hereupon his *Uther Pendragon* committed the Army of *Britain* to one *Loth*, a Consul and a most valiant Man. But though he often gave Battel to these Strangers, instead of driving them out, they got ground of him; for the *Britains* would not obey him.

Galfrid. Monmuth. l. 8. c. 9. Ad An. 490.

Idem ad An. 509.

3. After

Sect. 6. 3. After this *Vther Pendragon* falling sick, these Rovers ranged about the Island and made havock of all things without controll. This exceedingly provoked the King, who grieving that Church and State should thus goe to ruine, sent for the Nobles, and accusing them of pride and idleness, vowed he would lead them against the Enemy though in that condition wherein he then lay. He caused a Litter to be provided, and marched with the Army towards *Verulam*, where the cursed *Saxons* at that time lay. *Octa* and *Eosa* having word brought of the approach of the *Britains*, and how their King was carried in a Litter, they disdained to go out and fight him because he came in such a posture; they betook themselves into the City, and out of scorn left the Gates wide open. *Vther* presently caused the Town to be besieged and the Walls battered, by which entring, his Men made great slaughter of the *Saxons* till they unbethought themselves. In the Morning they came out in order of a Battel, challenging the *Britains* to fight, who courageously grappled with them, and many fell on both sides, but after much contention and bloudshed the Victory fell to the King of the *Britains*, and they that scorned him in his Litter, found his Orders and Commands so effectual and deadly that there they two lost their Lives, and when they were dead, their Men fairly betook them to their Heels. With this Victory the King was so overjoyed (and well he might) that whereas before he was not able to stir Hand or Foot he could now rise with a very little help, and was in a manner recovered. This Story suits not very well with what *Malmesbury* and others write, that so good an account was given of their pains in subduing the Northern Parts of *Britain*. But whether this end befell them, or that the *Britains* were forced to quit to them that Countrey near *Scotland*, which seems to be inwrapped in the Story of *Ambrosius*, their endeavours, or the labours of their followers at length effected what they intended, at least in a good measure.

4. For, the Captains of the *Saxons* in these Countries still more prevailed against the Natives, yet notwithstanding would they not doe any injury to the Name of Kings by assuming that Title, but still devolved the power in the same form of Mediocrity, saith *Malmesbury*, upon their Successours; and in this kind of establishment they continued for an hundred years lacking one, satisfying themselves with the common name of Captains or Dukes, and truckling under the patronage and command of the *Kentish* Kings. But no longer would Ambition be stinted; either for that humane nature ever inclines to the worst, or for that this Nation naturally was high and lofty. Therefore in the year of our Lord DXLVII and LX after the death of *Hengist*, the Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom, to which *Ida* was first promoted; a Person doubtless of most noble extraction, and in the flower of his age and strength; but whether he invaded the Sovereignty, or by the consent of others came to the Government I determine not, saith the Monk, because the truth it self is obscure. But it's certain that his Descent was high and very ancient, and that by his unspotted Life and excellent Morals he added much to the lustre of his Birth. In War he was unconquerable, yet at home tempered his Royal severity with an uncounterfeited mildness and serenity of mind. I could (so he proceeds) in this place set down the lineal descent both of him and others, but I am unwilling by the harsh sound of barbarous words to disgust the Reader. But thus much I shall note, that whereas *Woden* had three Sons, *Weldeg*, *Withleg* and *Beldeg*, from the first the Kings of *Kent* derived their Pedegree, from the second the Kings of the *Mercians*, and from the third the Kings of the West *Saxons* and the *Northumbrians*, besides two which we shall name hereafter. So this *Ida*, as I absolutely find, being the ninth from *Beldeg*, and the tenth from *Woden*, continued fourteen years King of the *Northumbrians*.

Ida the first King.

His character.

5. Thus much *William* of *Malmesbury* concerning *Ida*, by which we may observe the incertainty of the Pedigree derived from this *Woden*, for whereas he will have him bût to have had three Sons, the Continuatour of *Florentius Wigorniensis* mentions seven, from whom he draws the Genealogies of our *English Saxon* Kings, which the Reader may there consult if he think it worth his while to attend to these incertainties. And whereas he writes uncertainly concerning his advancement, the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* delivers it for a truth, that he was chosen to this Dignity by consent of the great ones. He reigned with great commendations for the Vertues lately mentioned, and for his courage and diligence, twelve years, and built a Town called *Bebanburgh*, which first he fenced with a Pallisado, and afterward with a Wall. From *Beda*, it should seem, that he called it so from his Wife, for he writes that it had its name from one Queen *Bebba*. It

Pag. 688. Edit. Francofurti MDCI. qua præter Matth. Florilegum continetur Florentius Vigorniensis.

He builds *Bebanburgh*.

Hist. l. 3. c. 6.

It is at this day called *Bamborough* in *Northumberland* (not *Dunstaburg*, as some have imagined) being in the days of *Honeden*, as he writes, a most strong City, but small, containing the space of two or three Fields, having one hollow entrance raised with stairs, in a wonderfull manner, on the assent of an Hill. It had a very fair Church, and Westward on the top there was a well set out with marvellous Art, sweet to the Taste, and most pleasant to the Eye. At this day it is counted a Castle rather than a City, yet so big and large, that it may seem to match with some Cities. In it did *William Rufus* Besiege *Mowbray*, who lurked in it, and at length escaped. It was much defaced in the Civil Wars by *Bressy* a *Norman*, who sided with the House of *Lancaster*, and since that has been almost quite ruined, partly by time which consumeth all things, and by the Winds which have driven an incredible deal of Sand of the Sea into the Fortress. To it adjoyneth *Humildon*, where was born *John Duns*, by mistake called *Scotus*, the subtile Doctor, who falling into a fit of an Apoplexy, and in his Man's absence buried for dead, came again to himself, and dashed his Brains out against the stones, being hence said to have been twice dead, but once buried.

Sect. 6. *Cambden.*

6. *Ida* by his Wife had six Sons, *Adda*, *Ethelrick*, *Theodorick*, *Ætherick*, *Osmer* and *Theofrede*, and by his Concubines other six, *viz. Oga*, *Alrick*, *Eccha*, *Osbald*, *Segor* and *Segother*, all who came into *Britain* (*Matthew Florilegus* tells us) with forty Ships, and landed at a place called *Flemsburg*; so that according to him, this *Ida* must not have been the Son of any of these Captains that Governed *Northumberland* before it had a King; but a mere stranger chosen for his Merit. The same *Matthew* writes, that after the death of *Ida*, the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* was divided into two, whereof that next to *England*, and on this side the River *Tine*, as we have already said, was called *Deira*, or the Inhabitants thereof *Deiri*, and the other lying beyond that River as far as *Edenbrough Frith* had the name of *Bernicia*, as the Inhabitants *Bernicii*. In *Deira*, or the hithermost Province, *Ælla* succeeded, the son of *Iffi* of the same stock originally, but in a * several Line descended from *Woden*: In *Bernicia* succeeded *Adda* the Son of *Ida*, where he Reigned seven years, being as little memorable as most of those Princes that came after him. *Ælla* was a very industrious Man, and by his great Labour much inlarged those Territories, to the Government of which he was promoted for the space of thirty years. After his death, as *Malmesbury* writes, *Ethelrick* the Son of *Ida*, having spent most of his Age in poverty, and now gray, obtained the Kingdom, but therein continued not long, dying when he had Reigned but five years a miserable Prince, and who would absolutely have been buried in Oblivion, had it not been for the eminency of his Son *Ethelfrid* a young Man in years, but old in discretion and behaviour. In this mean time in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, another informs us that *Adda*, the eldest Son of *Ida*, Reigned seven years, after him *Clappa* five, *Theodulf* one, *Freothulf* seven, *Theodrick* seven, and *Ethelrick* two, *Ælla* yet living. He being dead, and his Son *Edwin* driven out of the Kingdom, he Reigned five years over both the Provinces.

The Kingdom divided into *Deiri* and *Bernicii*.

* *Stemma ejus apud Florent. Wigorn. sic se habet: Ælla filius isti cujus majores Walsefrea, Wilgelsus, Walena, Seomelus, Suearta, Sæpugelus, Seabaldus, Siggeotus, Suebdegus, Siggarus, Weadegus Wodenus. Florentius Wigorn. ad Ann.* 559.

The several Kings.

7. *Æthelrick* once dead, *Æthelfrid* his Son succeeded him in both Provinces, as both his Birthright and his Pains required; for by his Valour and Conduct, *Eadwin* the Son of *Ælla* was expelled, who lived in exile with *Redwald*, King of the East *Angles*, till such time as by his means he was to be restored. The same Authour tells us, that *Æthelfrid* Married *Acca* the Daughter of *Ælla*, and by her had seven Sons, *viz. Eanfrid*, *Oswald*, *Oswin*, *Oslack*, *Oswide*, *Osa* and *Offa*; to which Sons another adds a Daughter named *Æbba*. *Æthelfrid*, having obtained the Kingdom first with earnestness, defended and secured his own, then fell upon what belonged to others. Many Wars did he prudently undertake, and as successfully end, being neither given to laziness nor yet temerity; but keeping a Mean betwixt the Extremes, yet ever acted by a desire of Glory. Of this is witness sufficient, saith *Malmesbury*, *Degsestan*, or the stone of *Degs*, a place famous in those Quarters wherein *Eda* the King of the *Scots*, who envying the prosperity of *Æthelfrid*, forced him even against his mind to Fight, was not without great danger of the Conquerour himself, beaten and driven to flight. For *Tedbald* the Brother of *Ethelbert*, out of desire to approve his Industry and Valour to his Brother, putting himself into extreme danger, left him a sorrowfull Victory, being slain with his whole Party. The City *Legio*, now simply called *Chester*, is witness, which being to this time possessed by the *Britains*, harboured a People full of Pride and Contumacy against the King, which when he resolved to Besiege, the Inhabitants resolving to endure any thing rather than a Leagure, and trusting

Next *Æthelfrid*.

Math. Florileg. ad Ann. 595.

Florent. ad Ann. 593.

Who fights with *Eda* King of the *Scots*.

De gestis Regum Angl. lib. 1. *c.* 3.

Besieges *Chester*.

Sect. 6.

to their Numbers, went out thick and threefold to give him Battel, but fell into the Ambushes he had laid for them and were defeated; but the Monks especially felt his Rage and Fury, who had flocked thither to pray for the success of the Army. Of their incredible number still in our Age, are sufficient marks, the ruinous Walls of the Churches of the Neighbouring Monastery, so many turnings of Cloysters, so great heaps of Beams and Rafters, as can scarcely be seen in any other place: It's called *Banchor*, at that time a famous receptacle of Monks, and now turned into a Bishoprick. *Ethelfrid*, having all things succeeding thus according to his wishes, and desirous to remove all occasions of domestick Broils and civil Quarrels, banished *Edwin* the Son of *Ælla*, a young Man of good worth, who wandering up and down, and in his adversity, as generally it happens, finding but small incouragement, at length came to *Redwald* King of the Eastern *Angles*, to whom deploring his present condition, he was kindly received; but presently after him arrived the Ambassadours of *Ethelfrid*, requiring the Fugitive to be given up, or upon refusal, War was denounced. *Redwald*, being by his Wife earnestly moved never to break his Faith given to the distressed Prince, got ready an Army, and unexpectedly fell upon *Ethelfrid*, who absolutely surprized was slain, while he manfully made resistence, and sold his life at a dear rate, killing *Reiner* the Son of *Redwald* before he fell. To this end came *Ethelfrid*, after he had Reigned twenty four years, a Warriour inferiour to none of the highest eminency, but utterly ignorant of the true Religion. By *Acca* his Wife, the Daughter of *Ælla*, and Sister of *Edwin*, he had two Sons: *Oswald*, a Child of twelve years old, and *Oswin* but four; who when their Father was slain, were by the care of those that brought them up speedily conveyed out of the way, and carried into *Scotland*.

Banisheth *Edwin*.

Who flying to *Redwald* King of the East *Angles*, is protected.

Thence a war wherein *Ethelfrid* is slain.

8. Thus much *Malmsbury* tells us of *Ethelfrid*, in short, which as he confesseth he had from *Beda*. This Authour indeed calls him a most Valiant Prince, and one most desirous of Glory, who more than all the Captains of the *English*, harassed the Nations of the *Britains*, so that he might seem comparable to *Saul* the King of *Israel*, onely he was ignorant of the true Religion. For no Captain, no King ever subdued more of their Countrey, and by rooting out or conquering the Inhabitants, made them either be possessed by the *English*, or Tributary to them. To him might that be applied which the Patriarch when he blessed his Son, spake as to the Person of *Saul*, *Benjamin is a ravenous Wolf, in the morning he shall devour the Prey, and at night he shall divide the Spoil.* Hence by his successes, *Edan* King of the *Scots*, which inhabite *Britain*, being moved, came against him with a vast and strong Army, but being overthrown, fled away onely with a few in his Company. For in that most famous place which is called *Degsestan* or *the stone of Degsa*, almost his whole Army was cut in pieces. And in this Fight *Theodbald* (*Malmsbury* hath it *Tedbald*) the Brother of *Ethelfrid* was slain, with all the Party of which he had the Conduct. This War was finished by *Ethelfrid*, in the DCIII. year, from the Incarnation of our Lord, and of his Reign, which continued twenty four, the twelfth; the first of *Phocas*, who was then Emperour of the *Romans*. Neither from this time forward to this very day, durst any of the *Scotish* Kings offer to fight against the Nation of the *English*. So much *Beda*, concerning this War betwixt *Ethelfrid* and *Edan*, as for what he writes concerning the Siege of *Chester*, and the slaughter of the Monks of *Bangor*, we must speak of it in our Ecclesiastical matters, because of a question wont to be moved about it concerning *Augustine* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. As for what he says, that none of the *Scotish* Kings durst fight against the Nation of the *English*, to that day, it is to be understood till the year of our Lord DCCXXXI, where at ending his History in another place thereof, he also signifies that the *Scots* which inhabited *Britain*, being content with their own limits, practised nothing against the Nation of the *English*, by craft or fraud. But farther, as to the death of *Ethelfrid*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, writes that *Redwald* challenged him to fight, and they met in the Countrey of the *Jutes*, Eastward of the River, which is called *Idle*. Thence saith he, came a Proverb at this very day in use, that *the River* Idle *was defiled with the Bloud of the* English. He adds, that *Edwin* had lived in exile with *Redwald* seventeen years. As for the place of the Battel, it was fought upon the said River *Idle*; which springing in the Forest of *Shirwood* runneth into the *Trent*, near to *Idleton* in *Notinghamshire*. And whereas *Matthew the Flowergather* placeth this River in the Countrey of the *Jutes* (which we know not how it should be so called, except the Brother and Son of *Hengist*, when they were sent into the North, here planted some Colony) the

Qui plus omnibus Anglorum Primatibus gentem vastabat Britonum. Eccles. Hist. lib. 1. c. 14.

Gen. 49. 27.

Ad Ann. 617.

the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* writes, it was on the Borders of the *Mercians*, which suits well with this place in *Notinghamshire* now mentioned. Sect. 6.

Edwin King.

9. *Ethelfrid* being slain, *Edwin* came to the possession of his Hopes and Wishes, *viz.* the two Kingdoms of the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*, in the seventh year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, in the days of *Clothair* the second King of the *Franks*, in the first year of *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, *A.D.* DCXVII. Being of sufficient years, and taught large Experience by his long Afflictions, he first setled his matters very well at home, and then began to look towards his Neighbours, all whom he compelled to truckle under him, and so far extended his Power or Authority, that of these seven Princes, which during the Heptarchy till the time of *Beda*, commanded the Southern Parts from the River *Humber*, he is reckoned the fifth in order, being in this respect superiour to them all, as well as others hereafter to be mentioned, that whereas Limits or bounds to their Power were set by the River *Humber*, the Border of his Paternal Dominions, and they never pierced into his Power, reached through the extent of their Territories. *Beda*, to explain what he said of the extent of his Power, affirms, that with greater might than any other before him, he ruled over all the People which inhabited *Britain*, as well *Britains* as *English*, these of *Kent* excepted; he subdued to the Command of the *English* Nation, the *Mevaniæ* Islands of the *Britains*, which lye in the Sea betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*. Now whereas the present Copies of *Beda* reade it, *Nevaniæ*, *Camden* tells us, that *Menaviæ* is the right reading, and that *Beda* calleth two Islands by that Name, whereof one he terms *Menavia Prior*, which is *Mona* or the Isle of *Anglesey*, and the other *Menavia secunda*, which is the same with that called *Mona* by *Cæsar*, *Monoeda* by *Ptolemy* (that is as one would say *Moneitha*, or the more remote *Mona*, to put a difference between it, and the other *Mona*, viz. *Anglesey*) by *Pliny Monabia*, and by *Orosius Menavia*, the same which we call the *Isle of Man*, being known to the *Britains* by the Name of *Menow*, and by that of *Maning* to the Inhabitants. As for what *Beda* writes of their situation betwixt *Britain* and *Ireland*, The first *Mona*, or of these *Menaviæ* now called *Anglesey*, since it was conquered by the *English*, but anciently *Mona* by the *Romans*, by the *Britains*, *Mon* and *Tir-Mon*, or the Land of *Mon*, and *Tnis Dowil*, that is a *shadowed or dark Island*; and by the ancient *English Saxons* Mones, lyeth over against the County of *Caernarvan* (which took Name of the chief Town therein, as the Town from the Island) being separated from the Continent of *Britain*, but by a small narrow Strait, and on all parts else is beaten upon by the surging and boistrous *Irish* Ocean. As for the other, or the Isle of *Man*, it is stretched out just in the Mid-level, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* describes it between the Northern Coasts of *Ireland* and *Britain*, and about it, namely to whether of the Countries it ought of Right to appertain, there arose no small controversie amongst the Ancients, which was decided at length by this evidence, that it fostered venemous wormes carried thither for trial, whereupon by a common censure it was adjudged to belong to *Britain*. Yet do the Natives both in Language and Manners come nigheſt to the *Britains*, yet so as therewith they also savour of somewhat derived from those of *Norwey*.

Beda, lib. 2. c. 5. & 9.

Who adds to his Dominion the *Menavian* Islands.

The Situation of the Island *Anglesey*.

Of Man.

De iis Beda lib. 2. c. 9. Quarum prior quæ ad Austrum est & situ amplior, & frugum proventu atque uberitate fœlicior, nonginta sexaginta familiarum mensuram juxta æstimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum & ultra spatium tenet.

10. But more of these Islands upon farther occasion, let us farther inlarge upon what *Beda* saith in short, concerning the Greatness and Power of King *Edwin*. The Monk of *Malmesbury* tells us, that the stiff-necked *Northumbrians* having submitted themselves, the sudden death of *Redwald* was added to the heap of his felicity. For the People of East *England*, during the time of his Exile among them, having had good experience of diligence and vigour, unanimously swore obedience to him, who suffered the Son of *Redwald* (as less he could not doe out of gratitude) to enjoy the bare and empty Title of King, but he managed all things at his pleasure. At that time all the Hope and Help of the *English* were in him, neither was there any Province in *Britain*, which observed not his Orders; and were ready to obey him, but onely those that inhabited *Kent*. Them he suffered to enjoy their freedom and repose because he had a great desire to marry with *Ethelburga*, the Sister of *Eadbald* their King, which Lady having long been a Suitour to, at length he obtained, whereby the two Kingdoms became most like, both as to Government, and the manners of the People. For upon this occasion by the preaching of *Paulus Edwin*, after mature Deliberation, as we shall shew in its proper place, imbraced the Christian Religion, and procured it to be received by his own Subjects. After this so great Blessings were heaped upon him, that not onely the Nations of *Britain*, as the *English Saxons*, *Picts* and *Scots*, but the Islands *Orchades*, and the other called *Menaviæ*, both feared his Arms, and adored his Power.

The East *Angles* swear obedience to him.

And with *Ethelburga* and his Wife *Kent*, and the neighbouring Provinces obey him.

Sect. 6. er. Then was there no publick Robber, no domestick Thief, all such as laid wait for the violation of conjugal Modesty were removed afar off, the Invader of another Man's Inheritance was not to be found, a thing extraordinary, as to his Commendation, and in our Age. His Empire was so far propagated to this effect, that Justice and Peace flourished together, and most happy might the State of the Commonwealth have continued, if immature death, the Step-mother, as the Monk terms it, of temporal happiness, after a kind of ugly Sport, had not deprived his Countrey of him.

11. His sudden death as we are informed by *Beda* himself, was brought about upon this occasion. When he had ruled the Nation both of *English* and *Britains*, most gloriously for the space of seventeen years, whereof five of them he had fought under Christ his Banner, *Caedwalla* the King of *Britains* rebelled against him, who had drawn into his assistence a most stout Captain, *viz. Penda* then King of the *Mercians*. They ingaged in a great and bloudy Battel at a place called *Hethfield*, where *Edwin* on the fourth day of the Ides of *October*, in the year of our Lord DCXXXIII. was slain, being seven and forty years old, and his whole Army was either slain or routed. In the Battel before him a most courageous Son of his called *Offrid* * fell, another called *Eadfrid*, necessity compelling him, went over to *Penda*, who afterward in the Reign of *Oswal* slew him, contrary to his Oath. To this end came this most valiant and prudent Prince, being as *Malmesbury* writes a miserable Spectacle of humane Variety, or that Vicissitude which is incident to humane Affairs, a Prince whom the Course of his Actions and great Success, speak great both in the one Capacity and in the other. As for the Halcyon times which this People enjoyed under his Government; it will not be amiss to note what *Beda* himself observeth of them. At that time, saith he, so great a Peace is reported to have been in *Britain*, whithersoever the Empire of King *Edwin* reached, that (as yet the Proverb is) *If a Woman with a Child in her Armes newly born would travell through the whole Island from Sea to Sea, she might doe it without any Let or Molestation.* The said King moreover so much consulted the Good of his People, that whereever he beheld any Fountains or Springs by the High-ways, there for the refreshment of Travellers he caused Posts to be erected, and brazen Dishes to be hung upon them; neither would any body touch them except for their present use, either for the greatness of the fear they had of him, or of the Love they bare unto him. He was of such esteem in his Kingdom, that not onely in Battel were Banners born before him, but in time of Peace as he rode through the Cities, Towns or Provinces together with his Attendants an Ensign-bearer was wont to goe. Nay when he passed along in the Streets in all places, that kind of Banner which the *Romans* call *Tufa*, and the *English Thunf*, were wont to be born before him.

A Rebellion.

In which *Edwin* is slain.

His commendation.

* *Cum Godbaldo Rege Orchadum inquit Math. Florilegus, Ad Ann.* 634.

Lib. 2. *c.* 16.

12. *Edwin* being slain in Battel, the Provinces of the *Northumbrians* were in a most sad Estate. Of the two Captains that overthrew him, the one being a Pagan, and the other as he terms him a Barbarian, both Religion and all things civil went to wreck; while the one raged against the Church, and the other against the Laity, of which he spared neither any Sex nor any Age or Condition, subjecting as well Women as Men, innocent Babes, as those of ripe years to death, and most cruel Tortures, which continued no small time; for *Cadwall* studied how together with their destruction, he might root the whole *English Saxon* Nation out of *Britain*. And though a Christian he was himself, yet did he not shew any respect to their Religion, the Custome of the *Britains*, saith *Beda*, being at this very day to set at nought the Faith and Religion of the *English Saxons*, neither will they have any thing to doe with them more than *Pagans*. The head of the slain King was brought to *York*, and there deposited in the Church of St. *Peter*, which he himself had begun, and *Oswald* his Successour perfected. All things being in confusion in those Parts, and no refuge or safety any where to be expected. *Æthelburga* the Queen returned by Sea into *Kent*, together with *Paulinus* the Archbishop, that brought her where she was very kindly and honourably received by *Eadbald* her Brother. With *Bassus* also a most valiant Souldier of *Edwin*'s, went *Eanfleda* the King's Daughter, as also *Uscfrea* his Son, and *Iffi* the Son of his Son *Osfride*, whom their Mother afterward for fear of *Eadbald* and *Oswald*, the Kings, sent into *France*, to the King her friend to be brought up; and there they both died in their Infancy.

The Conquerour's Cruelty.

Beda lib. 2. *c. ult.*

13. But after the death of *Edwin*, *Osrick* the Son of *Elfrick* his Uncle by the Fathers side, obtained to be King of the *Deiri*, from the Province of whom he was issued, and had received his Royalty as well as Birth. On the Kingdom of the

Beda Hist. lib. 3. *c.* 1.

Sect. 6.

In *Bernicii* *Eaufred* obtained to be King.

the *Bernicii* seized *Eaufrid* the Son of *Edelfrid*, who in like manner was issued out of this Province. For during the Reign of *Edwin*, the Sons of *Edelfrid*, with many more of the younger sort of Nobility lived in Exile, either with the *Scots* or *Picts*. Both these Kings abjured the Christian Religion, which they had learnt, and professed in banishment, and were shortly after cut off by *Cadwalla* the *Britain*, who now thinking the time might be come to drive the *English Saxons* out of their once unjustly obtained possessions, and to restore the Island to its ancient Owners, omitted nothing that might rationally tend to the bringing of this about. In the very Summer following the death of *Edwin*, he fell suddenly upon *Osrick*, when he never expected him, and cut him off with his whole Army. After this he raged like a cruel Tyrant in these provinces for a year, at the end whereof, when *Eaufrid* came to him, but with twelve in his Company to treat of peace, he treated him in the selfsame manner. That year, saith *Beda*, is still at this day accounted unlucky and hatefull to all good Men, both in respect of the Apostacy of these *English* Kings, who renounced their Baptism, as for the less Tyranny of this *British* King. Whereupon it was agreed by all, that computed the times of these Princes, to abolish the memory of these perfidious Kings, and to assign the said year to the Reign of blessed King *Oswald*, who after the death of his Brother *Eaufrid*, coming with a small power of Men, but fortified by faith in Christ, that cursed Captain of the *Britains*, with his vast Army which he boasted nothing could resist, was slain in a place which in the Language of the *English* is called *Denisesburna*, or the Brook of *Denis*. The place, saith our Authour, is shewn at this day, and had in great Veneration, where *Oswald* being to fight erected the sign of the Cross, and kneeling down, besought Almighty God that he would Succour his Servants in this day of their Necessity. He himself laboured at the Erection of the Cross, which finished, he spake aloud to the whole Army: Let us kneel down and jointly pray unto the Omnipotent living and true God, that he would mercifully defend us from the proud Enemy, for he knows that we undertake a just War for defence of our Nation. The place is in the *English* Tongue called *Heofonfeld*, or *Heavenly Field*, lying near to the Wall which the *Romans* built from Sea to Sea, for the restraining the insolent Inrodes of Barbarians.

Both slain by *Cadwalla* the *Britain*.

Who was afterward kill'd by *Oswald* their Successour.

Vide dicitur Iædes Cadwallæ Divisi cursus coercuit. Huntingd. l.3.

14. It's still at this day for the same reason, as some would have it, called *Hæledon* near to *Scilicester*, in the Wall in the County of *Northumberland*, where was a Church built in Honour of St. *Cuthert* and King *Oswald*, but the Name of the King hath so obscured the light of the other Saint, that the old Name being quite gone, it's now known onely by that of St. *Oswald*. For the place where *Cadwalla* was slain, the present Printed Copy of *Beda* hath it *Devisesburna*, and King *Alfrede*'s Translation *Denisburne*, but *Camden* read it in *Beda*, *Devilesburn*, a little River running into *Tine*, which gave to a Mansion House upon it, the Name of *Divelston*, as in old Records it's found written, now called *Dilston*, belonging in his time to the *Ratcliffs*. After this Victory atchieved, *Oswald* governed his Dominions with great Justice and Tranquillity, being so humble, so tender hearted, and bountifull to the poor, that he behaved himself indeed as a true Father of his Countrey. This his Goodness is said to have been crowned with remarkable Success, so that his Empire, he extended farther than any of his Predecessours; for as some write all the Nations * of *Britain* submitted to his Command, not onely the *English* and *Britains*, but the *Picts* and *Scots* themselves, which good Fortune did not puff him up, but he continued as humble and merciful as ever. But that neither he nor any other good man might place his happiness in this world, at last an alteration was made, and an end happened to him, contrary to his beginning: By his Industry and Prudence the Provinces of the *Deiri* and *Bernicii*, which formerly had disagreed were lovingly and fast united together. But in reference to his Neighbours abroad, matters stood in another posture, who, however they might for a while submit unto him, and acquiesce under his most mild Administration, yet it seems either counting this subjection, how mild soever it was, a slavery, or provoked by the Rulers of the *Britains*, and especially *Peuda* the King of the *Mercians*, they were perswaded (a great Party at least) to revolt from their professed obedience. The matter flew so high, that *Peuda* led his Pagan Subjects the *Mercians* forth against him, and they met at a place called *Masenfeld*, where a great and most bloudy Battel being fought, he had the same ill fortune his Uncle *Edwin* had (whose Nephew he was by his Sister *Ava*) being with Multitudes of his followers slain upon the place on the fifth day of *August*, in the thirty eighth (or the thirty seventh, as King *Alfred*'s Translation hath it) of his Age, when he had reigned nine years, as the Ancient Annalists reckoned, but

**Denique omnes Nationes & Provincias Britanniæ, quæ in quatuor linguas, (id est Britonum, Pictorum, Scotorum, Anglorum) divisæ sunt in ditionem accepit, &c. Beda lib.3.c 6.*

Peuda and his *Mercians* rebell.

In the conflict *Oswald* is slain.

Unde dicitur Campus Mesafeld sanctorum canduit ossibus. Huntingd. l.3.

Sect. 6. but in this Number must be included that year which, as we formerly said, the Apostasie of the *English* Kings, and Tyranny of the *British* rendred so odious to them, as that they would not assign it to them, but rather abolish its memory. *Peuda* the cruel Pagan after he had slain him, contented not himself with his bare death, but having killed him, tore his Body in pieces and fixed it upon three Stakes as a Spectacle of terrour. The Place is at this day called *Oswestre* or *Oswalstre*, in *British*, *Croix Oswalds*, a little Town upon the West Frontier of *Shropshire*, not far from the River *Severn*. It was not long since inclosed with a Ditch and a Wall, and it had very good Traffick, especially of slight and thin *Welsh* Cottons. It seems to have had its first Original from Devotion to this King and Saint. But it was built by *Modoc* the Brother of *Mereduc* (as *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan* wrote) and the *Fitz Allans* being *Normans* and Earls of *Arundell*, who afterwards came to be Lords of it, walled it about. The Eclipses of the Sun in *Aries* have been most dangerous unto it, for twice when that Luminary was in that Sign, did it suffer very great Calamity by fire. *Apud Cambdenum in Shropsh.*

In *Bernicia* *Oswi*. 15. *Oswald* dying in this manner, *Oswi* his Brother succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, a young Man of about thirty years of Age; but *Oswin* the Son of *Osrick* obtained that of *Deira* in the third year of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, in the Reign of *Dagobert* King of the *Franks*, *A.D.* DCXLIII. These two Kings being thus as it were Partners in the Throne, agreed, as is usual in such Cases. Differences were ever arising betwixt them, and at length grew to such an height, as one could not subsist if the other continued. They raised Forces on each side; but *Oswin* perceiving he was overmatched in Number, thought it not fit to fight, but to reserve himself to better times; he therefore Disbanded his Army, commanding every Man to repair to his own Home from a place called *Wilfares Dun*, or the Hill of *Wilfare*, about ten Miles South-West from the Village *Cataracto*. He himself withdrew, with one onely faithfull Souldier in his Company called *Tondhere*, to the House of a Count named *Hunvald* whom he esteemed as most sure to him; but it proved far otherwise, for by him he was betrayed, and slain by command of *Oswi* together with his trusty *Tondhere*, on the thirteenth of the Calends of *Semptember* in the ninth year of his Reign in a place called *Ingerlingum*. This *Oswin* was a Man of a beautifull Aspect, tall of Stature, Affable, Courteous, and very Bountifull, which Endowments both of Mind and Body procured him such Reputation, that he was by all men beloved, and many most Noble Persons out of all the Provinces thought themselves happy if they could but get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and singular Modesty were remarkable, whereof *Beda* gives us this Instance. "*Oswin* bestowed an excellent Horse upon *Aidan* the famous Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, but the Bishop when a Poor Man asked Almes, gave him the Horse with all the rich Furniture upon him. The King hearing of this, as they were going in to Dinner, said to him: My * Lord Bishop, Why would you give that Royal Horse that was for your own Saddle, to a Poor Man? Have we not many worse Horses and other things which would serve the Poor, instead of this Horse I made choice of for your own Person? The Bishop instantly replyed, King, what do you say? *Is that Son of a Mare more dear to you than that Son of God?* With that they went in to Dinner, the Bishop to his Seat; but the King being come from Hunting, sate him down by the Fire with his Attendants. But remembring what the Bishop had said, he rose suddenly up, and giving his Sword to his Servant, went hastily to him, at whose feet he fell and besought him not to be angry, affirming he would never after speak or concern himself, whatever he gave of his Money to the Children of God. The Bishop was wonderfully amazed, and rising hastily, raised him up; telling him he was very well pleased if he would but sit down to Dinner, and be chearfull. The King then at his Request began to be merry, but the Bishop began to be very sad, so as he shed Tears, of which his Priest taking notice, in their own Language (they were both *Scots*) which neither *Oswin* nor his Servants understood, demanded the reason. I know (saith he) that the King will not live long: For till this time I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend, that he will speedily be taken away by Death; for this Nation is not worthy of such a Governour. Not long after was this sad Presage of the Bishop fulfilled in the Murther of *Oswin*. And *Aidan* lived but till the twelfth day after his Death, dying himself on the last of *August*.

In *Deira* *Oswin* succeeds.

Who differ.

And *Oswin* by the others command is slain.

His Character.

Lib.3. c.14.

* *Domine Antistes, quod Rex Alfredus vertit; Min Domne Biscop. Batavi hodie similiter Sacerdotem titulo Domini salutant. Min Hlaford adhuc non erat in usu, quae compellatio in hodiernam, My Lord, transiit.*

16. *Oswi*

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16. *Oswi* having removed his Equal, whom he much grudged, yet did not find himself freed from trouble by that unworthy Act. He found continual fears and trouble from the *Mercians*, *Peuda* their King never ceasing to cast one Rub or other in his way. Yet passed there several Acts of kindness and indearment, as one would have imagined betwixt the Families. *Peuda* had a Son called *Peada*, who being a young man, for his good Endowments accounted worthy of a Kingdom, was by his Father appointed to the government of their Nation. He came into *Northumberland* to *Oswi*, desiring his Daughter *Alkflede* in Marriage, which he could not obtain except he and his Subjects received the Christian Religion. He upon hearing what was preached concerning the promise of an Eternal Kingdom, the hope of a Resurrection and Immortal Life, professed himself a Believer, though he never should obtain the young Lady, being much induced to this Belief by the Perswasions of *Alfrid* the Son of *Oswi*, his Friend and Kinsman, who had Married his Sister *Cyniburg* the Daughter of *Peuda*. Notwithstanding these Alliances, *Beda* tells us, that *Oswi* suffered frequent, most bitter and Intolerable Eruptions from the said King of the *Mercians* who had slain his Brother. Necessity often inforcing him, he often presented him with Gifts innumerable, therewith to purchase Peace, and prevent the utter ruine of his Dominions. The perfidious Prince did not conform himself to his Desires, but resolved to root out and destroy all his People little and great, which *Oswi* perceiving, betook himself to Divine assistence, vowing, in case he obtained the Victory over him, to Consecrate his Daughter as a Nun to perpetual Virginity, and to pass over twelve Possessions for the building of Monasteries. Armed more by Faith than any Carnal Hope he could have of Victory, he gave Battel to the Enemy, who is said to have brought into the Field thirty times as many men, thirty Legions whereof each was headed by a skilfull Leader. These Forces he and *Alckfrid* his Son ingaged with a very small Army. He had another Son *Egfrid* by Name, who was at this time an Hostage in *Mercia* with *Cinoise* the Queen.

Oswi and *Peuda* quarrel.

Beda, lib. 3. *c.* 21.

Ibid. lib. 3. *c.* 24.

17. *Ethilwald* the Son of *Oswald* who rul'd in *Deira*, though he ought to have been assisting to them, as good *Beda* observes, was at this time on the contrary side, and commanded a Party which was to ingage against his Countrey and his Uncle, but when they came to fight he withdrew himself, and in a safe place expected the event of the Battel. When they joyned, thirty Pagan Captains were soon slain or routed, and all the Auxiliaries in a manner cut off; amongst whom was *Ædilhere* the Brother and Successour of *Auna* King of the East *Angles*, who had blown the Coals betwixt the two Kings, and been the great Causer of the War. The Battel being fought near the River *Viaved*, which then through excess of Rain was overflown, it happened that more perished by the Waters than by the Sword. It was fought by King *Oswi* in the Countrey of *Loidis* on the seventeenth of the Calends of *December*, and the thirteenth year of his Reign, to the great advantage of both the Nations. For he both freed his own People from the Hostile Invasions of the Pagans, and the other of the *Mercians* and the Neighbouring Provinces, *Peuda* their Head being now cut off, he reduced quickly to the Christian Faith. This *Loidis* is that eminent Town in the West Riding of *Torkshire*, now called *Leeds*, which became an House of the Kings when *Cambodunum* was burnt to the ground, a rich Town (so lately it was) by means of clothing. The very place of the Fight Writers call *Winwidfield*, which Name we may suppose was given it of the Victory; like as a Place in *Westphalia* where *Quintilius Varus* with his Legions was slain, is in the *Dutch* Tongue called *Winfield* or the *Field of Victory*, as *Ortelius* hath observed. The little Region or Territory about it, which *Beda* mentions, was in old time called by the Name of *Elmet*: and was conquered by *Edwin* the Son of *Ælla* King of *Northumberland*, after he had thence expelled *Careticus* the *British* King in the year of our Lord DCXX.

A Battel ensues in which *Peuda* is slain.

Regi Alfredo Pinpæce.

In Regione Loidis, on ðam lande ða Loidisatte.

Cambden.

18. The death of *Peuda*, who had been the death of so many Kings, caused in all places out of his own Territories very great rejoycing, which as well the Affinity and Consanguinity wherein several were conjoyned to them he had slain, may perswade us to believe, as the Song that was made upon this occasion. *Oswi* so plied his business and followed on the stroak of his late Victory, that he brought

To the joy of all men.

In Winwed amne vendicata est cædes Aunæ, cædes hoc modo; In

Regum Sigeberti & Egrici, cædes Oswaldi & Edwini. Sic Math. Florileg. ad Ann. 655. *at vero Huntingdon Winwed amne vindicata est cædes Aunæ, cædes Regum Sigbert & Ecgnice, cædes Regum Oswald & Edwine.*

to

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to his beck all the Kingdom of *Mercia* for three years after the death of *Peuda*, together with all the other Southern Provinces (as his Brother before him had done) and the greatest part of these belonging to the *Picts*. Yet was he so good natur'd as to bestow on *Peada* the Son of *Peuda*, because he had Married his Daughter, and was his Kinsman, the Kingdom of the Southern *Mercians* separated from the Northern *Mercians* by the River of *Trent*, whereof the Southern in those days contained five thousand Families, and the Northern seven. But the *Easter* following *Peada* was murthered, and that as was reported by Conspiracy of his Wife. Three years being completed after the death of *Peuda*, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadberht*, advanced to the Throne *Wulfhere* his Son a Youth whom they hid from danger, which done they revolted from *Oswi*, whose Governours driving away, they valiantly defended the Liberties of their King and Countrey. Of *Oswi* there's not much more remarkable. His good demeanour to his People in great measure obliterated that bloudy Crime of murthering *Oswin*; but this *Beda* testifies of him, that with very great pains he maintained his Dignity, which is not onely applicable to the great Industry he used for attainment of that power, at which he arrived (he being the seventh of the most powerfull Kings amongst the *English Saxons*, as his Brother *Oswald* is by *Beda* reckoned the Sixth) but in relation to the perpetual troubles and dangers he underwent, not onely brought upon him by *Peuda* the *Mercian* King, but by *Æthilwald* the Son of his Brother, who by some is said to have succeeded *Oswin*, nay his own Son *Athfrid*; this being the ordinary Lot and Portion of men of bloud. He reigned most painfully twenty and eight years, and died on the first of *March* in the fifty eighth year of his Age.

Peada his Son murthered.

Oswi Dies.

Translato ergo ad cœlestia Regna Oswaldo, suscepit Regni terrestris sedem pro eo frater ejus Oswi Juvenis triginta circiter annorum, & per annos viginti octo laboriosissimè tenuit, &c. Beda, lib.3. c. 14. Florentius Wigorn. ad An. 673.

19. *Oswi* being dead, *Egfrid* his Legitimate Son succeeded him in the third year of *Constantine* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, the seventh of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, during the Reign of *Childerick* the Second, King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* DCLXXI, or the year before, as *Beda* placeth it. His Father being sickly toward his latter end, could not prosecute *Wulfhere*, who had set up for himself in *Mercia*, and therefore left to him a War as Hereditary, which he so prosecuted, as that he drove *Wolfhere* out of *Lindsey*, and recovered it again to his Paternal Territories. Thus much is onely hinted to us by *Beda*; how long he kept it is utterly uncertain. For *Malmsbury* falling foul upon him for his Impiety, shewed in the malitious prosecuting of Bishop *Wilfride*, adds, that towards humble Suppliants he was proud and harsh, a Disease wherewith all Tyrants are infected; that on the contrary against Rebels he was sluggish and lazy, and defacing the Triumphs of his Father lost the Empire of the *Mercians*, and being beaten in Battel by *Ethelrede* the Son of *Peuda*, lost also his Brother. In the second year of the Reign of *Egfrid*, there was a wonderfull great Fight of Birds, many thousands of them being killed, and the Foreigners seemed to be worsted. This might seem to betoken that great Fight which was fought eight years after near the River of *Trent*, betwixt *Egfrid* and the said King *Æthelrede*; where, as the same Authour *Beda* tells us was slain, *Esewin* the Brother of *Egfrid*, a young man very much beloved by the People of both the Provinces, whose Sister by Name *Ostrith* the said *Æthelrede* had married. This Battel it seems did not, together with the young Prince's life, put a Period to the Controversie. For *Beda* writes that more new matter of a more sharp War and longer enmity arose betwixt the angry Kings and their People, till *Theodore* the Bishop by his Diligence and Intercession took up the Quarrel, and prevented the dreadfull mischiefs which thereupon would have followed; making this Agreement, that Bloud should not be required for the Bloud of *Elsewin*, but his Brother should be contented with a certain Sum of money to be paid by *Æthelrede*. And the Peace made upon this occasion continued a long time betwixt these Kings and their Kingdoms.

Egfrid succeeds.

Who chastises *Wulfere* the *Mercian* for revolting.

Lib. 4. c. 12. Cum quibus & Edhadus in provincia Lindisfarorum, quam nuperrimè Rex Egfridus, superato in bello & fugato Wulfhero detinuerat, ordinatur Episcopus. Math. Florilegus ad Ann. 671. Lib. 4. c. 21.

Fights *Æthelrede* the *Mercian* King.

An Agreement made betwixt them.

20. But though *Egfrid* had peace with the *Mercians*, and on this side the Sea, he was of so restless an humour, that finding no work in *Britain*, he must needs transfer his Arms over into *Ireland*, in the year of our Lord DCLXXXIV. under Command of one *Berht*, he sent an Atmy over thither, and miserably wasted that Nation, which was both innocent, and always most friendly to that of the *English*, neither Churches nor Monasteries being any whit spared. The *Ilanders* or *Scots* did what they could, both by repelling force with force, and putting up their Prayers to Heaven for Divine Assistence. And although, saith he, Cursers cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, yet was it believed that they who were now deservedly cursed for their Impiety, were suddenly punished by the just judgment of Almighty God. For in the year following this King *Egfrid*, without any mature advice, leading out his Army to waste the Countrey of the *Picts*, though

He Invades *Ireland*.

Sect. 6.

And is there slain with his whole Army.

though his Friends earnestly laboured to dissuade him, and amongst others, St. *Cuthbert*, who was newly then ordained Bishop, he was by the cunning Enemy, who counterfeited a flight drawn within the straits of unpassable Mountains, and with the greatest part of the Forces he brought along with him, cut off, in the fortieth year of his Age, and the fifteenth of his Reign, on the thirteenth day, before the Calends of *June*. As I said, saith *Beda*, his Friends advised him against this War, but as the foregoing year he would not hear the most Reverend Father *Ecgberht*, when he dehorted him from offering violence to *Scotland*, which had nothing hurt him, as a punishment to him for that sin, it came to pass that now he would not hear them who strove to prevent his utter overthrow. And from this time it was that the hopes and valour of the *English* Empire began to decay and dwindle. For both the *Picts* recovered the Land of their Possession, which the *English* and *Scots*, that inhabited *Britain*, held, and some Part of the *Britains* obtained their Liberty which they still retain for the space of forty six years. Amongst many others of the *English* Nation, which were either slain by the Sword, condemned to bondage, or fled for their lives from the Land of the *Picts*, *Trumwin* the most Reverend Man of God, was one who had been a Bishop amongst them, but now came back with those that belonged to him in the Monastery of *Ebbercurnig*, which stood indeed in the Countrey of the *English*, but bordered upon the *Frith*, which separated their Territories from those of the *Picts*. These be the words of *Beda*, who diligently distinguishes in several places, the *Scots* that inhabited *Scotland*, from the *Scots* that inhabited *Britain*, but when he mentions *Scotia* or *Scotland*, he means onely one Countrey thereby, and that is *Ireland*.

To the ruine of the *English*.

Ex quo tempore, spes cœpit & virtus Regni Anglorum fluere ac retrò sublapsa referri. Beda, l. 4. c. 26.

Alfride succeeds him.

21. *Egfrid* being slain, *Alfride* or *Aldfrid* his Brother, and the Son of *Oswi*, succeeded him, in the first year of the Emperour *Justinian* the younger, the first of *Edrich* King of *Kent*, in the Reign of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*. A. D. DCLXXXVI. *Malmsbury* writes, that *Oswi* had but two Sons, whereof the spurious being rejected, the legitimate succeeded him in his Kingdom, which was *Egfrid*; yet a little after, he tells us that *Egfrid* in the Battel fought with *Ethelrede*, the Son of *Peuda* lost his Brother, and after this he writes, how the news of his Death flying all over, at last came to the Ears of his Brother *Alfrid*, who being base born, although the elder, was by the Nobility thought not fit to Reign, and either by constraint, or out of indignation, went into *Ireland*, where being secure from the hatred of his Brother, and having leisure sufficient to follow his Studies, he much bettered his mind by the precepts of Philosophy. If he retired in this manner into *Ireland*, then from all these passages we may guess that the indignation and jealousie of his Brother follow him thither, and hence it is that we may fetch the account of his sending an Army into that Island. Therefore they who formerly refused him, now when they had need of him, and considered his worth, betook themselves to Intreaties, so well satisfied was he with the present condition of his Life. But when he had once undertaken what was offered, he gave them no cause to repent them of their choice, being a Man mighty in the Scriptures, and so carefull of the Duty incumbent upon him, that for nineteen years he Governed his People in great Peace, and with as great Applause, having no other flaw in the whole course of his Administration, but what they find concerning his Persecution of Bishop *Wilfride*. Yet was his Kingdom contained within much narrower Bounds, than in the days of his Father and Brother. For the *Picts* making an insolent use of their Victory, set upon the *English*, whom long quiet and ease had rendred less fit for resistence, and made bold to justle them out of some of their Territories lying toward the North, or to subdue and bring them under their Yoke, though they still inhabited these Countries. And never after could they recover their liberty, and reunite themselves with the *English* their Brethren, by the *Picts* coming to be subject to the *Scots*, though their Language at this day sufficiently discovers their Original.

The occasion of *Egfrid's* invading *Ireland*.

Osrede made King.

22. After *Alfrede* his Son, *Osrede* was made King in the sixth year of *Tiberius Apsimarus* Emperour; the twelfth of *Withrede* King of *Kent*, in the days of *Childebert* the second King of the *Franks*, A. D. DCCIIII. He was but a Child of eight years old, but shewed himself soon enough to be of sufficient Age to be vitious. He Reigned but eleven years, and was famous for nothing, infamous for his uncleanness, which could not be kept within the bounds of ordinary voluptuousness, but extended to the very Cloysters, where he violated the Virginity of those that were, as their Relations imagined, secured against such attempts by a Religious

Is very debauch'd.

Sect. 6.

And at last Murthered.

Veil. These courses brought him into such hatred, even of his own kindred, that to prevent one sin, they committed a greater by taking away his Life, when he hoped he had scarcely spent one quarter of it. Yet had they that removed him out of the way to take his place, supplied as well the want of Eminence and Vertue, as of Royalty, they might have been more excusable, at least it would have partly covered and concealed the blackness of the Parricide; but *Kenred*, who went after him took the Throne, and therein sate for two years, and after him *Osric*, who Reigned eleven, did nothing memorably, or which could call them worthy of that Dignity to which they advanced themselves. *Osric* indeed in this, had the advantage of the other, that he did not first leap into the Chair of the murthre'd Prince, and before his death, adopted *Celwulf* or *Ceolwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* for his Successour. This is that *Ceolwulf* to whom *Beda* dedicates his Ecclesiastical History, at the end whereof he signifies, that this King was embraced with great difficulties, and how he would extricate himself, or what end they would have, was utterly uncertain. What these Difficulties were, he tells us not, either because he would not burn his finger by medling with matters of his own time, or for that his design was to write an Ecclesiastical History onely, which seems to have been his drift, for else he might doubtless have given up a more large account of what he has left, but a mere scantling, a few remarks, and those but by the bye, as they were necessary to be brought in for making way to, or Illustrating some other matters relating for the most part to the Cloyster. As for *Ceolwulf*, we are told he was so edified with what he read in the History of *Beda*, that desirous to be of the Number of those Kings who had exchanged their Crowns for Cowls, he at length resigned his Kingdom and betook himself to a Monastery. Or rather he was wearied with these difficulties he found in reigning, and however his Crown seemed glorious to the eyes of the Beholders, felt the weight of it so great, that he was not satisfied till he was eased of his burthen, which he cast off from his Head after he had governed eight years, and in the Monastery of *Lindesfnare*, took upon him the Monkish Habit. He was not descended from the Loins of the late Kings of the *Northumbrians*, but in another Line descended from *Ida*. He was the Son of *Cutha*, whose Fore-fathers were *Cuthwin*, *Lethewold*, *Egwold*, *Aldelm*, *Oga* and *Ida*.

Kenred succeeds.

Then *Osric*.

Next *Ceolwulf*.

Who turns Monk.

Math. Florilegus, Henricus Huntingd.

23. But he quitted not the Government before he had provided his People of another King. This was *Egbert* his Uncles Son, as *Malmesbury* calls him, but *Huntingdon* tells us he was the Son of *Ecca*, who was Son to *Lethwold* or *Ledwold*; and as he, as the Flowergatherer hath it, was Son to one *Ceolwolf*, so that he could not be of that Line, but now mentioned, yet he calls him his Kinsman too. Whoever he was, he began his Reign in the two and twentieth year of *Leo Isaurus* the Emperour, the thirteenth of *Edbert* King of *Kent*, the thirtieth of *Selrede* King of the East *Saxons*, in the days of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* DCCXXXVIII. We can tell the Reader that he Reigned, but what he did particularly in his Reign, he as well as we must still be ignorant, *Beda* having told us but little of these Civil Matters; but after his time no one of any tolerable Abilities, having taken any care to transmit any thing of moment to posterity, so that we have little more than the bare Names. But that he laudably governed, *Malmesbury* tells, treading in the steps of good Princes. He had a Brother basely born it seems, and of his own Name in his time Archbishop of *York*, who as *Alcuin* the Schoolmaster of *Charles* the Great left in writing, did very much for the advancement of learning, and others add, that it was in Conjunction with, and by the assistence of, the King his Brother. The King did so well agree with the Archbishop, and so emulated him in Religion, that needs he must be Religious too, and more Religious, having his Crown shaven and turn Monk after he had Reigned twenty years, leaving his Kingdom to his Son *Oswulfe*. He being not able to steer the Helm, was, though an Innocent, thrown over-board to make way for *Mollo*, when he had born the Name of King little more than a year. *Mollo* held it stoutly and laboriously eleven years; but was then served in the same manner, as he or others for him had used his Predecessour, by the Devices of *Alrede* who got his Place. *Alrede* so ingratiated himself with the People, and so plied his work that he held it for nine, but in his tenth was compelled by them that now said they were not his Subjects to give way to *Ethelbert* the Son of *Mollo*. But he was but a King of the second Head neither; in the fifth year they Loyally failed again, and out they drove him.

Egbert made King.

Huntingdon Egbricht. Florilego Eadbert.

Habuit fratrem æquivocum Archiepiscopum Eboraci, qui & sua prudentia & germani potentia sedem illam in genuinum statum reformavit, &c. Malmesb. Lib. 1.

Who turning Monk leaves his Kingdom to *Oswulfe*.

He is succeeded by *Mollo*.

Then *Alrede* Reigns.

Next *Ethelbert*.

24. Then

Then *Celwold.* 24. Then was *Celwold* proclaimed King, who was Brother to *Alerede*, and he made a shift for eleven years to make good his Hold. But the People were now so used to making and unmaking Kings, that after these years he tasted of their perfidious humour being with Innocency sent to Heaven as his famous Sepulchre at *Hagulstade*, and the Miracles which they said they saw sufficiently testified to that then repenting Age. To his merit sure it must be ascribed, that his Nephew *Osrede* the Son of *Alerede* succeeded him, but being got in, he could not keep Possession; for scarcely had he enjoyed his Royalty one year, but *Ethelbert* (or *Athelrede*, or *Ethelwald*) the Son of *Mollo* drove him out, and recovered his Seat after twelve years of exile, which he held for four more, which once past, he could not escape the common calamity of his Predecessours, but was miserably slain. Some said he was justly punished for the unjust putting of *Osrede* to Death, with whose Resignation he ought in conscience to have been contented: but many Bishops, and Noblemen who had more sense than their Neighbours, were so weary of these perpetual Disturbances and Murthers, that they left thereupon their Native Countrey. Nay, *Charles* the Great was so incensed, that as *Alcuin* wrote, having delivered Letters and Presents to Messengers, to be delivered to this *Ethelrede* when he heard how he was murthered, he exclaimed against this perfidious, perverse Nation, the Murtherers of their Lords, affirming they were worse than Pagans; and if *Alcuin* had not interceded, whatever good he could have hindred, or mischief he was in a capacity to doe, would have been performed against them. So great a terrour did this cursed custome strike in all the Nobility, that he being dead, no Candidates appeared for the Kingdom; for considering the fresh example of others, they chose rather to sleep in a whole skin and live in obscurity, than venture upon so dangerous, nay pernicious Royalty; most of the *Northumbrian* Kings having come to an untimely end. Therefore was the Countrey without a King, for the space of thirty and three years, and became a derision and a Prey to all the neighbours. The *Danes* had before this begun to make Inrodes and Depredations in those parts, and such as had once been in them, shewing the great booty they carried back to their Countreymen, and telling them of the baseness and sluggishness of the Inhabitants, so stirred them up with the greatness, yea easiness of the enterprize, that the Barbarians flocked thick and three fold, and seized on those Quarters untill the time lately mentioned. For they had a King (rather a *Regulus*) of their own several years, who yet truckled under the King of the West *Saxons*: and the forementioned thirty three years being over, King *Egbert* obtained this together with the other Countries.

Sect. 6.

To whom succeeded *Osrede.* Who was outed by *Ethelbert.*

An *Interregnum* for thirty odd years.

At length *Egbert* is made King.

25. Thus have we presented the Reader with what the Histories of these Times afford concerning this Kingdom of *Northumberland*; more we could not, except instead of a true Account of things, we should take the trade of Writing Romances. Concerning the limits of this Kingdom in general, and the *Deiri* and *Bernicii* betwixt themselves to that short Account we have already given, we shall farther add that as to its Northern Border it was terminated by that Southern Part of *Scotland*, which on the East and West is limited by the *German*, and *Irish* Seas, on the South by that *Bay* called *Æstuarium Solviacum*, or *Solway Frith*, and the River *Tweede*. Northerly by the *Frith* of *Dunbrittan*, and that of *Edenburgh*; for that this Kingdom extended it self to both these *Friths*, whereof the one limited the Kingdom of the *Scots*, and the other that of the *Picts*, is most evident both from the Writings of *Beda*, and other most certain Testimonies. But to the Distinction of the Provinces of *Deira*, and *Bernicia*, amongst themselves Authours do very much differ. *Ralph* of *Chester* from *Alphred* of *Beverly* affirms, that the Kingdom of the *Deiri* reached from the River *Humber* to that of *Tyne*; and the Kingdom of the *Bernicii* from the River of *Tyne*, as far as the *Scotish* Sea, with whom agrees the Monk of *Malmesbury*, onely adding to the *Scotch* Sea this note, *Where now stands the Town of St.* John *of St.* Johnston. But *Richard* the Prior of *Hagulstade*, in the beginning of his Book concerning the State of his Church, hath these words. Deira *beginning at* Humber, *ended at the River* Tees: and of this opinion was *Humphrey Lhuyd* that excellent Antiquary. *Cambden* sometimes assigns the River *Tees*, sometime the River *Tyne*, as the common limit of these Provinces; and *John* of *Tinmuth* in the Life of St. *Oswald* seems to reconcile the Controversie in this manner. *The Kingdom of the* Deiri *anciently extended it self from the*

The limits of the Kingdom of *Deiri*, and *Bernicii.*

Vide Usserium in Addend. & Emendand. Primord. P. p. 1003. 1003.

Sect. 6. *River* Humber, *to the River* Tyne: *that of the* Bernicii *from the River* Tyne (*rather* Tees) *as far as the* Scotch *Sea, which in the* Scotch *Language is called* Forth. *For all the ground which lay between the Rivers,* Tyne *and* Tees *in those Days was onely a waste or Desart, and therefore was under the Jurisdiction of neither, being onely a Receptacle, and Habitation of Wild Beasts.* The same thing is observed in the *Scotch* Chronicle of *John Fordon.*

26. Indeed we we reade in the Ecclesiastical History of *Beda*, That *Eata who governed the Province of the* Bernicii *had his Episcopal See in the Church of* Hagustald *or* Lindisfarne. Therefore that not onely the Church of *Durham* (to which after the death of *Beda* the See of *Lindisfarne* was translated) but that of *Hagustald* on this side the River *Tyne* may not be removed out of the Province of the *Bernicii*, wherein *Beda*, and not he alone placeth it; we are forced to assign the River *Tees* rather than *Tyne*, as the common limit of these two petty Kingdoms. By this means the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and that we now call the County of *Northumberland*, must be assigned to the Eastern Part of *Bernicia*; and to the Western, all that Kingdom of *Cumberland*, which after the Eversion of this of the *Northumbrian Angles*, was settled betwixt the River *Derwent*, and the *Frith* of *Dunbrittan*, by the *Cambrobritains* or *Welshmen*. For *Cumbria*, or *Cumberland* took the Name of the Inhabitants who were true and Natural *Britains*, and called themselves in their own Language *Kumbri* and *Kambri*: and Histories testifie that here they remained a long time in despight of the *English Saxons*, however they fretted and stormed thereat. *Marianus* himself testifieth as much, who terms this Countrey *Cumbrorum terram*, or the Land of the *Cumbri*, or *Britains*, and to it bear mention the *British* Names, which in this Tract very many places still bear, as *Caerluel*, *Caerdronoc*, *Penrith*, *Penrodocke*, and the like. Late it was, as we said, e'er it was subject to the *English Saxons*, and when their state became sore shaken by *Danish* Wars, and was run to ruine; it had peculiar Governours called Kings of *Cumberland*, till the Year of our Lord DCCCCXLVI, at what time King *Edmund* by help of *Lealin* Prince of *Wales* (who herein was unnatural) wasted all *Cumberland*, and having put out the Eyes of both the Sons of *Danmail* King thereof, granted it to *Maleolin* King of *Scots*, whereupon the Eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland* were under the *English Saxons*, and *Danes*, both called Prefects, or Deputy Governours of *Cumberland*. But this is by way of Anticipation. To put a period to our Discourse of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, King *Egbert* reduced it under his obedience in the DCCCXXVIII. Year of our Lord, and the eight and twentieth of his own Reign, in the seventh of *Michael Traulus* Emperour of the East; the fourteenth of *Ludovicus Pius* the Western Emperour, the year preceding the like fate of the Kingdom of the East *Saxons*.

Lib. 4. *Cc.* 12. 27.

SECT. VII.

SECT. VII.

The Kingdom of the East Angles *in* Britain. *From the first Founding of it by* Uffa *to the Conquering of it by* Edward *King of the English* Saxons.

The space of Four Hundred Forty One years.

Uffa began the Kingdom.

1. NExt after the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, followed that of the East *Angles*, which was begun by *Uffa*, in the tenth year of the Emperour *Justin* the younger, the fifteenth of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the seventeenth of *Alla* King of the *Northumbrians*, about the beginning of the Reign of *Chilperick* King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* DLXXV. Sect. 7.

After him reigned *Tytulus* his Son.

Then *Redwald.*

2. Of *Uffa* there is little or nothing more extent than that he begun this Kingdom, (how and in what manner is utterly unknown) and that from him the succeeding Kings were called *Uffingæ*. After him his Son *Tityllus* or *Tytulus*, of whom there is onely remarkable, that he was Father to *Redwald*, the most potent King of the East *Angles*, the same who received *Edwin*, and upon his account slew *Ethelfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*. The Monk of *Malmesbury*, as contrary to the sense of others, he makes this Kingdom to have begun before that of the West *Saxons*, though after the other of *Kent*, mentions this *Redwald*, as the first King being the tenth from *Woden*. Of these seven Princes said by *Beda*, to have had Dominion over all the Southern Parts lying on this side the River of *Humber*, him he mentions as the fourth. In another place he tells us, that he was Noble as to his Birth, but Ignoble as to his Actions. For being perswaded by *Edwin* to receive the Christian Faith, he was baptized; but returning home was perswaded by his Wife and others about him to fall off again, so that he living betwixt two, like the old *Samaritans*, seeming to serve both Christ and Idols, having in the same Chapel an Altar for Christ, and an Altar for Divels, which Chapel *Adulf* King of that Province, who lived in the time of *Beda*, testified that he himself had seen when a Boy. But *Eorpwald* his Son, being perswaded also by *Edwin*, was not onely almost but altogether a Christian, and was slain by a certain Pagan called *Richbercht*. Three years after the Province lay in confusion and errour, till *Sigbercht* or *Sigebert* obtained the Kingdom, a Man, saith *Beda*, most Christian and most Learned throughout, who while his Brother yet reigned living in exile in *Gall*, was there baptized, and when he came to reign made all his Province partaker with him of his Faith. As a means to propagate and confirm Religion, aswell as to cultivate otherwise the minds of his People, he erected Schools by the assistence of *Fœlix* the Bishops, and furnished them with Masters and Teachers, according to the Custome of those of *Kent*. At length he relinquished his Kingdom to *Egrick* his Kinsman, who before that held some part of it, and took upon him the Monastical Habit.

Lib. 2. *c.* 15.

Next *Eorpwald.*

Afterwards *Sigebert.*

Vir per omnia Christianissimus ac Doctissimus.

Idem. lib. 3. *cap.* 18.

Who turning Monk left his Kingdom to *Egrick.*

3. When he had for a good space continued in that condition, it happened that the East *Angles* had war with *Peuda*, that common Enemy of Christians, then King of the *Mercians*. Finding themselves too weak for their Enemies, to incourage the Souldiers, they desired *Sigebert* to be present at Fight, and when he flatly refused, they drew him by force out of the Monastery, and placed him in the Battel, presuming that the Souldiers under the Eye of him, who had lately been a most valiant and Martial Captain, would not dare to think of Flight. But he being mindfull of his profession, and in the midst of great Arms would onely bear a Rod in his Hand, and in that posture was slain, together with *Egrick* the King; and their whole Army was either slain or dispersed by the pursuing Pagans. In the Kingdom succeeded *Anna* the Son of *Enus* (Brother to *Radwald*, as some write, but *Beda* onely says he was of the Royal Race) a Person good himself, and

Who were both slain in a Battel with *Peuda* King of the *Mercians.* After him *Anna*, who had the same fate.

Sect. 7.

and a Father of as good an Off-spring. Of him *Beda* saith he should speak more afterward, but we do not find him so good as his word, it's well he tells us at present, that he also was slain by that furious *Peuda*. By the Off-spring he means the three Daughters that this *Auna* left, whereof *Etheldritha* was married to two Husbands yet died a Virgin, *Edelburga* was first a Nun, and then Abbess of her House at *Brigæ* or *Bruges* a Monastery in *Gall*, as *Malmesbury* terms it, and *Sexburga* was the Wife of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, after whose death she took the veil in the same Monastery with her Sister *Ethelreda*, being accounted a Saint. It seems he had no Son, for his Brother *Ethelberius* succeeded him, who (by necessity doubtless was forced to doe it; for we cannot think he would doe it of choice) joined with *Peuda* the *Mercian*, against *Oswi* the King of *Northumberland*, and was slain with him in the Battel heretofore mentioned. *Ethelwald* his Brother took his Seat, and by continued Successions devolved the Kingdom upon the Sons of *Ethelberius*.

Next *Ethelwald*.

Then *Adulph* and *Elwold*. After them *Ethelrede*.

4. These were *Adulph* and *Elwold*, after whom one *Beorna* was King, to whom succeeded one *Ethelrede*. His Son was Saint *Ethelberht*, whom *Offa* King of the *Mercians* deceitfully slew, and adjoined this Kingdom of the East *Angles* to that of the *Mercians*. After this time saith *Malmesbury*, few great Men reigned in East *England*, because of the violence of the *Mercians* to the time of St. *Edmund*, who in the sixteenth year of his Reign, was slain by *Hinguar* the Pagan. From that time for the space of fifty years, the *English* ceased to reign in this Countrey. For during nine years, the province was without any King still exposed to, and harassed by the Pagans. Afterward in East *Saxony*, as he calls it, *Guthrum* the *Danish* King, reigned twelve years in the time of King *Alfrede*. *Guthrum* had for his Successour a *Dane* too called *Eoleric*, who when he had governed or tyrannized fourteen years was slain by the *English*, for the incivilities he offered them. Yet could they not for all this recover their Liberty, the *Danish* Officers either oppressing them themselves, or using them against the West *Saxon* Kings, till *Edward* the Son of *Alfride*, expelled the *Danes*, and delivering the *English* from their Tyranny, joyned both Provinces to his West *Saxon* Empire, in the fiftieth year after the death of St. *Edmund* the King and Martyr, and of his own Reign the fifteenth. This is the short Account we have of this Petty Kingdom of the East *Angles*, for which we cannot but complain of the lettered men of those times, whereof we write, that they should not take notice of, and transmit to posterity those several remarkable Passages, transactions of very great weight, of which we have scarcely the Mens Names. This they omitted out of heedlesness, or rather because they were so mightily taken up with Monastical lives, that little else could they think on, nothing else seemed worth their while. But by the History of the *Mercians* and West *Saxons*, several things may be more largely explained which have relation to this Kingdom.

Next St. *Edmund*.

Then 'twas governed by *Guthrum* a Dane. After him *Eoleric*.

Last of all *Edward* who expelled the *Danes*, and joyned it to the West *Saxon* Empire.

SECT. VIII.

SECT. VIII.

The Mercian *Kingdom of the* Angles *in* Britain, *from the first completing of it by* Peuda, *to the Conquest of it by* Egbert *King of the West* Saxons.

The Space of Two Hundred Forty Nine Years.

Peuda King. 1. THE Kingdom of the *Mercians* was completed by *Peuda*, a most valiant and hardy Souldier, but as *Malmesbury* terms him, a Fanatick and impious Person, after he had till the fiftieth year of his Age conquered several places, and continually warred against his Neighbours, in the CXXXIX. year after the death of *Hengist*, in the sixteenth year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, the tenth of *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, and the tenth of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, when *Sigebert* the Little was King of the East *Saxons*, and *Eorpwald* of the Eastern *Angles*, *A. D.* DCXXVI. The *Saxon* Annals derive thus his Pedigree. He was the Son of *Wibba*, who had these Ancestours, *Crida*, *Cunewald*, *Cnebba*, *Icele*, *Eomere*, *Angelgeat*, *Offa*, *Weremund*, *Wightleag*, *Woden*. Sect. 8. His pedigree.

2. This Kingdom as we said was completed by *Peuda*, but others laid the Foundations of it, though he, for the cause alledged, be generally accounted the first King of this Province. For both *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and others write, that the first beginning of it was effected by *Creodda a Saxon*, whom in the Genealogy he calls *Crida*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* names him *Crida*, who having, as far as can be known by any writings, first, saith he, obtained the Kingdom of *Merce*, died and left for his Successour his Son *Wipha*. This *Wipha* or *Wippa*, was followed by one *Cherle* or *Keorle*, who was not his Son but his Kinsman, but he either dying, or which is yet unlikely, relinquishing the Kingdom to him, *Peuda* succeeded when he had now consumed the best of his Years, as having completed the Number of Fifty. This Kingdom being by him inlarged and strengthened, obtained the Name of Myncnapic and Meapelonb, but for what reasons is not agreed, a pair of the greatest Antiquaries differing about it. *Humphrey* * *Lhuyd* is of opinion it was named from the River *Merse*, which indeed running betwixt *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, was the North-Western Bound of the *Mercians*. But *Cambden* † deriveth it from Meapc an old *English* word which signified a Limit, for though it was by far the largest Kingdom of all, yet all the other bordered and confined upon it. Neither of these opinions are improbable, whether the River took Name from it, or it from the River; yet are not they so probable, but that of *Wolfgangzius Laus* is as ridiculous, who in that work of his concerning the Migrations of Nations, affirms these *Mercians* to have been *Marcomanni*, and their Kings *Peuda*, *Offa*, and all the rest to have reigned in the lower *Germany*; whereas nothing is more certain by consent of all Histories than that never was there any such Kingdom there, and that these Kings and People inhabited that part of *Britain*, which we formerly assigned them. But the good Man going about to declare the Genealogies of the Kings of *England*, of the *Norman* Race doth it so pitifully, so confusedly, so falsly, that it appears, he neither ever in any good Authours either read the order of them, their Actions or their very Names, but received his home Intelligence from some silly fellow, as a certain eminent Mathematician in the Geographical Chart of this Island also did to their no small disparagement. And besides them *Jeronymus Rigcellus* in his *Ptolemy*, printed at *Venice* an hundred years agoe, labouring to reconcile the ancient Names of places to the new, confounds several, that are an Hundred Miles distant from each other. Of these Strangers therefore the Reader is to take notice, and beware. As for this Kingdom of the *Mercians* he may observe, that it being setled, all the seven Kingdoms of the *English Saxons* were now begun. Ad An. 585.

* *Sextum Anglo-Saxonum in Britannia Regnum quod a flumine Merse Merciorum dicebatur constitutere, fol.* 23 *b.*

† *In Cornavii*

3. *Peuda*

Sect. 8.

3. *Peuda*, as we said, had spent the best of his time before he came to be King, but the great things he performed afterward shewed, that the greatest of his Labours and Travels he had not passed. No sooner had he got the Power into his Hands, but he improved it for the Molestation of his Neighbours, thinking it no fault at all to disturb the World, to ruine Families, overturn Kingdoms, and destroy a Multitude of innocent Souls, and all to gratify the humour of one single Man, to tickle his fancy with the pitifull thought of domineering; the true account of the Actions of Conquerours, (or as that little one told the greatest of them) those publick Pirates who rob with whole Armies and Fleets, whose Power makes their Murthers and Robberies lawfull, and alone distinguisheth them from those puny ones, to which the Halter is appropriate. About the fourth or fifth year of his Reign, he undertook a War against *Kinegils* and *Kiehelm* the Kings of the West *Saxons*, and with very great Forces on both sides, they met at a place called *Cirancestre*, as we read it in *Huntingdon*, where they fought a most bloudy Battel, both the Armies as he says having abjured Flight, and were not to be parted, but by the darkness of the Night; and with the next Mornings light, were about to renew their malitious fury, but that more considerable thoughts interposed, and they came to an Agreement. The next Adventure he made, was with better (too good) Success, against *Edwin* the King of the *Northumbrians*. Herein he joyned with *Cadwalla* the *Britain*, and shewed that he no more regarded his own Lineage than Strangers themselves, neither yet was moved by any Religious pretences, assisting one Christian against another, and making use of that great Antipathy which their Religion could not remove, to gratify his ambitious and bloudy Designs, which were prevalent in him, even, above all other things, which others as Heathenish as he have accounted Sacred. This appeared in his perfidious killing *Edfrid* the Son of *Edwin*, who had fled to him for Succour.

Ingages with the Kings of the West *Saxons*.

Then with the King of the *Northumbrians*.

Killing his Son that fled to him for Succour.

Ptolemæo Corinium, Antonino Durocornovium, Britannis Caer Cori & Caer Ceri, Anglo-Saxonibus Cynencearcne *hodie Circester & Circiter in Glocestershire, ait Cambdenus Peudam hic à Cineglisso fusum fuisse dum urbem copiis maximis obsideret. Marianus refert eum à Brittannis cepisse Ceaulinum Westsaxonum Regem.*

4. Moreover *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald* King of the East *Saxons*, whom others write to have been killed by *Rickbercht*, is said by the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, to have been slain by him. How he killed *Oswald* the King of the *Northumbrians*, in the Battel of *Maserfeld*, we have shewed already. Raging thus, and breathing nothing but slaughter, even where he wanted Provocation, no wonder if every little fault committed against him was a Crime, it was so at least as to the measure of its Punishment inflicted by him. *Cenwalch* the King of the West *Saxons*, having his Sister to wife put her away, of which opportunity glad, after two or three Attempts he drove him out of his Kingdom, not being able to resist him as his Father had done, and in exile he forc't him to continue for three years. But this Prosecution extended not to bloud, after which he thirsted asmuch as after drink in the greatest extremity of Summer, having one would think, as *Malmesbury* expresses it, a sense of some imminent slaughter, and the quality of a Raven which follows Armies, as having some present sense and smell of the dead Carkasses which shortly are to fall. Therefore set he upon *Egbert* King of the East *Angles*, and made a stout meal of Royal bloud, at this bout killing both this King and *Sigebert* formerly King, though now a Monk, who would not by taking a Sword into his Hands defend himself, but like a Monk died in the Crowd without resistence. Another meal yet he made, and that was upon poor *Auna* King of the East *Saxons*, his Sword making but one bit, in one moment *Huntingdon* words it, devouring him and his Army, of which scarcely one Man remained. Yet still he had not done, with the same Ease he destroys also *Edelhere* his Brother and Successour, as the Archdeacon relates, though elsewhere believes another Account of this Prince which we have already communicated to the Reader. Having soundly Plundred the Countrey, being now fleshed with the slaughter of so many Kings, he went into *Northumberland* to hunt after another, but there at the River *Winwed* met with his match, being dealt withall by *Oswi* as he had dealt with others, being slain in the place after he had Reigned thirty years. A stout Souldier he was, and well deserved the Sirname of *Strenuus* which was given him; yet is he not reckoned by *Beda* amongst those seven Princes which Reigned in effect over all the Kingdoms on this side *Humber*. But his Power must have been Great in the several Kingdoms of *Northumberland*, and East *England*, the Kings whereof he slew, as also in *Westsex*, whereof he drove the King into exile. This they observe of him with much regret, that his Arms be onely turned upon his own Countreymen, suffering the *Britains* to enjoy what they had left, nay assisting *Cadwalla* in the Attempts

And several other neighbouring Kings.

At last is slain by *Oswi* King of *Northumberland*.

Sect. 8.

tempts he had made to recover *Britain*, so strong is Interest, or Humour and Malice, stronger than the strongest Bonds of Consanguinity.

Peada succeeds.

5. *Peuda* being Dead, his Son *Peada* succeeded to the Title, in the Sixteenth year of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, and the Fourteenth of *Oswi*, King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCLVI. Betwixt his Family, and that of *Oswi* there was a double Match. He Married his Daughter the Sister of *Alfrid*, and *Alfrid* the Son of *Oswi* Married the Sister of *Peada*, and Daughter of *Peuda*, which yet could not bridle the extravagant humour of this Furious *Pagan*, who refused all offers made him, having resolved utterly to exterminate the Nation of the *Northumbrians*. Yet what if we say there was some Generosity in the *Pagan*, and that what he did was to restore *Ethilwald* the Son of *Oswald* to his Father's Kingdom? For this *Ethilwald*, as *Beda* calls him, or *Dilwald* as others, the Son of *Oswald*, who as they say ought to have assisted his Uncle, was on the other side, and having led an Army of *Pagans* against his Countrey when the Battels joined, drew off, and expected the issue in a safe place. But how little soever *Peuda* was moved by the Alliance we now mentioned, *Oswi* shewed how great a sense he had of it, when having now Conquered the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and held it for three years, after his Death, as some say, he bestowed on *Peada* his Son-in-Law the Southern *Mercians*, which as we have formerly said were separated from the Northern by the River of *Trent*. However kind he was, his Daughter was as unnatural, for *Peada* when he had scarcely Reigned two years, was by his Wife's means they say made away, after which for three years more the *Mercians* were subject to *Oswi*, and by him brought over to the Christian Faith. These years being expired, the Nobility Rebelled against him, and set up for King *Wulthere* the Son of *Peuda*. He is said to have Inherited his Father's Valour, and being endowed with excellent Qualities both of Body and Mind, to have by all means laboured to discharge himself well of the expectation the People had of him. At the beginning of his Reign he was hard set by *Cenwald* King of the West *Saxons*, whom at length yet he overpowred, and after a great overthrow in a pitched Field invaded, wasted his Kingdom, and marching through it with a great Army, took from him the Isle of *Wight*, which he kept not long in his hands, giving it to *Ethelwald* King of *Sussex*, whom having perswaded to embrace Christianity, he took up from the Font, as the Phrase of the Ancients was, or, as we say, was Godfather to him. One tells us, that together with this Isle of *Wight*, he gave him in token of this Adoption a great Province of the *Pari* belonging to the Western *Saxons* as one now hath it, whereas in * *Beda*, from whom he took it, is read, The Province of the *Meanvari*, or as some Copies have it, the *Mevari* But *Meanvari* seems to be the better Reading, these being a People that Inhabited a Part of *Hampshire*, not far from *Portsmouth*, but farther within the Land. Their Habitation as yet having scarcely changed the Name at this day, is divided into three Hundreds, called *Means-borow*, *East-mean*, and *West-mean*: and amongst them there mounts up an high Hill, invironed on the top with a large Rampire, and they call it Old *Winchester*; at which by Report there stood in Old Time a City, but now nothing remaineth of it: so as a Man would easily judge it to have been a Summer-standing Camp, and nothing else.

Chronicon Joh. Bromton in Regno Merciorum.

Malmes. Huntingdon. Chron. Johan. Bromton.

Who is made away by his Wifes Treachery.

Oswi Governs.

Then *Wulthere.*

Who Routs the King of the West *Saxons.*

Taking from him the Isle of *Wight.*

De Sacro fonte levavit, inde Susceptor dictus.

In cujus adoptionis signum insulam dedit sibi Vectam & etiam ingentem Parorum provinciam occidentalium Saxonum Chronic. Joh. Bromton.

**Lib. 4. c. 13.*

Marries.

6. *Wolfere* Married *Ermenilda* the Daughter of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, by his Wife *Sexburga* the then Heir apparent of her Father's Kingdom; and by her pious Care and Insinuations two good things were brought to pass, *viz.* the *Jutes* of *Kent*, and the *Angles* of *Mercia* became in Friendship as it were one People after her Father's Death, though we know another succeeded in the Kingdom, and the Paganish Superstition was abolished throughout their Territories. By her he had a Son named *Kinrede*, and *Werburg* a Daughter, who became a Nun. He Reigned nineteen years, and had gone with a clear report from off the stage, but that he is noted to have been the first King of the *English Saxons* that committed Symony, having sold the Bishoprick of *London*, (which at this time therefore was in his Power) though Seated in the Kingdom of the East *Saxons*, to one *Wina* an ambitious Man. To *Wolfere* succeeded *Ethelrede*, or *Adelrede* another of *Peuda*'s Sons, in the Second year of *Lotharius* King of *Kent*, and the fifth of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, *A. D.* DCLXXV. *Malmsbury* Writes, that he was more famous for Religion than Fighting, contenting himself with one eminent Expedition into *Kent*, to make known his valour to the World. The rest of his time he spent without Action, only *Egfrid* King of the *Northumbrians* ambitiously passing the Bounds of his own Kingdom, by a Battel, and therein the Death of his Brother *Elfwin*, he admonished, and taught more moderation and sobriety. So the

Is accused of Symony, and Dies.

Ethelrede succeeds.

Sect. 8. the Monk with his onely's makes notable exceptions to what at first he laid down, as a general Remark upon this King. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* tells us with more circumstance, that *Edelrede* the New King of *Mercia* rose up against *Lotair* King of *Kent*: that *Lotair* dreading his Grandfather's and his Father's Valour, turned aside, and would not make any opposition, so that he destroyed the City of *Rochester*, (as we must take it) and ranging all along the Province of *Kent*, carried back with him an unspeakable quantity of Booty. As to what happened betwixt him and *Egfrid* he adds, that in the Third year of *Centwin* King of the West *Saxons* a Comet appeared for three Months together, shining every Morning like another Sun. That in the year following *Egfrid* (or *Egferd* as he calls him) and *Edelrede* fought a mighty Battel near to *Trent*, and there was slain *Alwin*, *Egferd's* Brother, a Young Man, much beloved in both the Provinces. This enmity rose amongst them though *Edelrede* had Married their Sister *Ostrith*; and being once risen it was hard to get it down, this bloud adding to its vehemence, as Oil to the flame. For every day offences and misapprehensions were multiplied betwixt these two fierce Kingdoms, threatning destruction to them both, but the endeavours of *Theodore* the Bishop at last took up the quarrel by this accommodation, that no bloud should be required for the bloud of the King's Brother, but onely a sum of Money paid him. This he might the better doe, because as *Malmesbury* tells the story, he was the Aggressour.

Who makes an expedition into *Kent*. And destroys the City of *Rochester*.

Fights *Egfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*.

7 *Ethelrede* after the twenty ninth year of his Reign, turned Monk in *Bardney* Abby, whereof at length he Died Abbat, and there was Buried. In his Kingdom succeeded *Kenrede*, or *Coinrede* his Kinsman, the Son of his Brother *Wolfere*, in the fifth year of the Emperour *Tiberius Apsimarus*, the eleventh of *Withrede* King of *Kent*, the ninteenth of *Alfrede* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCIII. As he succeeded him in his Kingdom, so in the Monastical Life, for when he had Reigned but five years he went to *Rome* and there turned Monk, taking along with him *Offa* the Son and Successour, if he had thought good of *Sigebert* King of the East *Saxons*, who also was enamoured of, and assumed the Habit. After him Reigned *Ceolrede* or *Celrede* the Son of his Uncle *Ethelrede*, who as he was wonderfull for his valour against King *Ina*, so was miserable in his sudden death, for having reigned no more than eight years, he was buried at *Lichfield*, leaving *Ethelbald* his Heir, his Nephew by his Brother *Alwi*. *Ethelbald* is characteriz'd a valiant and a vehement Man, yet did he govern, saith *Malmesbury*, both a long time and in great peace and quietness. But for all this Peace we are told by others, that *Adelard* King of the West *Saxons* endeavoured by force to conquer his Kingdom, and to that purpose fought a Battel with his Son *Oswald*, who having sustained his fury a good space, when he saw he was utterly unable to bear up against so numerous Forces betook himself to a fair Retreat, and thereby preserved his Father's Territories. After this *Ethelbald* the most valiant King of *Mercia* with a terrible Army laid siege to the Town of *Somerton*, the inhabitants whereof receiving no succour he quickly became Master of it, and from this time forward became so eminent for his Arms amongst his Contemporaries, that he caused to submit to him all the Provinces Southward of *Humber*, with their Kings. This *Somerton* standing upon the River *Parret* had indeed formerly a Castle of the West *Saxon* Kings, through the Walls of which *Ethelbald* is said to have forced a Breach. But now Time hath so gotten the Mastery of it, that there is no appearance at all of it, and the very Town it self would have much adoe to keep the Name, were it not for a Fair of Oxen and other Cattel, there kept from *Palm Sunday* till the midst of *June*, with good Resort of People, the Countreymen thereabout being very great Grasiers. Yet being famous in Ancient times, and of all others most frequented, it gave Name to the Shire which *Asserius* every where calls *Somertunensis*. Some indeed have thought it called *Somersetshire*, because the Air is Mild and Summer-like there; and in that sense the *Welsh Britains* at this Day call it *Gladerhaf*. But this Name they borrow from the *English* Tongue: and however in Summer time it may be a Summer-like Countrey, in Winter it may as truly be called *Winterset*, so wet, so miry and moorish it is, as Travellers to their very great trouble and inconvenience do find.

Turns Monk, and is succeeded by *Kenrede*.

Who assumes the like Habit.

Then *Celrede*.

Who was buried at *Lichfield*.

Next *Ethelbald*.

Chronic. Joh. Bromton quo priùs.

Who Besieges *Somerton*, and takes it.

Cambden in Belgis.

8. But *Ethelbald* growing proud upon his success, and preferring Violence before Justice, between such time as *Ceolwulf* King of the *Northumbrians* had forsaken his Crown for a Cowl, and the succession of *Egbert*, took his opportunity, and in an hostile manner invaded that Kingdom, whence having got vast plunder, he returned, finding none to resist him. This proud *Ethelbald* again, saith our Writer, when *Adelard* the King of the West *Saxons* was dead, often disturbed his Succes-

Invades the *Northumbrians*.

sour

Quarels with *Cudrede* King of the West *Saxons.*

Sect. 8.

sour and Kinsman *Cudrede*, sometimes with open hostility, and otherwhiles by stirring up his Subjects to Seditious Attempts. Various was their success in the Field, sometimes the one and now the other having the advantage, and now would they conclude a Peace, and then again violate it by hostile Acts. At length in the fourth year of *Cudrede*, they seemed so heartily accorded, that with joint force they set upon the *Britains*, and defeated them, though their multitudes were innumerable. Yet again they fell at variance, and *Cudrede* not able to bear the Exactions and Insolence of *Ethelbald*, in his thirteenth year took courage, and met him at *Bedford*, trusting much to the skill and courage of *Edelhim* a stout Captain he brought along with him. *Ethelbald* the King of Kings, besides his *Mercians* and other Forces, brought along with him the Eastern *Saxons*, the *Angles*, and the *Kentish* Men. The Battels being formed and ready to join, *Edelhim* leading on the West *Saxons*, and bearing the Standard of *Cudrede* which was a Golden Dragon, called upon the Standard Bearer of *Ethelbald*, challenging him it seems to a Combat. Hereupon the West *Saxons* shouted and were much encouraged, and the Armies joined. A most bloudy Contest began and a long time continued, the success being doubtfull. But God who resisteth the Proud, as our Authour observes, was pleased to abate the haughtiness of *Ethelbald*, insomuch that he himself first of all ran away, and from this time to his Death suffered he nothing he undertook to prosper. Yet in the second year after this Battel having recruited himself, he would again try his fortune, and fought another most bloudy Battel with the West *Saxons* at a place called *Secandune*, where being sorely distressed, and disdaining as formerly to flye, he was slain, and Buried at *Repandune*. And so saith *Bromton*, this most valiant King when he had Reigned one and fourty years (not in such profound Peace surely as the Monk of *Malmsbury* writes) was punished for his excessive Pride, and from this time the Kingdom of the West *Saxons* became stronger. This *Secandune* though it flourished in the Times of the *Saxons* is now almost quite gone, and at this time is called *Seckinton* in *Warwickshire*. *Repandune* from a great and fair Town is also become a poor and small Village, at this day called *Repton* upon the River *Trent*, where it takes in the Rivolet *Dove*. This it is, though in former Ages it was famous both for the Burial of *Ethelbald*, of other the *Mercian* Kings, and the Calamity of *Burthred* the last of them, who here was deprived of his Kingdom, as we shall see in its due place.

But is worsted in the first Battel.

In the next slain.

Secandune, where.

Repandune.

9. But whereas by the Chronicle of *Bromton* it would appear that *Ethelbald* was slain by his Enemies, it is generally affirmed by other Writers, that being a good King he lost his Life by the Treachery of his own bad People, for he was in the Army stabed by *Beared* or *Beornrede*, who immediately usurped, taking the title of King upon him. But not long he enjoyed the title. For as he began, so he continued his Reign like a Tyrant, which so incensed the People, that Noble, and Ignoble together, they united themselves, and under conduct of *Offa* a most valiant young man presently unking'd him, some say by driving him away, others by taking away his Life, and bringing him to such an end as the murther of *Ethelbald* had deserved. *Offa* for his pains was made King, in the eighteenth year of *Constantinus Copronymus*, the tenth of *Edilbert* King of *Kent*, the first and last of *Osulf* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCLVIII. He was the fifth in descent from *Peuda*, as *Malmesbury* writes, yet others in his Pedegree, which they derive from *Woden*, make no mention at all of *Penda*. He was a Prince of extraordinary conduct, courage and success, which for a long time he managed and enjoyed together. The first Action of him we meet with was his subduing by Arms a certain People called *Hestings*, concerning whom we know nothing, and therefore can say nothing farther. Much about the same time he fought with *Alrick* King of *Kent*, at a place called *Ottanford*, now *Otford*, in *Kent* upon the River *Darent*, more famous afterward for an overthrow of the *Danes*, and longer after that for an House of the Kings. What success he had at this place the Annals do not tell us, but it seems it was such as encouraged him the year following to engage against *Kinwulf* King of the West *Saxons* at a place called *Binsinton*, which Town he took. It is that which is now called *Benson*, standing upon the *Thames* in *Oxfordshire*, by *Marian*, said to be a Royal Village, who reports that *Ceaulin* took it from the *Britains* in the year DLXXII. and that the West *Saxons* held possession of it for two hundred years, till *Offa* thinking it would be both for his commodity and honour that they should have nothing on this side the River, wone it and subjected it to his own Kingdom. At this day it goes for a Village onely, and not long since had an House of the Kings hard by, called of certain Elmes,

Beared Usurps.

Upon whose Death *Offa* is made King.

Vide si placet in Annal. Saxon. ad An. DCCLV. *in Huntingdonensi & Chronic. Joh. Bromton.*

Who engages with *Alrick* King of *Kent.*

And takes *Binsington* from *Kinwulf* King of the West *Saxons.*

Þep Cyne-pulf ⁊ Offa geruhton ymb Bynsintun ⁊ Offa nam done tun.

Sect. 8. Elmes, *Eivelme*, commonly *New Elme*, ſometime a fair place, but ſuffered to go to ruine, being not very wholſome by reaſon of a foggy Air ariſing from a ſtanding Water adjoining.

10. As to the reſt of the Actions of *Offa*, we may take that obſervation of the Monk of *Malmesbury*, who when he compared them with thoſe we have related, and with others, remained doubtfull, whether he ſhould approve of or diſprove his courſe in general. In one and the ſame man, ſo many vices were palliated with vertues, and ſo many vertues ſucceeded vices, that you would think you had to deal with a very *Proteus*. Ingaging with *Kinwulf*, King of the Weſt *Saxons*, in open War, he eaſily obtained the Victory, though that Prince was no contemptible Warriour. This ſame man, ſaith he, imagining that treachery would doe him moſt ſervice, having by great allurements of fair promiſes, drawn to his Court King *Ethelbirht*, on a ſudden, and when he never could imagine ſuch Villany, cauſed him to be cut ſhorter by the Head, and unjuſtly ſeized on his Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*, wherein he built a Caſtle for bridling the Inhabitants, the Ruines whereof may be ſeen upon a clay Hill, at the Town ſtill from him called *Offton* in *Suffolk*. After this he commends him for ſhrining the Reliques of St. *Alban*, and blames him for robbing ſeveral Churches, and amongſt others, that of *Malmesbury*, which makes the Authour not a little concerned. Finding his carriage in theſe affairs, and his handling of his People to be of perilous conſequence, to fence himſelf againſt the worſt occurrents, he courted much his Neighbour Princes. To *Brithrick* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, he married his Daughter *Ethelburga*, *Charles the Great* alſo, King of the *Franks*, with frequent Embaſſies he made his Friend, though difficultly could he bring him to what he deſired; for formerly there had been miſunderſtanding betwixt them, and ſo high it had flown, that commerce was forbidden on both ſides. The *Engliſh* in theſe times travelling to *Rome*, were very much moleſted, not onely by the *Saracens*, who poſſeſſed the ſtraits of the *Alpes*, but the Subjects alſo of *Charles* inhabiting both *Gall* and *Italy*. Hereof he complained, and with much adoe procured a Peace and friendly correſpondence, which the ſumm of *Charles* his Letter, wherein he ſtiles himſelf King of the *Franks* and *Lombards*, and Patritian of the *Romans*, directed to the *Reverend man, and his moſt dear Brother Offa* King of the *Mercians*, doth ſufficiently teſtifie; in what year written it's uncertain, but probably about the time of *Offa*'s death.

Bebeads *Ethelbert*, and ſeizes on the Kingdom of the Eaſt *Angles*.

His Alliances.

Apud Malmesb. de Geſtis Reg. Ang. lib. 1. & Spelman. Concil. p. 315.

11. " Herein after thanks given to Almighty God, for the ſincerity of the Catho-
" lick Faith which he found in his Papers, he gives leave to ſuch as go on Pil-
" grimage to *Rome*, to paſs freely and peaceably through his Dominions. But in
" caſe any be found among them, who go not upon a Religious account, but for
" that of gain, at convenient places, they muſt pay their Tolls. He grants alſo that
" Merchants have lawfull Patronage, promiſing them Redreſs of their grievances
" upon application to him or his Miniſters. And his Epiſtle he concludes with
" acquainting him, what * gifts he had ſent to the Churches in his Dominions,
" together with one Belt, an Hunniſh Sword, and two ſilken Veſts unto himſelf.
Such was the kindneſs at laſt procured betwixt *Charles* and *Offa*, which ſtood him in ſuch ſtead, that notwithſtanding, he had many Enemies, who ceaſed not to attempt much againſt him, yet he ſpent his time in great eaſe and proſperity, and made his Son *Egfrid*, whom he left his Succeſſour, to be accounted King before he died. But of all his Actions, none is more memorable than the making of a Ditch, which with admirable work and labour, he cauſed to be caſt from the mouth of *Dee* unto *Weymouth*, for the ſpace of fourſcore and ten Miles, to ſeparate the *Britains* from his *Angles* or *Engliſh* Men. Hereupon in *Britiſh* it is called *Claudh Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, and a † Town ſome ſeven Miles from *Radnor*, from this Ditch which lies under it, had the *Britiſh* Name of *Trefy Claudh*, afterward changed into *Trebuclo*, in *Engliſh* called *Knighton*. To what we have already ſaid of this Work, we ſhall add, though by way of anticipation, what *John* of *Salisbury* writes in his *Polycraticon*. *Harold* ordained a Law, that what *Welſhman* ſoever ſhould be found without a Weapon on this ſide the limit he had ſet them, that is to ſay, *Offa's Dike*, ſhould have his right Hand cut off by the King's Officers.

Makes his Son Partner in the Kingdom.

He is famous for making a Ditch.

* *Munera ſic expreſſit & interpretatur Priſcusquidam. A Carolo dona data ſunt Offæ, mucro, zona,*
Cingat ut imbelles Clemens, feriatq; rebelles.
Pallia donantur, velut his ſecreta legantur.
Tyro mucrone ſed & utens munere zonæ,
Indomitos punit, pronos ſibi nectit & onit.
Palliat arcana, ne ſignent pallia vana.
† *Cambden. in Silur.*

12. For the main, *Offa* ſo carried himſelf, that he may be accounted of the firſt Rank of theſe *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, during the Heptarchy. The grand flaw in his Eſcutchion, is the Murther of *Ethelbert* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, and yet Authours of good credit ſay, that coming to woe his Daughter, he was ſo baſely made away by the procurement of *Queendred*, *Offa*'s Wife, a Woman that more valued the Countries of Eaſt *England*, than the honeſt and honourable match of her

His Character.

her Child. But by his Martyrdom (such it was esteemed) great accession of Wealth and Reputation came to the City of *Hereford*, for being registred in the Catalogue of Martyrs, there he had a Church built and dedicated to him by *Milfrid*, a petty King of the Countrey, wherein when a Bishops See was established, it grew very rich, first through the devout liberality of the *Mercians*, and then of the West *Saxon* Kings, who at length came to be possessed of it. *Offa* being dead, after a Reign of thirty nine years, was buried at *Bedford*, in a Chapel without the Town, on a Bank of the River *Ouse*, in a Royal manner. But it's a constant Tradition, saith *Matthew* the Flowergatherer, of all the Countrey to this day, that the said Chapel, by long wearing, and the violence of the River, was overthrown, and by its rapacity, together with the King's Sepulchre, thrown down into the water. Whereupon, till this present time, the said Sepulchre, by such as wash themselves in that place, seems to appear deep in the water, and yet at another time, although it be most diligently sought after, as if the thing was fatal, cannot be found. *Egfrid* his Son, who had been Partner with him in the Kingdom, for the space of eight years, upon his death became sole Possessour of it, being commended by Churchmen for treading in his Father's steps. For he confirmed whatsoever he had given to pious uses, and what out of covetousness he had taken away, he freely caused to be restored. And more he had done, had he continued any longer time. For on the hundred and forty first day after his Father's decease, he departed this life, to the exceeding great grief of all his Subjects. Being so well inclined, and dying in the flower of his Age. *Alcuin* a Man famous in those days, an *English* Man, and the moderatour of the Studies of *Charles* the Great, in an Epistle to *Osbert* a Patritian or Nobleman, wrote that he did not believe he died for his own sins, but because his Father had shed much bloud to establish his Kingdom.

Sect. 8.

Was buried at *Bedford*.

Ad Ann. 797.

Egfrid Reigns alone.

Dies.

Malmesb. quid suprá.

Kenulfe succeeds.

13. To *Egfrid* succeeded *Kenulfe* or *Ceolwulfe*, as the *Saxon* Annals call him, descended in the fifth degree from *Kenwalch* the Brother of *Peuda*, in the last year of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* the Emperour, who was deposed, and had his Eyes put out by command of his Mother *Irene*, the first of *Cuthrede* King of *Kent*, the second or third year after the death of *Ethelrede*, the last (in reality) King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCXCVI. The Monk of *Malmesbury* describes him to us as a great Man, as one whose Vertues were greater than his Fame, who never did any thing which malice could justly tax, was at home Religious, in War victorious, a man whose Praise deservedly will mount on high so long as there shall be found a fit Judge thereof in *England*, to be commended not onely for the sublimity of his Throne, but the humility of his mind, which in his greatest prosperity was eminently remarkable. Against the Inhabitants of *Kent* from *Offa* he received a successive Enmity, which caused him in the first year of his Reign to invade that Countrey, wherein after much waste made, he took *Edbright* sirnamed *Pren*, and carried him bound along with him. To this Relation of *Malmesbury Roger de Howden* adds, that he commanded his eyes to be plucked out, and in great Pride and Cruelty his hands to be cut off: This done, he laid the Kingdom of *Kent* to his own Dominion, setting upon his own Head a Crown, and holding a Sceptre in his Hand. Yet *Malmesbury* affirms, that not long after being touched with mercy to the Captive King, he set him at liberty. For at *Winchelcombe* (saith he) where he built a Church, which at this day standeth, on the day of the Dedication thereof, he manumitted or set free the Captive before the Altar, there exhibiting a memorable Spectacle of his Clemency. At the Solemnity was *Cuthrede* present, whom he had made King over the Inhabitants of *Kent*, and then and there applauded his Royal Munificence. The Church was filled with Applause and rejoycing, and the Streets were thronged with People. Forasmuch as in a Meeting of thirteen Bishops and ten Dukes, none that desired to taste of his bounty was rejected, all went away with their Pouches full. For besides the Gifts he gave to the Nobles, which both for value and number were inestimable in Utensils, Garments, and choice Horses, to such as had no Land he gave a Pound of Silver, to Priests a Mark of Gold: To Monks one *Solidus* a piece, and many things to all the Inferiour Multitude. And when he had indowed the Monastery with so great Revenues as at this time may seem incredible, in the twenty fourth year of his Reign he honoured it with his own Funeral. His Son *Reuelme* a very Child and Innocent being murthered by his Sister *Quendrida*, obtained both the Name and Honour of Martyrdom, and there also resteth. So much *Malmesbury*. The place he mentions is *Winchelcombe*, a great Town and well inhabited in *Gloucestershire*. Indeed a Man would scarcely believe how much this Abby was frequented

His Character.

He invades *Kent*, seizing the King and Countrey.

His Munificence.

Kenelme his Son murthered and buried at *Winchelcombe*.

Camden.

Sect. 8. quented in ancient times for the Relicks of this *Kenelme*, a Child of seven years old, whom his own Sister, to get the Inheritance unto her self, secretly made away, and our Fore-fathers registred in the Rank of Holy Martyrs. The Territory adjoyning was of old reckoned a Sheriffdom or County of it self, till such time as *Edric*, sirnamed *Streona*, that is the Getter or Gainer, who first under King *Ætheldred*, and afterward under *Cnute* or *Canute* governed as Viceroy the whole Kingdom of *England*, adjoyned it to the Shire of *Glocester*.

An Account of the Murther.

14. *Kenulfe* by his Wife *Alfritha* had this Son, thus murthered by his own Sister *Quendrida*, and another Daughter called *Burgenilda*. The manner how the Murther was committed, and how it was discovered, was this, which you must take upon the trust of *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Matthew* the Flowergatherer. " The Boy was committed to an Attendant, who carrying him into a Wood under pretence of Hunting, cut off his Head and hid his Body in the Thickets. " A wonderfull thing it was that a thing done so privately in *England*, should be " known at *Rome*, but so it came to pass by Divine Revelation. For upon the " Altar you must know of blessed *Peter* Prince of the Apostles, a white Dove let " fall a certain Paper, which in order discovered both the death of St. *Kenelme* " King and Martyr, and also the place of his Burial. The Schedule being written " in *English* in Golden Letters, the Clerks that were present at the Command of " the Pope attempted to reade, but in vain. But as it happily came to pass an Angel stood by and Interpreting it in Latin, caused the *Roman* Prelate by an Epistle to give notice to the *English* Kings of their Compatriot Martyr. Amongst other things this was found written in the Paper. *In Clenc kon bath Kenelm kynebearne lith under thorne heaued by reaued:* That is, *In the Cow-pasture* Kenelme *Son of the King lies under a Thorn beheaded, by the head.* The Body of the blessed Martyr being thus miraculously discovered to the *English* Kings, in a great Assembly of Clerks and Nobles, was taken out of the Hole and carried to *Winchelcombe*. The Paricide (said he) or rather Fratricide (his Sister) being vexed at the singing and noise of the People which rejoyced at the finding out of so great a Martyr, put her head out of a Window, and by saying a Psalm backward indeavoured to inchant and disturb them, but as she was singing both her eyes fell out of her Head upon the Book she held in her hand. Still to this day, he adds, the Psalter it self set in Silver, and besmeared with the bloud of the Eyes, gives testimony of this Punishment. So much of this Boy, King, and Martyr. Thus much we may be certain of, that the Murtherer, however the Villany was discovered, reaped not the fruit of her Ambition as she intended. For after this *Kenelme*, *Ceolwulfe* his Uncle, the Brother of *Kenulfe*, succeeded in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, which henceforth was in a tottering condition, and little or nothing memorable, or which deserved notice, afterward is to be found concerning it, besides the mere Names and Successions of a few Kings. *Ceolwulfe* reigned but two, some say but one year, and then was driven away by *Bernulfe*. This *Bernulfe* in the third year of his Reign, yet durst adventure to graple with *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, with whom he fought a bloudy Battel at a Place called *Ellandune*, but was defeated. This *Ellandune* is now called *Wilton*, situate upon the River *Willey*, whence it hath taken its latter Name, and imparted it to the whole Shire, called *Wiltshire*, of which it some time was the Head. In the *Saxon* times it mightily flourished. The *Danes* sorely distressed it, yet fell it not so much to decay till the Bishops of *Salisbury* turned another way the common Road, which formerly lay through it into the Western Countries. Then by degrees fell it to ruine, and now is but as it were a small Village, having nothing to boast of but a Mayor and a very fine House of the Earls of *Pembroke*, raised out of the Ruines of the old Monastery. But most overtopped it was by *Sorbiodunum*, and now by *Salisbury*, which arose out of the Ruines of this last mentioned City. But as for its Name of *Ellandune*, one rationally conjectures, that this River *Willey* is the same with *Alan*, which *Ptolemy* mentions in this Coast of the Countrey.

Apud Simeon. Dunelm. hoc modo: In Clent, in Condale Kenelm Kingis Bern, lith undir thorne hed by reued.

Ceolwulfe made King.

Then *Bernulfe*.

Who was defeated at *Ellandune* by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*.

Sax. Annal ad An. DCCCXXIII. Ellendune.

Cambden.

15. The defeat received by *Bernulfe* at *Ellandune*, was but a prelude to a greater Mischief, which happened to him the same year. *Offa* as we have said had seized on the Kingdom of the East *Angles*, whither he now repairing as to part of his Dominions, the Inhabitants met him in the Field and slew him, then doubting what might be the Consequence, for fear of the *Mercians* they submitted themselves both King and People to the Sovereignty of *Egbert*. After him was King one *Ludecan*, who keeping in his mind the Insolence of the East *Angles*, after two

Next to him reigned *Ludecan*.

þep Lutecan Mepcna Cyning

7 hiru calborpmen mon opploh mid him. 7 higlep peng to pice. Ad Ann. DCCCXXV.

years

years Reign prepared to be revenged on them, but failed in the attempt, being slain with his five Captains, or as the *Saxon* hath it, his Aldermen. To him succeeded one *Wiglaf* or *Withlaf*, who was presently expelled by *Egbert*, and three years continued in Exile. At the end thereof being touched with Compassion, *Egbert* suffered him to return, but to hold the Kingdom of him as his Tributary Vassal, paying him and his Son the thirteen years he reigned a sum of money. In the same Capacity reigned *Berthulfe* his Successour, and just so long a time, who at last by the *Danish* Pirates was driven beyond the Seas. After this *Burhede* having Married *Ethelsuida* the Daughter of King *Athulfe* the Son of *Egbert*, by so great an Alliance comforted himself both against his Tributary Estate and the frequent Depredations of the Pirates. But after two and twenty years he was constrained by them to quit his Countrey, whence he betook himself to *Rome*, and there died, and at the *English* School in St. *Mary*'s Church was buried. His Wife he left behind him, but she afterward followed him into *Italy* and died at *Pavia*. Then was the Kingdom of the *Mercians* by the *Danes* delivered to one *Selwulfe* the Servant of *Burhrede*, but during pleasure. After a few years *Alfrede* the Nephew of *Egbert* obtained it. He Married *Elfleda* Sister to *Edward* the Elder, who after her death laid the Kingdom of the *Mercians* to his own Dominions; Then this Principality which (saith *Malmesbury*) by the madness of a Pagan man suddenly flourished, through the miserable sluggishness of half a man utterly withered and came to nought: In the Eight Hundred and Seventy Fifth Year of our Lord.

Sect. 9.

Then *Wiglaf*.

Berthulfe.

Burhede.

Alfrede.

SECT. IX.

The Kingdom of the West Saxons. *From the beginning thereof by* Cerdick, *to the Death of* Egbert *the first* English *Monarch.*

The space of Three Hundred and Eighteen years.

1. THE Kingdom of the West *Saxons*, than which (saith *Malmesbury*) *Britain* never saw any more magnificent or of longer continuance received its beginning from one *Cerdick*, and presently arrived at an high pitch of Greatness. This man being by Birth a *German*, and Nobly descended, as the Tenth from *Woden*, having by homebred Conflicts molded his Mind to a warlike Temper, resolved to quit his Countrey and become famous by his Arms abroad. Having fully setled his Resolutions, he communicated his mind to his Son *Cynrick*, who was in all glorious Actions no farther behind him than that treading in his steps he seemed to tread upon his Heel. He easily consenting to the Expedition into *Britain*, they came with their Forces in five Keels, in the Four hundred and ninety fifth year of our Lord, which was the fifth of the Emperour *Anastasius*, the eighth of *Esk* King of *Kent*, the fifth of *Ælla* King of the South *Saxons*, in the days of *Clodoneus* the First King of the *Franks*, in the Consulship of *Æmilius* and *Viator*. His Pedigree is thus drawn from *Woden*; *Bealdeag*, *Brandi*, *Fithogar*, *Freawine*, *Wig*, *Gewiss*, *Esla*, *Elesæ*, *Cerdick* or *Certick*.

Cerdick and his Son *Cynrick* arrive.

2. What entertainment they found at their Landing we have already told the Reader, and how by degrees they advanced and got ground. But this is to be farther observed, that the place where he Landed was not within the Bounds of that Kingdom which he afterward founded, and whereof we write. For *Cerdicesore*, or *Cerdicshore*, which is still by the Inhabitants called *Cerdikesand*, lay near to the old City *Garianonum*, which being decayed, and no Garrison lying there,

The place where they Land.

Sect. 9.

there, as formerly to defend the Coast, *Cerdick* there landed, and after he had made sore War upon the *Iceni*, or that part of this people especially which inhabited *Norfolk*, sailed thence to the Western parts, where he erected the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*. And not long after, the *Saxons* getting ground every where, instead of *Garianonum* founded a new Town in that moist and waterish ground near the West side of the River *Yare* (by the *Britains* called *Guerne*, by the *English Saxons Gern* and *Jere*) which from it they named Canmuð and Lienmuð. After the arrival of *Port* and his two Sons, which was in the seventh year, and not till then, *Cerdick* seems to have quitted these Eastern parts, and incouraged by intelligence received from him of his success to have bent his course Westward; to be sure the Battel fought with *Nazaleod* the *Britain*, Authours place after the coming of *Port*. But whereas it's storied that *Portsmouth* from this *Port* received its Name, this was founded upon often erring Tradition. That famous Creek near which it standeth being by *Ptolemy* termed Μέγας Λιμὴν, or the *Great Haven*, in respect of its wideness, like as that *Portus Magnus* in *Africk*, as *Pliny* witnesseth. Yet probable it is that thereabout *Port* landed, who possibly might take a Sirname, or Nickname from the place, and not the place from him. This makes it more probable that as *Portsmouth* is in that Province we call *Hantshire*, the landing of *Cerdick* in the Western parts, after he had quitted the Eastern, was also in this same County. For hard by its Western bounds, where the River *Avon* entreth into the Shire, it meets with the Ford of *Cerdick*, or *Cerdicksford*, afterward called *Cerdeford*, and now by contraction of the word *Chardford*, so named of *Cerdick* that valiant *English Saxon*. For here, saith our Antiquary, in a set Battel he so daunted the *Britains*, that he not onely inlarged the bounds of his Empire, but also delivered an easie War to his Posterity, having in the year of our Salvation DVIII, after great Conflicts in this Tract, vanquished the most mighty King of the *Britains Natanleod*, called also *Nazaleod* by others, with many of his People. Of whose Name likewise a small Region reaching to this place was termed *Natanleod*, as we reade in the Annals of the *English Saxons*: which I sought very curiously for, but hitherto could not find so much as any small sign or token of that Name, neither can I guess who that *Natanleod* should be. But most certain it is, that *Aurelius Ambrosius* at the very same time fought in this Tract with the *Saxons*, with alternative Fortune, and yet these Chronicles of the *English* no where made mention of him; as who (a thing that I have observed) being overmuch affectionate to themselves, reported onely their own fortunate Battels and Victories, but never mentioned their Foils and Overthrows. Thus *Cambden*.

Thence they Sail Westward.

Portsmouth, whence so called.

He overthrows the *Britains* at *Cerdicksford*.

3. Concerning this the Reader must call to mind what we have already said, and farther take notice that *Cerdicesshore* and *Cerdicesford* are two several places at a great distance, the one in *Norfolk* and the other in *Hampshire*, when he reads of them in the *English* Annals. And where he finds the *Saxon* Annals, and from them the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* relating how *Stuf* and *Witgar* the Nephews of *Certic* arrived at *Certicesore*, he may conclude that *Certicesford* is rather to be read, for e'er their coming he had quitted the Eastern parts and had fought the great Battel with *Natanleod*, except we imagine that they knew not of his quitting the Coast of *Norfolk* and came thither to find him, which not being able to doe, after a Victory obtained over the *Britains* they betook themselves again to their three Keels, and followed after; but *Huntingdon* writes as if by the Victory they obtained over the *Britains*, at their landing, made the Name of *Cerdic* terrible, so that it must have been fought in conjunction with him. However, after this their uniting with him he became much stronger and victorious, and got such ground of the Neighbouring *Britains*, that at length the Territories he had conquered seemed to him capable of receiving a Royal Title; yet was not this till three and twenty years after his coming into the Island; so valiant, nay pertinacious were the *Britains*, that they did not easily quit their Counties nor give them up, being not discouraged by one or two Defeats received, but were overpowered at last by Numbers, however the *Saxon* Writers have concealed the particulars from us. But then did he by assuming the title of King, which was devolved upon his Posterity, begin the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*, so called from their situation in the Island, as Geguyrir from *Gewis* his great Grandfather, a Kingdom which at length became the Kingdom of Kingdoms, constraining all the rest to submit unto it. The beginning thereof fell in the second year of *Justin* the Elder Emperour, the Consulship of the Emperour himself and *Eutharicus Cilica*, in the days of *Childebert* King of the *Franks*, the Eighth of *Otha* King of *Kent*, *A. D.* DXIX, seventy one years after the first coming of the *English Saxons* into *Britain*, twenty seven after the begin-

Cenbicer hopa Cenbicer ropo.

Assumes the Title of King.

J riþþan nicra ðon þeſt ſeaxa cyne beaſn oþ ðam dæge.

Chronol. Saxs. ad An. DXIX. *Gewissi.*

beginning of the Kingdom of the South *Saxons*, seven before the beginning of that of the East *Saxons*, eight and twenty before that of the *Northumbrians*, and an hundred and seven before the beginning of *Peuda* the first King (worth notice) of the *Mercians*. By degrees it grew upon all, and at length swallowed up the rest; though by its Antiquity therefore it preceded several of them, yet thought we fit to close their number with it, together with this caution to the Reader. Sect. 9.

And gives it to his Son *Cynric*.

4. Though *Cerdic* had assumed the title of King, and gave it as appears from the *Saxon* Annals, to his Son *Cynric*, yet were not the *Britains* therewith affrighted, but more provoked to dispossess him of what they thought they had a better right than he. In the very same year they endeavoured to unking him, for though the Annals tell us that he fought against the *Britains* at *Cerdicesford*, yet it should rather be said that the *Britains* fought against him, for they came to him, not he to them, this being the place of his first landing in these Parts. *Henry* of *Huntingdon* tells the Story with great advantage on the side of the *Saxons*, though upon what ground we know not, the Annals onely affirming that from this day forward, Royal Off-spring (meaning his) reigned over the West *Saxons*, and indeed that he had the better is probable enough, as that thereby he made sit fast on his head the Diadem, which he had assumed in the City of *Winchester*, as tells us the greater Chronicle of *Thomas Radburn*. Seven years he spent, for any thing we can find, in fortifying the Places he had already gained; but in the year that followed he fought another Battel with the *Britains*, in another place from him also called *Cerdicks Lea*, with what success we are ignorant, but good ground there is to believe the *Britains* here victorious, because where the *Saxons* had the better, their Annals never use to be silent. Yet this must make us think on the other side, that sometimes they are modest, because after this Battel he very much inlarged his Bounds. For after two years he and his Son conquered the Isle of *Wight*, and slew many men in the place called *Wihtgarabirig*, as the Annals or *Saxon* Chronology affirms. Others tell us from these Annals, that being the first *English Saxon*, that subdued the Island, he granted it unto *Stuffa* and *Whitgar*, who jointly together slew well nigh all the *British* Inhabitants (for few there were of them remaining) in *Whitgaraburg*, a Town so called from *Whitgar*, and now by Contraction shortned into *Caresbroke*.

Hence another Engagement with *Cerdic* and his *Saxons*.

Lib. 2. *c.* 1.

A Third.

After which he conquered the Isle of *Wight*.

Ad An. DXXX. *Cambden.*

5. But as the Annals call the Island by the Name of *Wiht*, and this Man *Wihtgar* I cannot but suspect this Name to have been the Name of his Office, and that he was made by his Uncle *Cerdic* the Keeper or Guarder of the Island, first, and then four * years after, and that wherein he died bestowed it on him, and his Brother *Stuffe* (his two Nephews) as a Legacy, for this gift they mention the very year they speak of his death. From him this Town which seems to have been the place of his Residence, received its Name as he had his Title from the Island. This same year *Cerdic* died, after he had reigned sixteen years, leaving all his Kingdom except the Isle of *Wight*, as *Malmesbury* observes, to his Son *Cynric*. This *Cynric* the Annals ever join with his Father, so that he seems to have reigned jointly with him before, but now came to the sole Management of that Power, he left him in the ninth year of *Justinian* the Emperour, in the Consulship of *Belisarius*, the fourth year of *Iremerick* King of *Kent*, and about the ninth year after that *Erkenwin* had begun the Kingdom of the East *Saxons*, *A. D.* DXXXV. For matters of War he is said no whit to have been inferiour to his Father, yet at his beginning do we hear little of him, his great care being to preserve what he had, his Father had got already rather than by striving for more, when what he had was not yet confirmed, he being in danger of losing all. In his fourth year the Annals mention an Eclipse of the Sun, which fell out on the fifteenth of *February*, whereon that Luminary was darkened from Morning to Evening. Two years after it was so darkened again on the fifteenth of *June*, that Stars appeared till past three of the Clock. Four years after, died *Wightgar* in the Isle of *Wight*, and by his burial there gave Name to *Wightgarabirig*, as in those days they called it.

Bestows it on his Nephews *Wihtgar* and *Stuffe*.

Dies.

Cynric reigns alone.

2 Eclipses of the Sun.

Ad An. DXXXIV.

* *Meæ sententia accedit illud Henrici Huntingdonensis: Eandem autem Insulam, quæ scil. Latinè dicitur Vecta dederunt quarto post hunc anno duobus Nepotibus suis Stuff. & Witgar. Wihtgar verbatim Wihtæ Custos seu defensor. Gard & Wardidem, non semper autem adjicitur id, ut in Ead-gar & multis aliis.*

6. At length we hear again of *Cynric* at the eighteenth year of his Reign, of his giving battel then to the *Britains*, as a place called Seaporbyrig, where he put to flight the *British Welsh*, as the Annals now term them, they being by this time most of them either killed or driven into *Wales*, or other foreign Countries. This *Searobyrig* called *Salesbirig*, being the same which the *Saxons* also termed Searybyrig, the vulgar Latinists *Sarum*, *Sarisburia* and *Salisburialia*, the Name of *Searesbirig*, having proceeded from *Sorbiodunum*, by addition of the *Saxon* word Byrig, which signifies a *Burge* or *Town* instead of *Dunum*, which the *Britains* and

He overthrows the *Britains* at *Salisbirig*.

Ad An. DXXXVIII. *Idem ad An.* DXL.

Ad An. DLII.

Sect. 9.

Galls were wont to add to places ſeated on higher Ground, ſuch as this *Sorbiodunum* was. For *Sorniodunum* is by Interpretation the *Dry Hill*, and upon an high Hill this City is mounted. *Kinric* was the firſt of all the *Engliſh Saxons*, that forced it after he had got a notable Victory over the *Britains*, which ſo much incouraged him, that four years after this he and his Son *Ceaulin*, ingaged with them again at a Place called *Beranbyrig*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, wherefoever he had his Collections, tells the ſtory with various Circumſtances. The *Britains* ſaith he to take off that War which lay with ſuch Confuſion upon them, and they had endured for five years, gathering together a numerous and well inſtructed Army, put themſelves into a poſture of fighting at *Beranburi*. And when they had formed nine ſeveral Battalia's, which Number in War is moſt convenient, three in the front, three in the middle, and three in the Rere, having appointed to each Body its fitting Officers, and placed their Archers, thoſe that uſed Darts conveniently with their Horſe according to the *Roman* Cuſtome, the *Saxons* in one Body fell moſt boldly upon them. Their Standards they caſt down and defaced, and breaking their Lances fought it out with dint of Sword, till the Evening approached, the Victory being ſtill very doubtfull. Neither need this ſeem wonderfull, they being Men of extraordinary Stature, Vigour and Courage, although in our Days the Armies as well of the one as the other at the firſt onſet are eaſily put to flight; conſiſting now of ſuch Men as both in reſpect of their Stature, Vigour and Courage are inconſiderable; ſo much he. As for the Place of the Battel, this *Beranbyrig* is that Town now called *Banbury*, ſituate upon the River *Charwell* in the County of *Oxford*. About this Town are found Coins of the *Roman* Emperours, which argue for the Antiquity of the Place. Now the fame of it is for Cheeſe, Cakes, and ſuch like things, and lately it could ſhew a Caſtle built by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincoln* (for to the See of *Lincoln* it belonged, as did many other good Houſes, and Manors now ſwallowed by the iniquity of times) who deſiring to dwell ſtately, rather than quietly, by his vaſt Structures of this kind brought himſelf into many troubles.

Gives them another defeat at *Beranbyrig*.

7. *Cynric* died after he had reigned ſix and twenty years, and was ſucceeded by *Ceaulin* his Son in the five and thirtieth year of *Juſtinian* the Emperour, about the beginning of the Reign of *Clothair* King of the *Franks*, the ſame year that *Ethelbert* became King of *Kent*, the third of *Alla* King of the *Northumbrians*. *A. D.* DLXI. *Ceaulin* was a Man of ſuch metal of warlike Enterprizes, that, as *Malmesbury* phraſeth, it to the *Engliſh Saxons* he became an object of wonder, to the *Britains* of hatred, and to both of them the Authour of Deſtruction. Now had theſe *Saxons* been in *Britain* for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty years, all which time they had been ſo employed in chuſing and ſetling their new Poſſeſſions, that having ſpace enough (a little ſeems much to them that have none) they agreed well enough amongſt themſelves, and united upon occaſion againſt them, whom their Intereſt had made their common Enemies. But now having pretty well ſecured their new (however got) Poſſeſſions, they had more leiſure to be proud and idle, and having much, began to think they had not enough, and to envy the Conditions of one another. In the Weſt and North they had ſtill indeed work enough to defend their own, and ſtill provoked by ambition, and Covetouſneſs to wreſt more out of the Hands of the Poor diſtreſſed *Britains*, but toward the South-Eaſt the Coaſt was clear, not a *Britain* left either to diſturb or be diſturbed, ſo that theſe Princes having nothing elſe to work upon, muſt needs find work amongſt thoſe of their own Nation, not enduring to be idle while they were ſo employed, to be mere Gazers upon the Actions of others, and to hear every day of their Conqueſts, Trophies and Spoils, now began to feel and perceive they had bounds to their Dominions, and however their Clothes ſeemed to be wide in the Infancy of their Kingdoms, now they complained they were ſtrait laced. The firſt that betrayed this reſtleſs humour, was *Ælla* King of the South *Saxons*, who as *Beda* tells us was the firſt of theſe Kings, that commanded all the Provinces of the *Engliſh*, lying Southward of the River *Humber*. His Kingdom was not large, and his work was narrow, having quickly diſpoſſeſſed the ancient Inhabitants, ſo that having time to look about him, and leiſure enough to attempt any Enterprize, he awed the reſt who ſtill all of them except the King of *Kent*, had work enough, time and ſtrength little enough to be employed againſt the *Britains*, to win and ſettle thoſe Poſſeſſions which they had already obtained, and either convenience or ambition ſtill provoked them to obtain. They were forced to give him good words, and admit of his Superiority, obey his Commands without oppoſition. Not one blow can we find, this procured amongſt them.

To *Cynric* ſucceeds *Ceaulin*.

Civil Wars among the *Saxons* in *Britain*.

Ælla King of the South *Saxons* begins.

Lib. 2. *c.* 5.

8. He

Sect. 9.

Then *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*.

8. He being dead and gone, and his Posterity degenerating, some twenty years after *Ethelbert* came to be King of *Kent*, who receiving from his Ancestours a quiet possession of that Canton of the Island, grudged himself thus confined unto a Corner. Wealth and Idleness pricked him, and begat the Itch of ambition, which was vehemently provoked by this reflexion, that he was the Great, Great Grandchild (as we improperly speak, rather he his Great, Great Grandfather) the Heir and Successour of *Hengist*, that great Captain the first Leader of the *Saxons*, the first that gave them opportunity of obtaining this Wealth and Honour, to whose Sceptre it was but just and fit, that they should truckle and submit. This was a fair pretence where there was a sharp Sword to back it, but Interest and present Possession afford deaf Ears to matters of Right, much more of Honour and Reputation. *Ethelbert* could easily give Laws to the South *Saxons*, the Western were the great object of his Envy, which was increased by that opportunity, which the nearness of their situation suggested to him. While *Ceaulin* was busied in the settlement and inlargement of his own Kingdom, in which Employment he had now spent Eight years, he invades his Territories. *Ceaulin* his Affairs requiring he should ever be in readiness, was not unprepared for him, but speedily made head against him, and with *Cutha* gave him Battel at a Place called *Wibbandune*, where he gave him a great overthrow, *Oslac* and *Cnebban*, his *Ealdormen* or great Officers, being slain together with a great multitude of the inferiour sort, and drove him back into his *Kentish* Quarters. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* observes, that this was the first War which the Kings of the *English Saxons* waged amongst themselves, the first Battel fought on the account of a Civil Quarrel.

Who invading *Ceaulin* is overthrown.

Annal. Saxonic. ad Ann. DLXVIII. Þep Ceaulin ⁊ Cuþa ȝeþuhton þiþ Æþelbyrh ⁊ hine Cent ȝeþlymdon ⁊ þreȝen ealdormen on þibbandune oþþlogon Oþlac ⁊ Cnebban.

9. *Ceaulin* did not pursue him into *Kent*, or revenge the Injury and Violence at this time, his main concerns lying at home against the *Britains*. Notwithstanding all the Attempts of him and his Predecessours, still they continued and held many Places on every side him. Yet the first ingagement we meet with in the Annals of those that happened in his time, was that of the eleventh year of his Reign betwixt *Cuthwulfe*, whom *Huntingdon* calls his Brother, and confounds him with *Cutha*, at *Bedanford* which *Huntingdon* interprets of *Bedford*; which now saith he is the Head of the Circumjacent Province. He came off with Victory, as an effect whereof he took in four Towns, *Liganburk*, *Æglesburk*, *Benningtun* and *Egonesham*, that is such as afterward received these Names from their New Masters, for *Saxon* they are and not *British*. But *Cuthwulfe* survived his Victory not long, dying the very same year that these things happened. For six years after this we hear of no Action, as if *Ceaulin* by his Brother's death was destitute of a Commander. But six years after he took his Son *Cuthwine* with him in his stead, and again made War upon the *Britains*, of whom were slain three Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan* and *Farinmail*, at a place called *Deorham*, which done they subdued three notable Cities, *viz. Gleawancestre*, *Cyrencestre* and *Bathancester*. This *Deorham* is a little Town in *Glocestershire*, not far from *Severn*, at this day called *Derham*, where are yet to be seen huge Rampires and Trenches, as Fortifications of their Camps, and other most apparent Monuments here and there of so great a War. *Gleawancestre* is that we call *Glocester*, in *Antonine* named *Glevum* from *Glaw* in *British*, which signifieth *Fair* or *Goodly*, the *Britains* still calling it *Caer Glaw*. Being built by the *Romans* as a Curb to the *Silures*, it was thus wrested out of the Hand of the *Britains*, first by *Ceaulin*. Afterward the *Mercians* won it, under whom it flourished in great Honour, and *Osrick* King of *Northumberland* by permission of *Ethelrede* the *Mercian*, founded there a great and stately Nunnery, where *Kineburga*, *Eadburga* and *Eva* Queens of the *Mercians*, were successively Prioresses one after another. And *Edelfleda* that most Noble Lady of the *Mercians*, adorned it with a Church. *Cyrencester*, that we now call *Circester* and *Circiter*; called *Corinium* by *Ptolemy*; and by *Antonine*, *Durocornovium*, from the River *Corin* (now *Churn*) upon which it standeth, fifteen Miles distant from *Glevum* or *Glocester*, upon the *Roman* High Street. *Bathancester*, is that we now call *Bath* in *Somersetshire*, on which we are told, the *Saxons* for a long time durst not set, but left it to the *Britains*, till *Ceaulin* had defeated him at *Deorham*. Then it yielded after a furious assault, and within few years recovering some strength grew up again, and therewith got a new Name of * *Akmanchester*. For *Osbrick* in the year DCLXXVI, founded a Nunnery there, and immediately after when the *Mercians* had got it under them, King *Offa* built another Church, both which in the time of the *Danish* Broils were overthrown, and out of the Ruines of them both arose another Church, wherein *Eadgar* sirnamed the *Peace-maker*, being crowned

Ceaulin overthrows the *Britains* in two pitch'd Battels.

Ad An. DLXXXVII.

And takes several places, as *Deorham*,

Gleawancestre.

Cyrencester.

* *Ak ægrotus. Ache eodem sensu hodie durat, atque optimè huic loco quadrat iis maximè saluber, qui artubus suis doloribus laborant quos nos Anglico Sermone Aches dicimus.*

Sect. 9. crowned King bestowed upon the Citizens very many Immunities, the Memory of which they yearly celebrate with solemn Plays. But thus were the *Britains* dispossessed of these Countries for ever by this King of the West *Saxons*, though afterward all these three Places with the Territories about them, fell into the Hands of their Neighbours the *Mercians*.

10. No other Battel do we reade of that was fought betwixt these Nations, although probably many Contests and Skirmishes happened till the seventh year after, when *Ceaulin* and *Cutha* ingaged with the *Britains*, in a place called *Fethanleage*. Here *Cutha* lost his Life, but the Annals tell us, that *Ceaulin* took Towns, not a few, besides Plunder without measure, yet in great wrath and indignation he returned home. Here one would suspect it were for the death of *Cutha*; but *Huntingdon* writes that a most dreadfull fight being fought, *Cuthwine* was oppressed by the multitudes of his Enemies, overpowered and slain. The *English* were overthrown and put to flight; but *Ceaulin* coming in, in good time, caused them to rally, and setting on afresh, conquered the Conquerers, which done, in the pursuit he became Master of many Territories and innumerable Spoils. Thus flourished he, seeming not to court but to command Victory, while all, as well Enemies as Friends, stood wondering and looking on. But extraordinary Prosperity cannot be called Felicity, ending most commonly in extraordinary Misery. His Brother he lost, and as *Malmesbury* tells us, his Son of the same name was killed before his face. His great Success and Power, as it procured fear, so envy and hatred, while all that heard but of him, suspected presently their own Estates. This made not onely friends but foes to agree in this, to put a stop to his formidable greatness, so that *Britains* and *English* conspiring together, gave him Battel at a place called *Wodensbeorlige*, where so great a slaughter was made of his Men that he was totally defeated, and he who so lately commanded all on this side the River *Humber*, was now forc't in a forlorn condition to hide his Head, and lurk in some obscure place, a banished Man from his own Dominions, a miserable spectacle of the inconstancy of sublunary things. This *Wodensbeorlige* is now called *Wodensburge*, a little Village in *Wiltshire* near to that Ditch of wonderfull work, which being cast up for many Miles together, divideth the middle of this Shire from East to West. The People dwelling thereabout, call it *Wansdike*, and upon an errour generally received, they talk that it was made by the Devil upon a Wednesday. But in the *Saxon* Tongue it is called *Wodenesdic*, or the Dike of *Woden*, who here perhaps was worshipped by the Pagan *Saxons*, or being a thing of great consequence was dedicated to him. *Malmesbury* writes, that this great Battel was fought at it, not mentioning *Wodensburge*, and it's very probable that the *Saxons* made it to divide the two Kingdoms of the West *Saxons* and *Mercians* asunder, this being the very place of Battel between them, while they strove one with another to inlarge their Dominions. For besides this Battel betwixt *Ceaulin* and the *Saxons*, and *Britains*, who joyned together; at this Dike, to say nothing of other accidents, *Ina* the West *Saxon* afterward, and *Cealrede* the *Mercian* joyned Battel, and departed the Field on even terms. It was their custome to make such Ditches, such was that of *Offa*, of which we have already spoken. Others are also to be seen among the East *Angles* in *Cambridgeshire* and *Suffolk*, wherewith they bounded their Territory, and defended themselves from the Inrodes and violence of the *Mercians*.

Another Victory over the *Britains*.

Ceaulin at last is defeated at *Wodensbeorlige*.

11. *Ceaulin* being thus driven into exile, when he had Reigned one and thirty years, died shortly after, in the second year, say the Annals, and together with him perished *Cuichelme* and *Crida*, the same year that *Ethelfrith* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*. This his Catastrophe, was the high advancement of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, who for the reasons but now alledged, having high designs in his Head, was hitherto hindred from bringing them to perfection by the greater abilities and success of *Ceaulin*. By this time he had well ripen'd his Ambition with more general observation and experience in war, and what he formerly, when raw and unpractis'd, had attempted, now succesfully attained, and by degrees brought all the other Kingdoms between *Kent* and *Humber* to be at his Devotion, that of the West *Saxons* the firmest of all, being now in a very low condition: this gave him the main advantage, being humbled to his hand; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories and the Terrour which they procured, his Reputation being farther strengthened by his Marriage with *Bertha*, Daughter to a King of the *Franks*. But to return to the Kingdom of *Wessex*, in its deplorable estate, *Ceolric* the Nephew of *Ceaulin*, by his Brother *Cutha* undertook its protection, and as he could in so ticklish times, ordered

Being driven into exile dies.

Ad. An. DXCIII.

Is succeeded by *Ceolric*.

Then followed *Ceolwulf.*

dered the affairs thereof for five years. After him followed *Ceolwulf* his Brother, who for all the fourteen years he governed, was perpetually employed, either against the *English*, *Britains*, *Picts* or *Scots*, and came off with advantage. Yet have we nothing particular concerning these great attempts; onely this is mention'd, that the same year that *Ethelfrith* warred against the *Britains* of *Chester*, he made war upon the South *Saxons*. It must be remembred that *Ethelbert* of *Kent* outlived him, and therefore he having all his Life the superiority over all the other Kings, he durst not attempt any thing against him, it must have been against his fellow Vassals; and as for the *Picts* and *Scots*, he lying at such a distance from them, his warring against them, must have been in giving assistence to the *Northumbrians* their next Neighbours. He dying after he had Reigned fourteen years, *Cynegils* the Son of *Ceolric* (or, as the Annals call him, *Ceol*) succeeded him. The Translatour of the Annals talks of his, and *Quichelm* taking the Government upon them in the same year. But the Annals themselves say no such thing, and *Huntingdon* writes, that he took his Brother *Kichelm* in the fourth year of his Reign, to be his Collegue in the Kingdom.

Sect. 9.

Fahr ⁊ fon.

Her Cynegyls feng to rice on ferc Scaxum ⁊ heold XXXI. rintra. Cynegyls fæf Ceoling. Ceol Cufaning Cynpuing.

Next *Cynegils* and *Quicelm.* Who Reigned joyntly.

12. *Cynegils* began his Reign in the second year of *Heraclius* the Emperour, the two and fiftieth of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the twentieth of *Ethelfrith* the fierce King of the *Northumbrians*, A. D. DCXII. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that *Cinegisle* and *Quicelm*, the Sons of *Celric*, put on the Ensigns of the Kingdom with equal Authority, they were both stout Persons, and contend betwixt themselves in the mutual Offices of Piety which should exceed, insomuch, that in respect of their Concord, not usual among Kings, they may be propounded as a Miracle to the present, and an Example to future times. Many Wars they waged, one cannot distinguish whether with greater valour or moderation, either against the *Britains* or *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, a Man exceedingly dextrous in the surprizing feats of War, who having passed beyond his own Bounds, while he labours to get *Cirecester* into his hands, was not able to bear the shock of these unanimous Kings, but with a few in his Company ran away. *Quicelm* is not a little blamed, for hiring an Assassinate to murther *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, a Man of approved wisedom. But if that gentile saying be considered, *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat*, he will easily find excuse having done nothing unusual, and led by a desire to remove out of the way by any means he could, one who studied his own destruction. For from the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*, he had before this wrested much, and at that time irritated by the injury recieved, the old grudges now coming to remembrance, practised many things which tended to their great damage. But the Kings escaped, to whom not long after, by the Preaching of *Binnus* the Bishop, the Heavenly Doctrine was revealed, in the twenty fifth year of their Reign, and the fortieth after the coming of St. *Augustine*, the Apostle of the *English*. *Cinegisle* was presently won, and abasing his Royal Loftyness, willingly submitted himself to the Priest in Baptism. *Quicelm* wrinched a little, till by the health of his Body, admonished that he should not neglect the Salvation of his Soul he imitated the devotion of his Consort, and died the same year. But *Cinegisle*, for six years after, enjoying long quiet and repose, ended his Life in the one and thirtieth of his Reign.

Ad. An. DCXI.

Who beat the *Britains* at *Beamdune* in *Dorsetshire.*

13. Thus much *Malmesbury* in general, concerning the joynt Government of these Kings, we shall add what particulars we can light upon in these obscure times. The first is the Battel, which in the third or fourth year of *Cynegils* they fought against the *Britains*, at a place called *Beamdune*, where were slain of the said *Britains*, two thousand and six and forty. *Huntingdon* here tells us, that they were frighted at the very sight of their Enemies, and at the first onset threw down their Ensigns and fled. Others write, that it was a doubtfull and dangerous Battel, each one using his conjecture, rather than having any thing certain from the Monuments of Antiquity, whereon to fix this. We may easily believe that this *Beamdune* was that Town of *Dorsetshire*, situate upon the River *Frome*, which at this day is known by the Name of *Bindon*. As for that attempt which *Quichelm* made to take away the Life of *Edwin*, we must remember that this Prince was the fifth, whose Authority extended it self over all the Provinces of the *English Saxons*, greater in this respect than any of the other four, that their Territories were now subject to him, but his Dominions never had been in their Power, to which a bound was ever put by the River *Humber*. He had made bold in several respects, as well with the West *Saxons* as with others, and would give Law to them all. What therefore could not be done by fair, *Quichelm* resolved to effect by foul means; for foul it was, never to be excused or reconcileable with

Her Cynegyls ⁊ Cpichelm gefuhton on Beamdune. ⁊ offrogon ⁊ tpa ðusen-ðo peala ⁊ XLVI.

Ad. An. DCXV.

Sect. 9. with generosity, even in any Enemy. But the thing was this, as we have it from the Authentick History of *Beda* himself. A certain Assassinate named *Eumere*, was sent from *Quichelm* the King of the West *Saxons*, to kill King *Edwin*. Pretending a Message from his Master, he runs upon him with an envenomed weapon (that in case the steel did not, the poyson might take effect) near the River *Derwent*, where stood at that time the King's Palace. This being perceived by *Lilla* a faithfull and loving Servant of the King's standing by, he interposed himself and was stabbed, the King also received a little hurt by the blow through his Body. The Assassinate killed another Souldier called *Forthere*, and at last was killed himself and cut in pieces. The King was exceedingly disturbed at the villany, but his grief was a little mitigated by a Daughter, of which his Queen was brought to Bed the night following. He gave thanks therefore unto his Gods, which being overheard by *Paulinus* the Bishop, he expostulated it with him, affirming that the Queen through his Prayers had been delivered without much pain. The King well pleased to hear that, promised that he would believe in Christ, in case he would give him Victory over *Quichelm*, and as a pledge of his promise commanded his little Daughter to be Christened, which was done, the Name of *Eanfleda* being given her, and with her were Baptized twelve others of the Family. Then did he raise an Army and lead it against *Quichelm*, and beginning a War, either killed all that had been of the Conspiracy, or had them delivered up unto him. To this *Matthew* of *Westminster* adds, that *Quichelm* he slew in the place, which from him is called in the Language of the *English Quichelmes haune* to this day. In testimony of the Victory he gave this Name to the Place, and so in triumph returned home. *Bed. Hist. lib. 2. c. 9.*

14. The Passage concerning the death of *Quichelm* is such as agrees not with other Authours, nor can we believe it true, being placed by the Flowergatherer before the Battel betwixt *Kinegils* and *Peuda*, at which other Writers unanimously affirm *Quichelm* to have been present. But he, and *Florentius* of *Worcester*, otherwise also differ from some of their fellow Historians about this Person, he calling him *Quichelm*, and both of them accounting him the Son of *Kinegils*, whereas others speak of him as of his Brother; but to say truth, the Annals make him his Son. Next after this Battel betwixt them and *Edwin*, that is placed by the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, which he affirms, they fought with the two Sons and Successours of *Sebert* the King of the Eastern *Saxons*. He makes them to have been the Aggressours, says, that being more in number they fought boldly but unfortunately. For both of these young men were killed, and scarcely could any of their Souldiers escape their flight, being intercepted both by the Mountains of dead Bodies, and the Torrents of bloud. In the third year after he placeth their fight with *Peuda* King of the *Mercians* at *Cirencester*, where assembled very great Armies on both sides, and (saith he) they fought it out with invincible Courage, till parted by the Intervention of Night and Darkness; and in the Morning when they were about to renew their fury, the Kings took up the Quarrel by a Truce, or some other Accommodation. What Circumstances soever he may add concerning their Multitudes and the Intervention of Night, that such a Fight there was, and a Cessation thereupon we are assured by the Annals. That first *Kinegils*, and then *Quichelm* was Baptized the year after they also confirm; and moreover, that this very year *Quichelm* died eight years after the fight with *Peuda*, and three years after the death of *Edwin*, who therefore could not kill him in the Battel lately mentioned, but yield himself he might into his Hands. Then lastly for *Cynegils*, that he outlived him six years the said Annals make manifest, placing the Succession of his Son (for his Death they mention not) in the seventh year after the death of *Quichelm*.

They invade *Sebert* King of the Eastern *Saxons*.

And wage War with *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*.

Ad. An. DCXXVIII.

Ad An. DCXXXV & DCXXXVI.

Ad. An. DCXLIII.

15. *Cenwalh* the Son of *Cynegils* succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of the West *Saxons* in the third year of *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Peuda* King of the *Mercians* the same that *Oswi* began his Reign over the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCXLII. By *Malmesbury* he is described a Prince in the beginning of his Reign to be compared with the worst, in the middle, and the end with the best of Kings. Coming young to the Government, by Luxury he grew Insolent, despising the Example set him by his Father, and lawfull Matrimony; but being by *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, whose Sister he had repudiated, set upon with War, he was driven out of his Kingdom, and fled to the King of the East *Angles*; whereby being disciplined by Adversity and the Perswasions of him that gave him Entertainment, he considered better of it, was fully perswaded in the Faith, and recovered his Kingdom; where, to his Subjects, he presented himself a welcome Miracle of alteration for

Cenwalh begins his Reign.

Cenwalh Annal. Saxonic. alias Kenwalh & Kenewalh, Cenwald.

Is driven out of his Kingdom by *Peuda*.

Returns.

Is Baptized.

Sect. 9.

for the better, so valiant that he who formerly was not able to protect his own Territories, now twice overthrew the *Britains*, who remembring their ancient liberty fretted at their present condition, and therefore often plotted how they might successfully rebell; first in the place called *Witgeornesbrug*, and again by the Hill called *Pene*. Upon *Wulpher* also the Son of *Peuda* he revenged the Injuries received from his Father, taking from him a good part of his Kingdom. So Religious he was, that first of all *Saxon* Kings he built at *Winchester* the most beautifull Church of that time, the pattern whereof was followed afterward in founding the Episcopal See, though in a more stately manner. So Munificent that nothing, even of his Patrimony, would he deny to his Kindred, as who bestowed upon his Brother's Son well nigh the third part of his Kingdom. These Royal Vertues of his were much excited by the Admonitions of *Angilbert* and *Lutherius*, successively Bishops of his Province.

16. That *Cenwalh* was by *Peuda* driven away, the *Saxon* Annals do testifie, the year before he was Baptized; so that if he was not Baptized till his return out of Exile, as by the Annals it appears, he could not be absent from his Kingdom three years, as both they and *Beda* affirm; but perhaps longer it was e'er he received Baptism. The King of the East *Angles*, to whom he fled, and who by his Advice brought him to a thorough understanding of himself was *Auna*, who afterward was slain by *Peuda* the *Mercian*, without any succour or assistence received from him that we reade of. The kindness to his Relations appears from that great gift he gave to *Cuthrede* his Nephew the Son of *Quichelm*, and Grandson of *Cynegils*, as in this place the Annals expresly signifie, which was three thousand Lands (as the *Saxon* terms them) by *Æcesdune*, which *Huntingdon* interprets of Villages, or possibly they might be so many *Hides*, as afterward were called the ordinary division of Grounds; but the expression used by *Malmesbury* of the third part of his Kingdom, seems to hint at as great a quantity as that whereof *Huntingdon* speaks. As for the success which after his return he had against his Enemies, Authours speak variously thereof; for though *Malmesbury* and others talk of Victories, * *Beda* saith expresly that he very often received most grievous Damages from them in his Kingdom. Four years after his Gift to *Cuthrede* the Annals make mention of his fighting at a Place called *Bradanford* upon the River *Afene*, but name none against whom he fought, neither tell they what the success was. *Cambden* tells us it had the Name of *Bradanford* from the broadness of the Ford of *Avon*, which is there inlarged by receiving a little Rivulet; that it is now called *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*, situate upon the descent of an Hill. Here he saith *Cenwalh* King of the West *Saxons* imbrued his Sword with bloud in Civil-war against *Cuthrede* his near Kinsman. But he names no Authour from whom he had it. If so it was, either *Cuthrede* was guilty of much Ingratitude, or *Cenwalh* of much oversight and Inconstancy.

Is kind to his Relations.

Ad An. DCXLVIII. Hep Cenpalh gereal-de Cuppede hirmæge in Surendo londer be Arcerdune. re Cuppede pær Cyichelming. Cuichelm Cynegilring.

* *Lib.* 3. *c.* 7.

He overthrows the *Britains* in two several Battels.

17. As for the Battel fought against the *Britains* at *Witgeornesbrug*, there's none that makes mention of it beside the Monk of *Malmesbury* himself, and upon his mere Credit it must lye. But there might well be such a Fight; for when he was setled after his Restauration he undertook a War against them, or rather they against him, if *Huntingdon* may be believ'd, who writes, that they knowing full well how he had been beaten by *Peuda*, and driven him from his Kingdom, despised him as one not able to defend himself; and getting together a great number of men, in the pride of their Hearts made War upon him. And in the first ingagement the *Britains* seemed to make the *Saxons* give ground. But the *Saxons* desiring rather to die than flie, so pertinaciously maintained the Fight, that the *Britains* were quite tired out, and their strength melted away like Snow. They gave then their backs to the Conquerours, were chased from *Pen* as far as *Pedrede*, and an incurable wound was made in the Posterity of *Brutus* in that day: These are the words. The Annals confirm that he fought against the *Britains* or *Welsh* as they term them, and that he chased them as far as *Pedridan*. *Pen*, *Cambden* tells us, is now an obscure Village not far from the River *Juel* in *Somersetshire*, though anciently famous, being ordained by destiny, as it may seem, to the overthrow both of *Britains* and *Danes*. For at this very place (saith he) *Keniwalch* a West *Saxon* had such a day of the *Britains* that scarcely ever after would they abide to enter the Field against the *English Saxons*. And many a year after that, King *Edmund*, sirnamed *Ironside*, gave there a notable foil to the *Danes*, as he pursued *Canutus* their King, then Usurping the Crown of *England*, from place to place. *Pedridan* is a Town also in that County now of no account, except for the Market or Fair there held, but formerly the Royal Seat of King *Ina*, now called

Sect. 9. called *Pedderton* from the River *Pedred*, (commonly *Parret*) which here runneth into *Ivel* and robbeth him of his Name.

Pedderton.

18. Not long after *Cenwalh* took occasion to fall out with *Wulhfere* the *Mercian*, the Son of *Peuda* his old enemy, and gave him Battel at a place called *Possentes Berig*. *Fabius Ethelward* is singular in this story, favouring much the Family of the West *Saxons*, from which he himself was descended. He writes, that he took him Prisoner; But the Annals saying that he fought at this place in *Easter* Holydays, add that *Wulfer* harassed all as far as *Æslesdune*, the same year wherein died *Cuthred* the Son of *Quichelm* and King *Cenbyrht*. That *Wulfere* wasted the Isle of *Wight*, and bestowed the Inhabitants thereof on *Ethelwald* the King of the South *Saxons*, to whom he was Godfather, and that *Eoppa* the Priest by command of *Wulfhere*, and King *Wulfhere* himself, first were Authours of Baptism to the Inhabitants of the said Island, which how it agrees with another affirmation of *Beda*, we shall see in a more proper place. We have no more to say of *Cenwalh*, than that he died after he had Reigned one and thirty years: we know not whether we should take notice of what the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* thinks to be worthy special remarque. The year before he died happened a mighty fight of Birds in *England*, which that you may believe to have been no impossible thing, he tells you that in his time the very same thing happened in *Normandy*, during the Reign of *Henry* the First. About the City of *Roven*, such Combats there were that thousands of them were found slain upon the Earth, and the strangers seemed to be put to flight. A sign he counts it of the Battel fought betwixt the said *Henry* then King of *England*, and Duke of *Normandy*, and the *French* King *Lewis* the Son of *Philip*. In which fight *Henry* remained Victor, and *Lewis* was routed and ran away. But as for *Cenwalh*, at his death, he left his Kingdom to the disposal of his Wife *Senburgh*. But she surviveded him not long, holding the Government but one year, which ended, the Nobility expelled her, disdaining, as *Matthew* of *Westminster* writes, to fight under the Banner of a Woman, though *Malmesbury* says, she strenuously discharged all Offices of a good Ruler. It seems she took it to heart, for she died presently after.

Dyes.

A strange fight of Birds in the Air.

Ad. An. 672.

Several petty Kings.

19. *Beda* writes, that after the death of *Cenwalh*, very Petty Kings held the Kingdom divided among themselves, and that for about ten years together, not mentioning *Sexburg*. Others speak of *Escuin* the Son or Nephew of *Cuthgist* the Brother of *Cynegils*, who Reigned but two years, yet was not petty in his Actions; for he dared to grapple with *Wulfhere* King of the *Mercians*, with whom he fought a Battel at a place called *Bedanhafde*, and about a year after, both of them died. *Kentwin* the Son of *Cynegils*, after him assumed the Title, or as *Beda* hints, Reigned at the same time, being as the Monk notes as well as the other, of approved experience in War; for he defeated the *Britains*, as *Escuin* before him did the *Mercians*. Of this defeat we have no other account from the Annals than that he drove them as far as the Sea, but whence or to what Sea, we are far to seek. This they place five years after the beginning of *Kentwin*, and four years after this they tell us that *Ceadwalla* again began to seize on the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*. Thus much *Beda* writes concerning this *Ceadwalla*, that he was a most valiant young Man of the Royal stock of the *Gevissi*, and being banished his Countrey, came with an Army upon *Edelwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, whom he slew, and then cruelly with Fire and Sword harassed his Dominions. *Malmesbury* affirms, that being descended from *Cutha* the Brother of *Ceaulin*, he was a young Man of immoderate hope, who could not omit any occasion of exercising his Valour. Having by his restless humour provoked the indignation of the Nobility, too powerfull a faction he excited against himself, and was driven to Banishment. Being constrained at this time to submit to his Fortune, that he might make his County naked and defenceless, he took away with him all the youth, which either for love to his vertues, or in commiseration of his sufferings, willingly followed him. The first that underwent the violence of his fury, was *Edelwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, who was so bold as to grapple with him; but being routed with all his People, procured, as the effect of his rashness, a late repentance. But *Ceadwalla* on the contrary, having by so great success incouraged his Men, speedily returned, and an unlooked for onset easily drove away his Emulators. After this, enjoying the Kingdom two years, he gave many evident proofs of his Military Abilities. Bearing to the South *Saxons* an irreconcileable hatred, he destroyed also *Edrich* the Successour of *Edelwalch*, who refused not, but boldly gave him Battel. The Inhabitants of the Isle of *Wight*, who in confidence of assistence from the *Mercians* rebelled, he almost utterly destroyed. Over those of *Kent* he often

As Sexburg.

Escuin.

Kentwin.

Ceadwalla.

Sets upon Edelwalch King of the South Saxons.

Seizes the Isle of Wight.

Invades Kent.

Lib. 4. *c.* 12. *Subreguli. Sic Malmesb. at vero Annales Saxon. aliter eum à Centrico derevant.*

Ad. An. DCLXXIV.

Annal. ad An. DCLXXV.

Ad. An. DCLXXXI.

Lib. 4. *c.* 15.

Vide ejus stemma apud Annal. ad. An. DCLXXXV.

often obtained Victory, and revenged sufficiently upon them the death of his Brother. Amongst other things memorable of him, it's hard to say with what Piety he was endued, even before his Baptism; for the Tithe of all his Spoils, he gave to Almighty God. In which thing, as we approve his affection, so we disapprove his example, according to that saying: *He that offers Sacrifice of the substance of the Poor, is as if he offered the Son in the presence of the Father.* But that he went to *Rome* to be Baptized, was there Baptized by *Sergius* the Pope, and called *Peter*, and as yet being in *Albis* (or within seven days after his Baptism) died, is more known than that it needs any relation from us.

Sect. 9.

Alkerne is christened *Peter*, and dies.

20. So much doth *Beda* and *Malmesbury* write of *Ceadwalla*, which the Reader must take in the name of all the *English* writers. For the History of the *Britains* and the Annals of the *English* do not agree about this King. The Annals say, he was the Son of *Cenbyrht*, descended from *Ceaulin* by *Cutha*, in the fourth degree, but the *Britains* affirm him the Son of *Cadwallin* their King, the same that slew *Edwin* and *Oswald*, the Kings of the *Northumbrians*. Of this *Cadwallin*, they tell a ridiculous story, that being spent with Age, after a Reign of eight and fourty years, the *Britains* embalming his Body, put it into an Image of Brass, resembling him, which they set upon a Brazen Horse, over the Western Gate of *London*, in memory of the great things he performed against the *English*: a lye which proceeded from some Monk of a brazen face, who could not be ignorant that *London*, long before this time, had been out of the hands of the *Britains*. Now they say also, that under the very Gate they built a Church in honour of St. *Martin*, wherein for him and the rest of the faithfull deceased, divine obsequies might be for ever celebrated. In his Kingdom succeeded his Son *Cadwalader*, whom *Beda* calls *Cadwalla*, a young Man, whose Mother was Sister to *Peuda* King of the *Mercians*, and Married by *Cadwallin*, after a reconciliation made with his Brother. All this as a story attended with such ridiculous circumstances, we reject, betaking our selves to the Pedigree of *Ceadwalla*, which the *Saxon* Annals afford us, and the more sure testimony of *Beda*, who affirms him of the * Royal stock of the *Gevissi*. From the same *Beda* we must add to what we have formerly said concerning his killing *Ædilwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, that though he had slain him, he was immediately driven away by *Berchthun* and *Andhun*, the King's Captains, who afterward held the Province of that Kingdom. Yet he farther adds, that the first of these Captains, when *Ceadwalla* came to be King of the *Gevissi*, was killed by him, and the Province subjected to more grievous servitude than before. In the following Chapter he writes, that after *Ceadwalla* was possessed of the Kingdom of the *Gevissi*, he took the Isle of *Wight*, which before this time was wholly given to Idolatry, labouring by a tragical slaughter utterly to exterminate all the Natives, and to substitute in their rooms men of his own Province. From him it appears that one *Arvald* was at this time King of the Island, whose two Sons having taken, and resolving to kill them, he permitted they should be Baptized before they were put to death. But we cannot admit him for above a *Regulus* or Petty King, remembring that on this *Ædilwalch* King of the South *Saxons*, *Wulfhere* King of the *Mercians*, his Godfather, bestowed this Isle of *Wight*, whom *Ceadwalla* having slain in right of prosecution of War, entred and subdued this part of his Dominions, which lay so conveniently for him. From this time forward our Writers for a great while have not one word of *Wight*, till the year of our Lord, one thousand sixty six, in which *Tostie*, King *Harold*'s Brother, with certain Men of War and Rovers Ships out of *Flanders*, in hatred of his Brother, invaded it, and after he had fleeced the Inhabitants of their Money, quickly again departed.

Math. Florilegus ad An. 676.

De Regio genere Gevissorum, quod Rex Alfredus sit vertit: per Seaxna æþæling. *nunc quis sit Ætheling omnes qui vel mediocriter Saxonicè callent satis norunt. idem scil. qui Priscis Clyto, Cæsar, Princeps, Juventutis. Anglis hodiernis Prince. Edgar Etheling, Enlands darling, Ille cui Regnum Anglorum ante Haraldum vel etiam Gulielmum Normannum debebatur.*

21. To what we have already said concerning *Ceadwalla*, his Invasion of *Kent*, (in the History of that Kingdom) and the Death of his Brother, whom *Latin* writers call *Mollo*, but the *Saxon* Annals *Mull*, we can add nothing more that is material. He being gone to *Rome* to receive Baptism, *Ina* the Son of *Cenred*, whose Father was *Ceolwald*, the Brother of *Cynegils*, obtained the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*, in the third year of *Justinian* the younger Emperour, in the days of *Theodorick* King of the *Franks*, the third of *Alfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, and the fourteenth of *Æthelred* (or *Ædilred*) King of the *Mercians*. A. D. DCLXXXVIII. The Monk of *Malmesbury* is very smart and pithy in his Description of him. He writes, that more in respect of the industry of his insitive Vertue than any Pedigree of a successive Off-spring, he was taken to be Prince, the onely specimen of Fortitude, Image of Prudence, his equal for Religion you cannot find. By such like Acts, framing the course of his Life at home, he

Beda Hist. lib. 4. *c.* 16.

Ina King of the West *Saxons*.

Annal. ad An. 689.

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he purchased favour and reverence abroad. And for eight and thirty years exercising his Function, he waxed old, all along void of the fear of Treachery, a most holy Pander as it were of publick Love. His first expedition was against the *Kentish* men, bearing still in his mind the burning of *Mollo* alive. For a little while they made resistence, but after their utmost effort, having left nothing unattempted, and finding every thing unsuccesfull, when they could find nothing in the breast of *Ina*, which might incourage slothfulness, they began to consider of their Estate, and fairly yielded. With Gifts they make tryal of his Royal mind, they solicite him by Promises, and for thirty thousand Marks of Gold, they purchase their own quiet by his retreat. He having received the money pardoned what was past, and returned home. But not onely they of *Kent*, but the Inhabitants of East *England*, were made objects of his hereditary hatred, all their Nobility being first driven away, and afterwards defeated in Battel. Let this suffice to have been said of the success of his Wars. How great a man he was in the things of God, the Laws which he made to correct the Vices of his People sufficiently shew, which still remain as a living Mirrour of his purity. The Monasteries he built are evident Witnesses, structures of Royal Magnificence, especically that of *Glastenbury*. At length he declares how by the solicitations of *Ethelburga* his Wife, after all his Earthly Triumphs he arrived at the height of Glory and Perfection as he esteems it, and went to *Rome*, where he lived and died as obscurely as he had desired.

Forces the *Kentish* men to buy peace. Invades East *England*.

22. As for his first Expedition into *Kent*, others write that *Victred* unwilling to hazard all for the rash Act of a few, delivered up thirty of those that had been accessory to the burning of *Mollo*. This expedition the Annals place at the sixth year of his Reign, and are silent as to any other Act of his, till fifteen years after. Then they tell us that *Ina* and *Nun* his Kinsman fought with *Gerend* King of *Wales*, but where or how they leave us in Ignorance. With as much shortness and obscurity, fourteen years after this they inform us, that *Ina* and *Ceolred* King of the *Mercians*, fought Battel at a place called *Wodensboorke* or *Wodensburge*, the same we have formerly mentioned to stand near to *Wansdike* in *Wiltshire*, or the Dike of *Woden*. *Huntingdon* from what Authority we have not, affirms that they fought horribly on both sides, so that it could not be known, on which the greater Number of Men was lost. But *Ina*, if not Victour, remained the Survivour, *Ceolred* dying the following year, who that year that next succeeded, was followed into another World by *Ingild* the Brother of *Ina*, whose Sisters the Annals take here occasion to mention. They were two, *Cwenburk* and *Cuthburk*; whereof the later built a Monastery in a place called *Winburnan*; the other was married to *Alfrid* King of the *Northumbrians*, but out of desire to be wedded also to a monastical life, was separated from him while he yet lived. After this time it seems that *Ina* was vexed at home by Civil Discords, his Title having not been such to the Government, but that others thought their right as good as his. For the Annals at the year which follows, tell us he slew *Cynewulfe*, and *Florent* of *Worcester* gives him the Title of *Clyto*, the same with *Ætheling*, and given to none but those of the Bloud Royal. But no sooner was one cut off, but assoon if not sooner, another appeared, one *Ealdbright* who seized on a Castle which *Ina* had built at *Tantune*. Whom the Archdeacon tells us Queen *Edelburk* besieged, took the Castle and razed it, *Ealdbright* being fled into *Surrey*. He was pursued by *Ina* from *Surrey* into *Sussex*, where the Inhabitants undertaking his protection were overthrown in Battel, and *Ealdbright* himself was slain, all which the Annals allow. Three years after they tell us that *Ina* went to *Rome*, leaving his Kingdom after he had held it seven and thirty years.

Ingages with *Welred* King of the *Mercians*.

Civil Wars at home.

An. DCCXXI.

23. That *Ina* went to *Rome* at the solicitation of *Edelburk* his Wife, who also accompanied him, we have already related from the Monk of *Malmesbury*, and that six years before his departure she was his Wife, the Annals do plainly signifie. But elsewhere we hear another story of his marrying *Guala*, the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, from which Daughter we are told, that Countrey was called *Wallia*, which in ancienter times had the Name of *Cambria*. Moreover with this last Wife he received *Cambria*, *Cornubia*, and (with her they must all begin) the blessed Crown of *Britain*, which belonged to *Cadwalader* the last King of the *Britains*. All the *English* which lived at that time, took their Wives from the *British* stock, and the *Britains* from the illustrious bloud and stock of the *English*, that is the race of the *Saxons*. For this was done by the Common Council and assent of all the Bishops, Princes, Nobles and Counts with all the wise men, the Elders and People of the whole Kingdom, and that

Unites the *British* and *English* by Marriages.

that by Command of the aforesaid King *Ina*. Yet some *English* fetcht their Wives from the Bloud and Kind of the *Angles* of *Germany*, some *English* from the bloud and kind of the *Scots*, and almost all the *Scots* from the best bloud and stock of the *Angles* of *Germany*. So at that time throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*, they were two in one flesh, and so did he constitute right Wedlock, destroyed Fornication and Uncleanness out of his Kingdom, ordaining right Judgment for the stability of his Kingdom, the strengthening of his People, with a benign Industry. And in this manner were they made one Nation and one People, by God's mercy throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*. Then did all call that the Kingdom of the *English*, which formerly had been called the Kingdom of *Britain*. Sect. 9.

24. All these People ever afterward for the Common Utility of the Crown of the Kingdom, stood unanimously together against the *Danes* and *Norwagians*, fought most fiercely against them, and waged together most cruel Wars. For, the aforesaid King *Ina* was an excellent Prince, bountifull, wise, prudent, moderate, stout, just, courageous and a perfect Souldier, both as to time and place, in the Divine Laws, in secular Affairs, in writings and performing of all good works very glorious. His Kingdom he governed, consolidated and held in peace by his great wisedom and prudence, and where the Case required by force and strength of hand. This is the substance of a great Council, consisting of such great Men as lately were mentioned, said to be held by King *Ina*, a little after he had married *Guala* the Daughter of *Cadwalader* King of the *Britains*, with which Wife he obtained all *Cambria*, and the Crown of *Cadwalader*, found amongst the Laws of *Edward* the Confessour. But notwithstanding the Authenticknes of the Laws among which it is found, there is no good Historian that makes mention of any such Marriage of his with *Guala*, or any such occasion of the Origination of the Name of *Wallia*. Who the *English Saxons* and *Germans* were wont to call *Walls* or *Gualls*, we have already shewn. Neither had he any other Wife than *Ethelburk*, a *Saxon* not *Britain*, as her Name demonstrates, who at such time as he went to *Rome* turned Nun, and became afterwards Abbess of *Barking*. After this he never married, for they both continued in the monastical kind of life till death concluded it. As for the time of this pretended Council and its Authority, we are full as much in the dark. Some report *Cadwalader* to have reigned onely three years, others five, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* twelve, so that when *Ina* should have entred upon his Kingdom of *Cambria* is uncertain. Moreover he makes *Ina* the Nephew, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and *H. Lhuyd* the Son, and this Council the Son-in-Law of *Cadwalader*. But the *Britains* having feigned *Ceadwalla* to be their King, could not make up the Romance without this story adjoined of his Successour.

Goes to *Rome*.

25. The most noble part of *Ina* his Acts is yet behind, his Body of Laws which we must refer till we come to speak of the *Saxon* Laws in general. He went not to *Rome* till he had provided himself and People of a Successour. This was one *Æthelheard* his Kinsman, who though by the means of *Ina*, he first obtained the Royalty, yet to confirm it was put to no little trouble. The first that created him, this troubles was *Oswald* the Son of *Æthelbald* King of the *Mercians*, to whom the Annals give the Title of *Æthelingh*, and say that in the very year of *Æthelheard's* promotion they fought, but as to the success they are silent, onely the year following they tell us of a Comet, which ushered in the death of *Oswald* in the succeeding year, a natural death for any thing that appears either from them or others. *Malmesbury* observes that a check by him was often given to the beginnings of *Æthelheard*, against whom he stirred up the People unto Rebellion. But not long after he being taken away by death, he writes that *Æthelheard* held the Kingdom quietly for fourteen years, and so left it to *Cuthrede* his Kinsman. *Cuthrede* had grievous contests with *Æthelbald* King of the *Mercians*. It seems this Enmity was too severe long to continue; for, two years after, the same Annals relate that *Æthelbald* and *Cuthrede* fought jointly against the Welshmen, so that their private Interests and Grudges, at last they submitted to publick Concernments. Here again the Annals are silent as to the Success, but *Huntingdon* doubts not to assign them a great Victory over an innumerable multitude of *Britains*, using his ordinary way of expressing the greatness of a Fight. The courageous Kings and their most famous Souldiers laid so about them in their several Quarters, that the *Britains* not able to sustain any more their violence, gave their Backs to the Smiters, and their Baggage to the Pursuers. Which Victory obtained these Princes returned home, where (no doubt) they were very joyfully received.

Makes *Æthelheard* his Successour.

Who is disturbed in his Government by *Oswald* a Mercian.

The next King was *Cuthrede*.

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26. The Succeſs and Proſperity of *Cuthred*, was three years after interrupted by a ſad Accident in his own Family. The Annals note onely, that *Cynric* the *Etheling* of the Weſt *Saxons*, was ſlain. *Huntingdon* ſays he was his Son, terms him the Glory of Arms, the deſtroyer of wild Beaſts; tender in Age, but ſmart in martial matters, little in years, but great in vigour, who ſtill preſſing upon his own Succeſſes, and ſoliciting the fortune of War too much, his extravagance of mind, was puniſhed by a death procured, by the mutiny of his Souldiers. That he was his Son we may eaſily believe, from what the word *Etheling* doth import, and that it proceeded from a Sedition of the Souldiers, that may as eaſily perſwade us, which is mentioned in the Annals at the ſecond year after, that King *Cuthred* fought with that furious Captain *Æthelhun*. *Huntingdon* in his comment upon this text, hath this inlargement upon it, that having raiſed ſedition againſt his Lord, though as to the number of his Forces he was far inferiour to him, yet long and reſolutely did he maintain his rebellion: And when now Victory ſeemed to incline to his ſide, at length a wound inflicted on his Body, and perjury in his mind procured the cauſe of the King to triumph. But this Rebellion ſeems of no larger extent than to be contained within the bounds of a Civil War. It raiſed no new one from without, this *Æthelhun* having no correſpondence with *Æthelbald*, that by virtue of that Peace and Alliance formerly made betwixt the two Kings, now again vaniſhed into nothing. But in the ſecond year after the Fight with *Æthelhun*, we are told that *Cuthred* in the twelfth of his Reign, fought again with *Æthelbald*, at a place called *Beorgforda*. *Huntingdon*'s Copy hath it *Hereford*, though Authours generally agree, it was *Bedford* where the Battel was fought. *Æthelhun* he tells us being now reconciled to the King, was his Captain and Councellour in this expedition. He then tells a long tale in affected words concerning the Fight, and how the King and Conſul (as he terms *Æthelhun*) meeting came to a ſingle Combat, which ended in the Cowardiſe and Flight of *Æthelbald*, who outlived not this defeat two years, being ſlain in another Battel fought againſt the Weſt *Saxons* at *Secandune*, and buried at *Repandune*, as we have already in the Hiſtory of his Kingdom related.

Hep pæt orflegen Cynric rertſeaxna Æþeling. *An.* 748.

Whoſe Son *Cynric* was ſlain in a mutiny of his Souldiers. Then a Civil War aroſe.

After which he conquers *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*.

Huntingdonenſem Johannes Brompton pænè ad verbum tranſcripſit in Chron.

27. *Cuthred* being diſintangled from the attempts of *Ethelbald*, found himſelf concerned to give a check to the *Britains*, who in vain reſiſting, the Conquerour of *Ethelbald* ſoon ran away, and deſervedly received a great Defeat, and *Huntingdon* tells us that without the leaſt ground from the Annals, which are altogether ſilent as to the ſucceſs. But two years after this they acquaint us with the News of the death of *Cuthred* after he had reigned ſeventeen years, together with the burning of the City of *Canterbury*, and the ſucceſſion of *Sigebert* into the Kingdom of the Weſt *Saxons*, which he held for the ſpace of one year and no longer. *Malmesbury* writes that he ſeized upon the Kingdom, a Man of brutiſh cruelty at home, yet abroad infamous for his Cowardiſe. Therefore incurring the hatred of all his Subjects they conſpired againſt him, and after a year depoſed him, cauſing him to give place to a better Man. But as commonly it happeneth in ſuch caſes, the greatneſs of his calamity reclaimed ſome to pity towards him, by the valour of whom he preſerved in obedience that Province called *Hamptonſhire*. But his Inclination ſtill prevailing againſt his Succeſs, as well as all Goodneſs and Juſtice, having by putting to death one *Cumbran*, a Man that of all others had been moſt faithfull to him, armed the reſt of his Followers againſt him, he was conſtrained to betake himſelf to the Dens and lurking places of wild Beaſts, whither misfortune dogging him at the Heels, he was killed by an Herdſman. And ſo the cruelty of the King, having almoſt raged againſt all the Nobility, was brought to an end by a Man of the meaneſt condition. *Huntingdon* calls him the kinſman of *Cuthred*, by whoſe ſucceſs he became ſo proud and inſolent, that he became intolerable to his Subjects. He adds, agreeable to the Annals, that abuſing them all manner of ways, forcing the Laws to countenance his unjuſt proceedings, or utterly avoiding them, one *Cumbra* his moſt noble Conſul, at the deſire of all the People made known the Complaints of the Subjects to their cruel King. But ſeriouſly adviſing him to govern more mildly, and laying aſide his inhumanity, to render himſelf acceptable to God and Man, he wickedly commanded him to be put to death, and, in a manner more cruel and intolerable than ever, encreaſed his Tyranny. Remaining incorrigible in theſe his outrageous proceedings, the Nobility and People aſſembled together, and by a provident deliberation and unanimous conſent of them all he was depoſed, and *Cynwulf* a choice young Man of the Royal Stock was elected King in his ſtead. *Sigebert* thus driven away, fled for fear of that he was conſcious to himſelf he had deſerved, into the great Wood of *Andred*, where (at

Hep Cuthred peahtæd pealar. *An.* DCCLIII.

Overthrows the *Britains*.

Dies.

Sigebert ſucceeds.

Is very cruel and tyrannical.

Puts to death his beſt friend and ſubject.

Is driven from the Kingdom.

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And slain by a Hogherd.

(at a place called by the Annals *Pruntesflodan*) he was killed by an Hogherd belonging to *Cumbra*, who thus revenged upon him his Master's death.

Cynwulf reigns.

28. *Cynwulf* began his Reign over all the Kingdom of the West *Saxons* except *Hampshire*, which *Sigebert* possessed for a little time till the death of *Cumbra* in the fifteenth year of *Constantinus Copronymus*, Emperour, in the Reign of *Pipin* King of the *Franks*, the seventh of *Edelbert* or *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, the eighteenth of *Egbert* or *Eadbert* King of the *Northumbrians*, toward the beginning of the Reign of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCLV. *Malmesbury*, in short, says he was a Man famous both for the composition of his Morals, and his Martial Acts, being in one onely Battel overthrown at *Benfingtune*, by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, in the four and twentieth year of his Reign, after which he was afflicted with many losses, and went out of the World in a vile manner. *Huntingdon* from the Annals writes of his being victorious over the *Britains* in many Battels, whom having subdued on all sides, he resolved to banish *Kineard* the Brother of *Sigebert*, the Story whereof we have at large out of the Annals themselves after this manner. About the one and thirtieth year from the first beginning of his Reign he had a desire to expell out of the Kingdom a certain *Etheling* called *Cyneheard*, who was Brother to *Sigebryht*. The King having intelligence, that attended with a small company of Men, he frequented the company of a certain Woman, at a place called *Merantune*, rode thither himself, and searching about the Town, some of his Souldiers found out where the *Etheling* lay. The King perceiving it, behaved himself in a manner unbecoming his Person, till he got sight of him, which done he rushed in upon him and wounded him sore. But all his Followers, together with him, fell upon the King, and fought with him till they had beaten him down and killed him; which was done before the Souldiers that followed him understood perfectly where he was. His Guard at length perceiving a tumult in this Womans House hasted thither, every one as he was most ready and could run fastest, to whom the *Etheling* promised Money and Pardon if they would submit unto him. But they utterly rejected his Offers, and so long fought with the Followers of *Cyneheard* till they were all killed, one certain *Britain* an Hostage excepted, who was most grievously cut and hacked. By the Morning the news of the King's death was fled to a place not far off, where many more Attendants had awaited his return, and with others *Osric* and *Wiverth*, two Counts, hasted to the House whence the *Etheling* was not yet departed. The Doors were made fast but they easily got in, which he perceiving began to parly with them, labouring with great promises to draw them off from revenging their King's death and to accept of himself under that Title and Capacity. But they flatly refused to sell their Master's Bloud, and resolving neither to spare him nor his Relations, for whom he interceded, put them all to the Sword, except one Youth, to whom *Ine* their Leader was Godfather, and saved him upon that account, though grievously wounded. But such was the end of *Cynwulf* after he had reigned one and thirty years: And his Body was buried at *Winchester*. That of the *Etheling*, who in a Male line was descended from *Cerdic*, was interred at *Acrean Minster*, not at *Repandune*, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* hath it out of a mistake of the Annals, which affirm not *Cyneheard* but *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians* at this *Repandune* to have been buried.

Subdues the *Britains*.

Is slain by *Cyneheard* Brother to *Sigebert*.

And buried at *Winchester*.

Hic fœdè lapsus est Matthæus Florilegus dum ait Regem alienis amoribus servientem à Kinehardo obsessum & oppressum fuisse. Ad Ann. 786.

Hic interpres malè textum latinè vertit dum hæc verba ac hi ealle lægonbutananum Bryttrum girle, *de sociis Clytonis interpretatur. Quomodo enim Clyto ipse non occideretur omnibus suis occisis? & apud quem manet obses nisi apud Regem? Regis erant qui interibant.*

After him *Byrhtric*.

29. After *Cynwulf*'s Death, *Byrhtric* was made King of the West *Saxons*, according to the *Fasti* of Sr. *Henry Savil*, (which yet allot but twenty nine years to the Reign of *Cynwulf*) in the fourth year of the Emperour *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, the twenty fifth of *Alrick* King of *Kent*, and the seventh of *Alfwold* King of the *Northumbrians*, *A. D.* DCCLXXXIV. He was, as *Malmesbury* describes him, a man more studious of Peace than War, being a very Artist in procuring Friendship, pleasing Foreigners with Courtship, and Conniving at the faults of his People in such things as did not hurt the Government. To obtain greater Reputation amongst his Neighbours, he Married the Daughter of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, at that time the most potent Prince, by which he had no Issue that can be known. Incouraged by this Alliance he drove *Egbert* into *France*, a young man, who alone survived of all those that were of the Royal Stock, and therefore was a Person dangerous to his Interest. For both this *Byrhtric* and the other Kings which Reigned after *Offa*, though they bragged of their Pedigrees, being such as indeed did descend from *Cerdic*, yet were they descended in a good distance from the Royal Line. *Egbert* then being gone, he thought himself secure, and that he might now take his ease, when a Company of *Danes* accustomed to live by Piratical Depredations, secretly landing from three Ships, disturbed the Peace of his Province.

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vince, This Company of men at this time came as Spies to discover the fertility of the Soil and the valour of the Inhabitants, as afterwards was evident from the coming of that Multitude which overwhelmed in a manner all *Britain*. At this time stealing upon the Island, this Kingdom being in profound peace and silence, they suddenly fell upon a Royal Village adjoyning, and killed the Overseer or Keeper, who came in to its relief; but the People gathering together they left their Booty, ran to their Ships and went their ways.

Marries *Eadburgh* Daughter of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*.

30. To this general account of the Monk, we may add from the Annals, that this Daughter of *Offa* he married, was by Name *Eadburgh*, a Woman too well known, as we shall see hereafter. *Egbert* being descended from *Inegild*, the Brother of *Ina*, gave in his Childhood pregnant proofs of much Wit and Courage, which together with his descent could not but excite great fear and jealousie in *Berhtric* who resolved his death, and studied the best manner to make him away. *Egbert* having notice of and having good grounds to apprehend his purpose, betook himself to *Offa*'s Court, where he was no sooner come, *Byrhtric*'s Ambassadours were at the door, both requiring the Fugitive to be given up, for whom they offered a round sum of Money, and farther for a Confirmation of Friendship betwixt the two Kings, desired *Offa*'s Daughter for a Wife for their Master. Courtship effecting more with *Offa* than Threats and violence could procure, *Egbert* was forced once more to shift for himself, and over he went into *France*, which thing in the opinion of our Authour, came to pass by the Council of God, that being ordained for that Kingdom, he should receive his Institution from the *Franks*; a Nation which far exceeds (saith he) all those of the West, both in Action and the pleasantness of their Conversation. This affront he made use of as a whetstone to rub off the rust of idleness; to sharpen his wit, and to obtain such endowments as are quite contrary to Pagan Barbarism. *Byrhtric* however rejoyced in his absence, not caring what advantages of education he might have, so their Influence reached not him, nor his possession of what at present he held, he was not far from envying his happiness any where out of *England*, that he could have heartily wished him in Heaven it self. The pleasing repose he enjoyed was interrupted by the landing of *Danes*; the first *Danes* that landed in an hostile manner in *Britain*, who slew the Governour of these Quarters, the first man of those many thousands which afterward were butchered by that Savage People. Yet though we hear nothing before of their landing, they from the time of *Justinian*, and about the year of our Lord DLXX begun to rove upon the Coasts of *Britain* and *Gall*, and were by the Writers which penned in Latin the Histories of the *English* named *Wiccingi*, for that they practized Piracy: For *Wiccinga* in the *Saxon* Tongue (as *Alfria* witnesseth) signifieth *a Pyrat* that runneth from Creek to Creek: Also *Pagani* or *Painims*, because as yet they were not Christians: But the *Angles* themselves in their Language termed them *Deruscan*, and oftentimes *Heathonmon* or *Ethnicks*.

An. 787.

Malmesb. de gestis Regum Anglorum, l. 2. *c.* 1.

Forces *Egbert* to fly the Kingdom.

Est enim gens illa & exercitatione virium & Comitate morum cunctarum Occidentalium facile princeps.

A Company of Pyrates infest the Land.

31. The Officer that went to oppose them, and in his attempt perished, by (*a*) some of our Authours is called *Villicus* from that *Villa* or Town which they write that these *Danes* attacked. By (*b*) others *Præpositus Regis*, which suits better with the word ȝeneȝa, by which the (*c*) Annals do Name him. They affirm, that not knowing what they were he would have brought them to the Town of the King, which some interpret *Dorchester*, and farther say, that he being the King's Customer there, supposed them Foreign Merchants, and riding to them commanded them to come and give account of their Lading at the Custome-house; but they shewed him no other Merchandize than the Steel of their Sword, wherewith they slew him and all that came with him, as an Earnest of the many Murthers, Rapines and Hostilities, which afterward they committed throughout the whole Island. But of this first *Danish* Invasion the *Danish* History of *Pontanus* far otherwise relates, as if their Landing had been at the mouth of *Humber*, and their Depredations far into the Countrey adjoyning, whence they were repulsed by the surprized Inhabitants back to their Ships: What was the reason, by what authority they came there is no mention made, and the thing is the more strange because *Sigebert* it makes then to have been King, a man who more studied his own peace and quiet than the molestation of his Neighbours. And indeed not onely from the

And kill the King's Officer.

The first *Danish* Invasion.

(*a*) *Malmesb. de gest. Reg. Angl. l.* 1. *Math. Florileg. ad An.* 791.

(*b*) *Huntingdon. Hist. l.* 4. *Hoveden Annal. Par. prior. Florentius Wigorn. ad An.* 787.

(*c*) ⁊ on hiȝ ȝaȝum Cȝomon æpeȝe III ȝcipu. ⁊ ðaȝe ȝeȝenȝa ðaȝtopaþ. ⁊ hi ȝolde ðaȝ æpeȝtan

bryȝan to ðæȝ Cyninȝeȝ tune ðýhe niȝte hræchy pæȝon. ⁊ hinemon Oȝȝloh. Þ pæȝon ȝcipu Deniȝcna monna ȝe Angel Cynneȝ lonð ȝeȝohtoni. An. DCCLXXXVII.

Danish History, but some Writers of our own, we are apt to believe that the first intended Invasion of that People with intention to rifle and pillage the Countrey, was in the Northern parts about *Humber*; and those that landed here in the third year of *Byrhtric*, were but some Rovers or Pirates at Sea, who, as we now said, were wont to infest the Seas of *Britain* and *Gall*, and by chance, or distressed by Weather, came on the Western shoar; possibly also with a desire of spying the Countrey. This we are induced to think from a Story or two we find in the Chronicle of *John Brompton*, which setting forth the Causes of their first Hostile Invasion here we think fit to recite in this place, though the thing happened a good while after. Sect. 9.

An Account of the *Danes* first invading *Britain*.

32. At that time (*viz.* in the days of *Ethelwolfe* King of *England*, the Son of *Egbert* and of *Charles the Bald*) one *Osbrith* was King of *Northumberland*, who on a day going to take his pleasure in a Wood, as he returned went privately to the House of one of his Noblemen *Bruern Bocard* by Name to refresh himself; *Bruern* knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea side to make sure the Shoar and Havens, according to his Custome, against Thieves and Pirates. But his Wife a Woman of great Beauty entertained the King at Dinner very splendidly. The King having Dined took her by the hand and led her to his Chamber, telling her he must speak with her in private, and there removing all out of the way but such as were privy to his secret Courses, by force and violence he lay with her. Having had his will he speedily got him back to *York*. She lamented and mourned, so that her Visage was much altered, which caused her Husband at his return to ask the cause of so sudden a Change and of her unaccustomed sadness. She told him the whole matter in order how the King had forced her, which having heard he comforted her, bidding her not afflict her self, forasmuch as she was not able to resist a man so strong, assuring her that because she had told him the truth he would love her no less than he had done, and if God gave him leave he would avenge both himself and her upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did this *Bruern* being a Man both Noble and Powerfull, descended of great Parentage, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention of a speedy Revenge, to which they consenting and approving his purpose, with them he took Horse and rode to *York*. The King upon sight of him called him to him very civilly, but he with his Relations at his back defied him, renouncing his Homage and Fidelity, giving up his Land and whatsoever he held of him. This said, without any more words he withdrew, making no stay at all at Court. *Chronic. Joh. Brompton Abb. Jornalensis.*

33. His Friends consenting speedily he went over into *Danemark*, where to the King of the *Danes* he made a great complaint of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by *Osbrith*, desiring his speedy relief and supply to put him into a Capacity to revenge himself. Hereat *Codrinus* the King and his *Danes* conceived very great joy, having now some reason to induce them to subdue the *English*. To revenge the injury offered to *Bruern*, who was descended of his bloud, he speedily prepared a great Army over which he made Captains two Brothers called *Inguar* and *Hubbe* most valiant Souldiers, and to them he gave a Navy furnished with all necessaries to transport an innumerable Company of men. These Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through *Holderness*, destroyed all the Towns with their Inhabitants; and coming to *York* provoked *Osbrith* to come out and fight. He accordingly issued forth with an Army such as it was, and fighting was slain with his Followers; after which they took the City and therein remained. And so (saith our Authour) the *Danes* for the cause aforesaid first in an Hostile manner invaded *England*. But at this time there was another King in *Northumberland* called *Ella*, who was promoted to that Dignity by the Friends and Relations of *Bruern*, because for the affront offered to him by *Osbrith*, they would have no more to doe with that lascivious Prince. This *Ella* going out on a time to Hunt, when his sport was over sate down to Dinner, and as he was eating applauded himself for the good luck they had had that day, reckoning up what Deer they had killed. One came just in at these words and told him, though he had got so much that way, yet he had lost an hundred times as much another; for the *Danes* (saith he) have taken *York*, slain *Osbrith*, and now are invading your Countrey to deprive you of it. *Ella* hearing this got his men together, and hasted to *York* there to destroy the *Danes*, but they having notice came out, and not far from the City gave him Battel, wherein they killed him and a very great multitude of his Souldiers, in a place still called *Ellescroft* from this occasion. Farther, it is reported that the late mentioned Brothers *Inguar* and *Hubbe* invaded *England* in an Hostile manner

Sect. 9. manner, not onely for the reason now alledged, but especially to destroy St. *Edmund* who then Reigned in East *England*, and was falsly accused of having killed their Father. For of the cause of their coming we reade in the Book called *Flores Historiarum* after this manner.

The Reason of *Inguar* and *Hubbe* the *Danes* arriving in *Britain*.

34. In the Kingdom of the *Danes* there was one *Lothebroc*, who being descended of the Royal Family, by his Wife had two Sons *Inguar* and *Hubbe*. This man going alone into a Boat with an Hawk on his fist in the Islands adjoyning to seek for Game, was seized by a sudden and violent Tempest, tossed hither and thither for several days together in the depth of the Sea, which having crossed amid ten thousand dangers, at length he was cast upon the Province of the Eastern *English* called *Northfolk*, and landed at a Village, which had the Name of *Rodham*. Being found alone with his Hawk, he is presented to *Edmund* the King, and being kindly received for the comlinefs of his Person continued in his Court, told the King the tale of his strange fortune, and often went out into the Field for his Recreation with *Bern* the King's Huntsman, being extraordinarily dextrous both in Hunting and Fowling as opportunity served. For this reason the King's Huntsman greatly envied him, and as they two Hunted together secretly murthered him and hid his Body in a thick Wood. Now *Lothebroc* kept a certain Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntsman being gone with the rest of the Dogs staid there alone by his Lord's Body. On the Morrow when the King asked for *Lothebroc*, *Bern* answered, that the day before he staid in the Wood, and since that he had not seen him. But see, the Greyhound comes to the Court, and fawning upon the King as well as others, as soon as he had filled his Belly again departed. Doing this often he was dogged to the place by those who found out the Body and brought the Relation to the King. The matter being examined and found out, the Huntsman is sentenced to be put into the Boat of *Lothebroc* without any Oars or Tackling, in which after a few days (surely the Boat knew the way) he was cast upon *Denmark*, where brought to *Lothebroc* his Sons and examined by torture what was become of their Father, whose Boat they sufficiently knew, he affirmed that by *Edmund* King of the East *Angles* he was discovered and killed by his Command.

35. They prepare then a Navy and under Conduct of *Bern* pass into *England*, where landing in the Northern parts as was said before, they harass grievously the whole Province of the *Northumbrians*, and having brought it to their beck, *Inguar* quits his Company, and with a great Fleet sails to a City of East *England* where St. *Edmund* Reigned, which having entred he burnt and killed both Old and Young as he met them in the Streets. When he was wearied with killing, certain poor People whom he thought below his Anger, he called to him, and very diligently inquired where *Edmund* their King at that time resided. He had heard he was in the flower of his Age, very strong and Martial every way, and therefore he hasted to kill all he could find in any place, lest their King should make too strenuous an opposition, who at that time lived far off from the City in a Village, in their Language called *Eglesdon* or *Halesdon*, but now *Horne* (he writes) by which Name the neighbouring Wood was also called. For that Nation of *Danes* and *Alamans* was wont never in open Field to ingage with an Enemy, except he was before that intrapped with Snares: Therefore sent he a trusty Messenger before to espy out where the King was, signifying that he himself would as convenience offered it self follow after. The Messenger coming to the King delivered his Message after this manner. Inguar. *the most Invincible King both by Land and Sea, my redoubted Lord having conquered several Countries, and Landed in this with many Ships is resolved here to Winter; and commands thee to give him the half of thy Treasure and Riches, by which means under him thou maist possibly Reign; but in case thou despisest his Power supported by so many Legions, thou shalt be judged both unworthy thy Life and a Kingdom.* The King sighed having heard the Message, and calling to him one of his Bishops, who was Secretary, asked his Advice what to answer. He being concerned for the King's Life, by many Examples exhorted him to comply with the Pagan. The King for a while was silent, then answered the Messenger after this manner: Return thy Master speedily this Answer: *Know that for the love of a Temporal life,* Edmund *a Christian King will not subject himself to a Pagan Captain, except he first become a Christian.* The King had scarcely said so much and the Souldier gone out of the House when *Inguar* met him and commanded him to give him in short an account of what he said. He declaring what his answer was, The Tyrant commanded all the King's Houshold to be dispersed, and he himself alone to be laid hold on and secured.

36. But

36. But some Historiographers relate, that the *Danes* passing through *Norfolk* as far as *Thetford*, there first found St. *Edmund* King of East *England*, who as it's said, got an Army together and fought with them. But the *Danes* prevailing he fled after the slaughter of almost all his men to the Castle of *Halesdon*, whither they speedily pursued him and the first man they met was he himself, not far from the Castle, where they asked him how they might find out King *Edmund*. He, as if he had not been the Person, told them, *When I was in the Castle he was there, and when I came out he departed, and whether he shall escape your hands God knoweth.* Then the *Danes* hearing him mention the Name of God knew him to be the King, and leading him back to the Castle in his own Palace he was bound and led before the Impious Judge, mocked and cruelly beaten. Then brought they him to a Tree near at hand, to which making him fast they used him as a Mark to shoot against in sport, and wounded him in that manner through the whole Body, with the thick shower of their Arrows making Wound upon Wound, while one Shaft drove out another. But *Inguar* perceiving that by no means could his Faith or Constancy be overcome, he commanded the Hangman to cut off his Head, which was done with one stroak as he prayed, on the nineteenth of *November* in the year of our Lord DCCCLXVI according to some, and according to others DCCCLXX. The *Danes* leaving his Body in the place, carried his Head into the Wood called *Eglesdon* or *Halesdon*, and cast it among the thick Brambles, on purpose that being found it might not be committed together with the Body to Christian Burial. But how this Head crying out it self *Here, here, here*, when they sought for it was found, and how bestowed, it's not proper for us here to relate. We onely give the Reader what Account we can of the first coming of the *Danes* into the Island, and that the first of these Stories concerning the Incontinency of *Osbrith*, and what followed thereupon, may not seem altogether improbable let him remember what we have said in our History of *Spain* concerning the first Invasion of the Moors in that Countrey. Nothing is more certain than this that Sin foreruns punishment, Vice and Debauchery enervate a People, and prepare a Nation for Ruine and Destruction. This farther observe, that our Writers call these *Danes* sometimes *Dani*, otherwhiles *Daci*. Some of them write of them as several Nations, which from the beginning of *Ethelwulfe*'s Reign till the coming of *William* the *Norman* afflicted the Land, though they commonly be known by that one of *Danes*. In the Chronicle of *John Brompton* they are thus marshalled: The *Danes* with the *Goths*, the *Norwegians* with the *Swedes*, the *Wandals* with the *Frisians*: Neighbours to the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, if not of the same Original, as the Reader by considering the places whence they all came may easily find.

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Cujus (scil. Ethelwolfi) temporibus omnipotens Deus crudelissimas gentes immisit quæ nec ætati nec sexui parcebant, scil. Dacos cum Gothis, Norwagenses, cum Suathedis, Wandalos cum Fresis, qui ab exordio regni sui usq; ad Adventum Willielmi ducis Normannorum Angliam vastaverunt.

The time of the first Arrival of the *Danes*.

37. To return to *Byrhtric*, in whose third year, the first landing of the *Danes* happened, we have little else to observe during his Reign, than that fiery Dragons were seen flying in the Air, which afterwards were interpreted as forerunners of two grievous sorts of mischeifs, *viz.* a great Famine, and the Pagan Nation of the *Danes*, and *Norwegians*, which as *Huntingdon* writes in the tenth year of *Byrhtric*, first miserably wasted the Parts lying North of *Humber*, and then cruelly destroyed the Churches of Christ in the Province of *Lindisfarne*, together with the Inhabitants, on the Ides of *January*. In the mean while, *Eadburg* the Daughter of *Offa*, and Wife to *Byrhtric*, behaved her self in a most insolent manner toward her Husband's Subjects, coveting to act like her Father, and incurring the indignation and hatred of all Souldiers, Magistrates, and the whole People. All Religious Persons she backbited to the King, and got such an hand over him, that either bewitched by her flatteries, or wearied with her importunities, such as she accused were deprived either of Life, or banished them his Dominions; but in case she could not prevail so far, they would dispatch them with Poyson. At this time there was a certain young Man, Noble and Rich, and in great favour with *Byrhtric*, whom not able to undermine in that former way, she resolved to poyson. Her design took effect upon him, and on him whom she never intended, the King himself, who by accident tasted of the deadly Cup. The King being dead, out of fear of being called to account for her Villanies, she fled with great Treasures into *France*, and presented her self with great gifts to *Charles* the Great. He, whether taken with her Beauty, or with a design to try her, bid her chuse either him "or his Son that stood by him, whether of them she would for her Husband; she "answered suddenly and plainly, that if she might chuse, she had rather have "the Son than the Father, as being far the younger of the two. The King replied, that had she chosen himself, she should have had his Son, but because his "Son she had chosen, she should have neither the one nor the other. But he

The cruelty and malice of *Eadburg* the King's Wife.

Who at last poysons her Husband.

Sect. 9. "thought a Monastery the place fittest for her, there to bewail her heinous sins; in which having assumed the religious habit, she hypocritically spent a few years; for as she lived wickedly in her own Countrey, so rather more wretchedly did she behave her self there, under the cover of a Veil. Being on a time, as was expected, and thought busie at her devotions, she was busie at another kind of work with a mean fellow of her own Nation, which coming to light, *Charles* caused her to be thrust out of the Monastery, though extremely against her mind and liking. The remainder of her days she spent in want, misery and disgrace, with one pitifull Servant, begging her bread from House to House, Town to Town, and City to City, till at last she miserably died at *Pavia*.

But comes to a miserable end.

38. But *Byrhtric* being dead, after he had Reigned sixteen years, all mens eyes were fixed upon *Egbert* the Exile, and by many Messengers, having recalled him, they admitted him unanimously for their King, in the third year of the Reign of the Empress *Irene*, much about the same time that *Charles* the Great received the Title of Emperour in the West, in the fourth of *Cuthred* King of *Kent*, and the fourth of *Cenulf* King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCC. He so well at the first understood his Interest, as to settle and establish his Kingdom at home in the love and affection of his Subjects. It then being time to look about him, the first tryal of his Martial Conduct was against the *Britains*, of whom, first he subdued them that inhabited *Cornwall*, and then made those Tributaries, as *Malmesbury* expresseth it, who live North of them, being separated from the other by an Arme of the Sea, meaning those who live beyond the River *Severn*, and in those Parts we now call *Wales*. His success was such, as thereby his Neighbours were very much startled, as jealous whither his Power would grow. *Beornulf* King of the *Mercians*, was the first that really concerned himself, and thinking it a matter of glory by his courage and resolution, to remove the fears of others, was resolved to quarrel with him, and proceeding to a War, they met and fought at a place called *Ellandune*, of which we have already spoken. *Egbert* elevated by this Victory, and founding hopes upon the same grounds, his Neighbours had done their fears, while the fame of his late success was yet fresh, sent *Ethelwolf* his Son, *Ealhstan* his Bishop (of *Sherburn*) and *Wulfheard* his General with a great Army into *Kent*, to conquer that Province, which he thought was easie to be done at this time, when the Inhabitants thereof were by lazinesse rendred unfit for War, and his very Name would strike a Terrour into them. They that were sent, strenuously executed his commands, and passing over all the Countrey, found their work more easie than they could imagine; for having driven out *Balred* the King beyond the *Thames*, they subdued *Kent*, *Surry*, the Southern and the Eastern *Saxons*. And the same year the King and People of East *England*, for fear of the *Mercians*, submitted themselves to his Vassallage and Protection. As for the times of these Victories, *Malmesbury* placeth that against *Bernulf* at the sixth year of his Reign, though the Annals set it at a far greater distance, and place those other Conquests with the submission of East *England*, in one and the same year, which his present Copy speaks of, as having happened in the twenty fourth of his Reign. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, as some interpret the Annals. For he fought against the *Devonshire Welsh*, they say, at a place called *Gasulford*, now *Camelford*; there where *Leland* will have famous *Arthur* to have been slain, not far from *Tindagium* or *Tindagel*, his native place upon the Sea shore. Indeed *Marianus* writes, that in this place the *Britains* and *Saxons* fought a bloudy Battel, in the year of our Lord, DCCCXX. But the Annals speak onely of a fight of *Welsh*, and those whom they call *Dena* at *Gasulford*, not speaking of *Egbert* being concerned in the Battel.

Egbert recall'd, and made King.

Saxon Annal. Ecgbryhr.

Overthrows the *Britains* in *Cornwall* and *Wales*.

Subdues the *Mercians*.

Ann. DCCCXXIII.

Þep pærre-ala ȝeȝcohr be naer ⁊ Gaȝul ronda ⁊ ȝy ylcongeape &c.

39. The East *Angles* having submitted themselves to *Egbert*, never left off till they had slain *Bernulf* and *Ludecan* the *Mercian* Kings, who never could rest from troubling their Neighbours. Their Successour *Withlaf* he first drove from his Kingdom, then afterwards was received and suffered to Reign as a tributary Vassal. The same year that *Egbert* subdued the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, the Moon was Eclipsed on *Christmas* day, at night, and he led an Army into *Deira* against the *Northumbrians*; who submitted themselves with such humility, that they parted lovingly without a stroke; for fearing his displeasure of a long time conceived against them, they gave up hostages or some other security for their quiet and obedient deportment. Having now reduced all *Britain* to obedience, all the rest of his Life, saith *Malmesbury*, for nine years together he lived in tranquillity, save onely that toward the latter end of his Reign, a Company of *Danish* Pirates landing in his Countrey, grievously disturbed the Peace of his Dominions. Such is the

Conquers the East *Angles*.

The *Northumbrians* submit to him.

Ae reduces all *Britains* to obedience.

Þep mona aþyrrnode on middeȝ pinrner mæssenihr *Ann.* DCCCXXVII.

the incertainty incident to humane Affairs; that he who first ruled over all the *English* should have little cause to rejoyce in the obedience of those of his own bloud, being disturbed by a Foreign Enemy, whose violence extended not onely to himself but his Successours, without intermission. When he led his *English* Forces against them, as if Fortune was tyed to certain Rules and Methods, she did not court him in the usual manner, but seemed to be taken with new Faces. For when he little doubted of the Victory which had inclined to him the greater part of the day, he lost the Garland when the Sun went down, though by the darkness of the night, he covered the shame of being beaten. In the following Battel with an inconsiderable number he put to flight a great multitude. At last, having Reigned thirty seven years, and seven months, he died and was buried at *Winchester*, leaving to his Son great opportunities whence to raise him Glory, and predicting his happiness, in case what he had obtained by Industry, he lost not by lazineſs, too familiar to that Nation. Sect. 9.

The *Danes* invade, and worst *Egbert*.

40. But to be more particular than the Monk, the Annals signify that the Heathen men, so they call the *Danes*, wasted *Sceapige*, and the following year that *Egbert* fought against thirty five Ships of Pirates, at a place called *Carrum*, where was made a great slaughter of men. That the *Danes* remained Masters of the Field: that *Heresterth* and *Wigen*, two Bishops, were slain, and moreover died two great Officers (Ealdormen) *Dudda* and *Osmod*. The defeat was received near *Carr*, a River in *Dorsetshire*, whereon standeth a Town called *Carmouth*, just as it dischargeth it self into the Sea, lucky to the *Danes*, who here not onely had the better of *Egbert* in a Sea fight, but eight years after King *Ethelwolfe* his Son. And this was the onely check we reade of that ever *Egbert* received in his fortune, for the Annals tell us, that the very next year a great Navy of *Danes* arrived at West *Wales* or *Cornwall*, and joyning with the Inhabitants marched against *Egbert*; notice whereof was speedily brought to him, and as speedily as he could he met them with an Army at *Hengestdune*, where he gave them Battel, and defeated as well the one as the other. The *Danish* Annals themselves of these Invasions make mention, but whether out of their own Records or ours may be justly doubted, for as to those times they are much in the dark; little have they but fabulous or uncertain, which is the reason we cannot give either theirs or the History of their neighbouring Northern Nations a part or share in this present work. As for *Egbert*, as if he had now done enough to prevent any more misfortunes which might blurr the lustre of his former Atchievements, he died the following year; a great man, whose fortune so concurred with his Abilities, that he arrived at the Monarchy of the *English* Nation. For so now we must call it by his order and appointment, who having conquered already four of the other six Kingdoms, and swallowed up the other two also in hope, to the end that they which were subdued and reduced to the Rule of one Prince, might be conjoyned likewise in one Name, commanded by an Edict or Proclamation, that the whole Heptarchy should be called Englelond, or *England*, whereupon it got in Latin the Name of *Anglia*, taking its Denomination from the *Angles*, (though he himself was King of the West *Saxons*, and Conquerours are wont to impose their own Names) as being of the three Nations most in number, and of greatest power. For they possessed the Kingdoms of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, very great and large Countries, together with East *England*: Whereas the Posterity of the *Jutes* held onely *Kent*, or with it the Isle of *Wight*: The *Saxons*, *Eastsex*, *Southsex* and *Westsex*, a small parcel indeed if compared with the spacious Territories of the *Angles*.

But arriving in *Wales*, they are wholly defeated by *Egbert* King of *Egland*.

He styles the whole Heptarchy by the Name of *England*.

An. Dccccxxxii. Þep hæþene men oþep-hengaðon ðceapige.

An. Dccccxxxv. Þep cpom mi cel pci-phepe on pepc pealaf. ⁊ hi toa-num gecýpdon ⁊ piþ Ecgbpýhc pepc ðeaxna Cýning pinnende pæpon ðа heþ hýnde ⁊ mid pýnde pepde ⁊ him piþ pe-ahtæt þen-gestdune ⁊ ðæp ge-plýmde ge-ðepealef ge ðа ðenipcan7.

41. Such was the importance of this Consideration, that even long before this they were generally and throughout called *English*, and in their own Language *Englatheod*, *Anglcynne*, *Englcynn*, and *Englisemon*: Albeit every Kingdom had a particular Name of its own. This appears sufficiently out of other Authours, but especially *Bede* who intituled his History *The* (*a*) *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, a Name sufficiently known to the Learned and best Intelligent Persons, although King *Alfred* translating the said History for the understanding of the meaner and general sort added to it the word (*b*) *Saxon*. Nay, during the Heptarchy, these Princes that bore sway over the rest were stiled *Gentis Anglorum Reges*, or *Kings of the English Nation*. Now lay the Name of *Britain* forgotten and quite out of use among the Inhabitants of the Island, remaining onely in Books, and not taken up in common Speech; insomuch, that any other word would down rather than it. *Boniface* the Bishop of *Mentz* descended of this Nation, called this his Countrey by the Name of *Saxony beyond the Sea*. Yet did *Eadred* about the Year of our Lord DCCCCXLVIII use in some Charters and Patents the Name

That of *Britain* being laid aside.

(*a*) *Historiam Gentis Anglorum Ecclesiasticam, quam nuper edideram, libentissimè tibi desideranti, &c.*

(*b*) Ic þeþenc-eþ ýrell þ ic nian appat be Angel peode Seaxnum.

Sect. 10. Name and Title of *King of Great Britain*; and *Edgar* about the Year DCCCCLXX assumed this Title, *The Monarch of all Albion.* But not onely the Name of *Britain*, but of *Saxons* also was laid asleep; as to the *English* themselves who thenceforth called themselves no more by it. We say *as to themselves*: It was in their power to call themselves *English*, but not to procure all their Neighbours to doe the like. For as we have formerly hinted the *Britains* of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, knowing them first by that of *Saxons*, and having such smarting causes never to forget their first coming into the Island, it so stuck with them, that they never took any notice of the change, neither at this very day in their Language do it. They term us not *Englishmen* but *Saisons*, and our Language *Saisonaeg*. And not onely they but the *Scots*, which still retain the true ancient *Scotch* or *Irish* Tongue, and the *Irish* themselves write us *Saxonach* in their Orthography, but pronounce us *Sasonagh*. For as well the *Irish* Language as the *Welsh* even to this very day is utterly unacquainted with the Names of *England* and of *Englishmen*.

SECT. X.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons *in* Britain, *from the Death of* Egbert, *to the Monarchy of the* Danes *in* Britain.

The space of One Hundred and Eighty Years.

Ethelwulfe the King.

1. TO *Egbert* succeeded his Son *Ethelwulfe* (otherwise called *Adelwolfe*, *Athewolf*, *Athulf*, *Edulf* and *Edwolf*,) in the eighth year of *Theophilus* Emperour of the East; the twenty fourth of *Ludovicus Pius* Emperour of the West, the twelfth of *Withlaf* or *Wiglaf* King of the *Mercians*, the fifteenth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCXXXVII. *Malmesbury* writes, that he Reigned twenty years and five Months, a Man of a mild Disposition, who chose rather to live quietly than to rule over many Provinces; for contenting himself with the West *Saxon* Kingdom the Inheritance of his Ancestours, the other Appendices (as he calls them) which his Father had subdued, he bestowed upon his Son *Ethelstan*, who died, when and how is utterly uncertain. *Burthred* King of the *Mercians* he assisted with his Forces against the *Britains*, and not a little graced him by the Marriage of his Daughter. The *Danish* Pirates who stragled through the whole Island, and by their sudden Inrodes infested all the Sea Coasts, he not once put to flight himself, or by his Captains; although, according to the chance of War, he received very frequent and heavy losses from them, the City of *London* and all *Kent* in a manner being laid waste by them. The greatest help against them was the Activity of his Counsellours, who took such order, that the Enemy never acted any Hostility, but was one way or other chastized for it. For he had two most excellent Prelates in his time: *Swithin* of *Wincheſter* and *Alstan* of *Shireburn*, who knowing the King to be dull and heavy, by their often Admonitions and Instructions, still excited him to the discharge of his Royal Duty. *Swithin* despising Temporal things instructed his Sovereign in Matters Celestial. *Alstan* concluding that Civil Affairs were not to be neglected, animated him against the *Danes*, both furnishing the Treasury with Money and taking care for the raising of Armies. Such as reade the Annals shall find many things both sedulously began and happily brought to conclusion by him. By these two *Ethelwolfe* being supported, took good care for Foreign matters, and neglected not his Domestick business. After his Triumphs over his Enemies he turned himself to the service of God, to whose Servants he granted the Tenths of all the Hides within his Kingdom, free from all Duties

De gestis Reg. Anglorum. lib. 2. c. 2.

Assists the *Mercians* against the *Britains*.

Restrains the fury of the *Danes* by advice of his two Counsellours.

Duties and Molestations. But this is but a small matter saith the Monk. Having taken order for his matters at home he went to *Rome*, where to Saint *Peter* he offered that Tribute which *England* pays at this very day, in the presence of Pope *Leo* the Fourth, who had honourably received *Elfrede* his Son formerly sent to him, and had anointed him King. Having there made a stay of a whole year he repaired the School of the *English*, which as was reported, being first founded by *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, was burned the year after. Thence returning home thorough *France*, he there Married *Judith* the Daughter of *Charles*, King of that Nation, sirnamed *the Bald*.

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Goes to *Rome* paying *Peter* pence.

On his return marries.

2. At his return he found, what he never suspected, that he had incurred the displeasure of some about him. For *Ethelbald* his own Son, *Alstan* the Bishop of *Shireburn*, and *Enulph* Earl or Count of *Somersetshire* conspired together to depose him; yet upon better advice it was agreed that the Kingdom should be divided betwixt Father and Son. However the Partition was very unequal, his Adversaries prevailed that the Western part of the Countrey, being far the better, should be allotted to his Son, and the Eastern left to him, who yet shewed such incredible goodness, that out of hatred to strife and contention, he patiently yielded to his Son, and gently repressed the People, which concerned for his Honour and Dignity, were already assembled to assert them. All this stir was raised about his Wife being a stranger, yet entertained he her with great respect, and placed her on his Throne, contrary to the custome of the West *Saxons*. For * out of hatred to the wicked Practices of *Eadburgh* Daughter to *Offa* King of the *Mercians* and Wife to *Byrhtric*, and they neither suffered the Wives of their Kings to sit by their Husbands, nor so much as to have the honour of being called Queens. Such was the Decree they made to prevent such mischiefs for the time to come, but he out of his kindness to *Judith* now repeal'd it. A few Months before his Death he made his Testament, whereby after the Division of his Kingdom betwixt his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbirth*, he assigned a Portion to his Daughter, and for ever in every tenth Hide of his Inheritance, he commanded that a Poor man should be fed and clad; as also every year three hundred Marks of Gold to be sent to *Rome*, whereof one hundred to be conferred on St. *Peter*, another upon St. *Paul* to find them with Lights, and an hundred as a Present given to the Bishop. He lived two years after his return from *Rome*, and then dying was buried in the Bishop's Church at † *Winchester*.

Upon which his Son and others conspire to depose him.

Upon what account.

Afterwards he makes his Will.

And dies.

* *Gens namque occidentalium Saxonum Reginam juxta Regem sedere non patitur; nec etiam Reginam appellare; sed Regis conjugem permittit quam controversiam imò infamiam: de quadam pertinaci & malevola ejusdem gentis Regina ortam fuisse majores illius terræ perhibent Asserius.* † *Quid autem sibi vult illud Asserii defuncto autem Æthelwulfo Rege; sepultóque apud Stemrugam?*

3. So much *Malmesbury* from *Asserius* concerning *Ethulwolfe*, his History being the best and most substantial of all those of Monks, which therefore we take as text whereon to comment in making out the Affairs of these obscure times; for obscure enough they are, though our baren Writers are so ridiculous as to excuse the length of their short Stories, and tell us they are so * short in their Relations, out of study to avoid Prolixity and Tediousness, whereas their Accounts they give us are so scant, that little profit can be made of them, and they attribute their brevity to their own contrivance, which indeed is to be ascribed to their want of Intelligence. As for what he writes concerning his giving to *Ethelstan* all that his Father had conquered, his words are (*a*) such, as *Ethelstan* may be conceived, not the Son of *Egbert*, but of *Ethelwulfe*, and some makes him to have been the Son of one, and some of the other. A late (*b*) Writer tells us, that the *Saxon* Annalist, the Authority of whom is ancienter, says expresly, that *Egbert* himself gave to *Ethelstan* his Son the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey* and *Sussex*; but the Annals say no such thing, their (*c*) Translatour indeed has foisted in the word *Egbertus*, but the text (*d*) it self which possibly he consulted not, hath no such word in that sentence, but onely mentions *Ethelwulfe* therein. Be he is Brother or his Son it seems he parted with so great a share of his Dominions to him, which for some years he held, though how long, as *Malmesbury* observes, is utterly uncertain. The unwarlike disposition of *Ethelwulfe*, might well give Incouragment to the *Danes*, who the year following the death of *Egbert*, came again

* *Singulorum autem bellorum gesta fines & modos ad plenum determinare nimietas prolixitatis necessariò prohibet, Huntingd. p. 844. vol. Savi l.*

(*a*) *Denique avito West-saxonum Regno contentus, cætera quæ pater subjugaverat appendicia Ethelstano filio contradidit, qui quanto & quo fine defecerit incertum.*

(*b*) *Milton Hist. of England.* (*c*) *A. DCCCXXXVI. Hinc Ethelwulfus Ecberti filius occidentalium Saxonum Regnum capessit: filio autem suo Ethelstano (Elbertus Cantuariorum) Saxonum Orientalium, Guthregiensium, & Guthsaxonum Regnum donavit, ita interpres, textus autem sic se habet.* (*d*) ⁊ þeng Æþelþulf Ecbryhting to þerc Seaxna þice ⁊ heſealde hryðuna Æþelstane Cantrana þice ⁊ eaſt Seaxna ⁊ Suþrigea ⁊ Suþ Seaxna.

upon

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The *Danes* are twice defeated by his Captains.

upon the Coasts with three and thirty ships. The Annals (*e*) say that *Wulfheard* the *Ealdorman*, fought with them at *Hamtune*, that great slaughter was there made, and that he obtained the Victory; but died the same year of Age, it's very probable as one observes, seeming to have been one of *Egbert's* old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwulfe* to subdue *Kent*. This repulse did not so discourage them, but that either pressed on by those that sent them, or allured with plunder and booty, the same year they landed in another place, and gave Battel at *Port* (or *Portsmouth*) to (*f*) *Ethelhelm* another of the King's Captains with the *Dorsetshire* Men. For a good while (so the Annals word it) he had the better of them. But at length the *Danes* became Masters of the Field, and *Ethelhelm* (whom in this place the Annals term both *Dux* and *Ealdorman*) they put to flight or rather slew him in the place.

(*e*) *A.* 837. Hep pulf heard ealdorman geseahr æt Hamtune *&c.*

(*f*) ⁊ ðy ylcan geare geseahr Æþelhelm dux mid denisone here ou Port mis dorsætum. ⁊ gode þhile ðene here geflým þe. ⁊ ða benimcan ahton þæl stowe geseal ð. ⁊ ðone Ealdorman offlogen ⁊ *Hep Here-þryht Ealdorman þæs offlegen fiom hæþenum monnum. ⁊ monige midhim on Mersceapum. ⁊ ðy ylcan geare eft on Lindesse ⁊ on east Englum ⁊ on Cantwaþum þundon monige men offlegene fiom ðam hepige ⁊ *hic Interpres* offlegen *vertit occisi, at vero An. priori* offlogon *interpretatur fuderunt.*

4. Animated by this Success, in Prosecution thereof, they gave Battel the following year to * *Herebryht* (or *Herbert*) another of his Officers whom with many others they slew at a place called *Merscwar*, whence driving as it were all before them, they suddenly invaded *Lindesey* (that part of *Lincolnshire*, which lies North from the City) where wasting all with barbarous Hostility, they pierced into East *England*, and thence into *Kent*, putting many to the Sword in all these places. Here was no opposition made against them, or so ineffectual that they proceeded, and not onely did great Mischief at *Canterbury* and *Rochester*, but came to *London*, and here did their pleasure the next year after. *Ethelwulfe* seemed at his Wits end, as great Violence being by these attempts offered to his peaceable mind, as to the Persons of his Subjects; but by those about him (the Bishop of *Winchester* especially, as *Malmesbury* affirms) he was excited to make resistence, and to provide a Navy, his best defence; for had the *English* in those ignorant times understood their true Interest as well as afterward *Egbert* did his, they had not endured those Miseries they suffered from those barbarous Rovers, no way there being to secure the Land but by being Masters at Sea, the best Bulwarks against those hostile Invasions, being stout and well manned ships. But such was their small practice, and thereupon little skill in Maritime Affairs, that they were inferiour to the Pirates, continually exercised in Navigation. For the year that followed the Slaughter at *London*, *Ethelwulfe* fighting against thirty and five of their ships at the River *Carr*, had the same fortune his Father had had before in the same place, the *Danes* remaining Masters of the place of Fight. Yet that the *English* might not be utterly discouraged, Fortune seemed a little to own them in the next attempt they made the following year. For one *Eanulf* with the *Somersetshire* Men, *Ealstan* a Bishop (*Alstan* of *Winchester*, doubtless the same that † *Malmesbury* speaks of) and *Oserick* another Officer with those of *Dorsetshire*, at the Mouth of the River *Pedridan*, ingaged with an Army of the *Danes*, made great slaughter of them, and got the Victory.

Who being incouraged invade *Lindsey*. Waste East *England* with *Kent*.

And *London*.

Masters him at Sea.

In the next ingagement *Ethelwulf's* Captain obtained a Victory.

5. If a judgment be to be made of the state of these Affairs from these small hints we have from the Annals (the foundation of all the later Histories of the *Monks*) we are to conclude that the Defeat they received at this place was of great consequence. For, for five years after, or more, we hear nothing of them, nor any thing else of *Ethelwulfe* and his Officers, who seemed so amuzed with these *Danish* Wars, that they were attentive to nothing else, durst meddle with no other business lest they should be unprepared for a fresh assault. And their care was not without its due effect. For when they had reassumed their former confidence, and landed again, one *Ceorl* * an *Ealdorman*, assisted with the Shire of *Devon*, *Asserius* relates, and the Annals from him, fought with them at a place called *Wicganbeorche*, where he killed very many of them and remained Victor. Neither did they fare better in other places. The same year King *Ethelstan*, together with *Ealchere* a Captain, defeated a great number of them at *Sandwich*, and taking nine of their Ships, forced the rest to shift for themselves: and the Pagans were constrained thereabout to Winter, which they did, as *Asserius* writes (and that the first time) in the Isle of *Shepey*. Yet for all this being resolute as far as even to desperation, with fifty Ships did they this same year enter the *Thames* Mouth, whence they ranged as far as *Canterbury* and *London*. *Fabius Ethelward* writes, that they destroyed both. *Asserius*, though he encreases the number of their ships to

The *Danes* are twice more beaten.

Yet they enter the *Thames* and sack *London*.

† *Ad. An.* DCCCXLV.

An. DCCCLI. *Hep Ceorl ealdorman geseahr þiþ hæþene here mid ðe-sena scype æt Wicganbeorche, &c. *sic Annales. Asser. autem hoc modo.*

Anno dominicæ incarnationis 851. natantatis autem Alfredi regis 3 Ceorl Domnaniæ Comes contra paganos Normannos siue Danos pugnauit in loco qui dicitur Vuicganbeorg ⁊ Christiani victoriam habuerunt ⁊ et ipso eodem anno primum hyemauerunt pagani in insula quæ vocatur Scepieg ⁊ quod interpretatur insula ouium ⁊ quæ sita est in tamesi flumine inter East seaxum ⁊ Cantuarios. sed ad Cantium propior est quam ad East seaxnum in qua monasterium optimum constructum est. *Asser. p. 2. Edit. Parkeriana qua nos utimur, Saxonicis characteribus quibus Asserius ipse librum scripsit.*

three

three hundred and fifty, yet speaks onely of their pillaging of *London*. The Annals add, that they put to flight *Beortulf* the King of the *Mercians*, who made head against them with an Army, then passing Southward over the *Thames* into *Surry*, they encountred *Ethelwulfe* with *Ethelbald* his Son at a place called *Aclea*, but here they received a great overthrow, greater than ever before or after that *Asserius* heard of. Sect. 10.

Whence into *Surry*, where *Ethelwulfe* overthrows them.

6. The success of this year brought much reputation to *Ethelwulfe*, whom now being at leasure, two years after, *Burhred* King of the *Mercians* and those of his Council besought to give them assistence against the Inhabitants of North *Wales*, which he readily granted. Through the Territories of the *Mercians* he marched against the *Britains*, and forced them all to obedience, as had been desired. This same year did King *Ethelwulfe*, send *Elfred* his Son to *Rome*, where *Leo* the Bishop kindly entertained him, consecrated him King, and adopted him for his Episcopal Son. In the mean time *Ealkere* (or *Ealcher*) with the *Kentish* Men, and *Huda* with those of *Surry*, were employed against another Army of the Pagans, which was landed in the Isle of *Thanet*. At first they had the better of them, driving them from their Post; but afterward so many were slain, and so many drowned on both sides, that the Victory remained doubtfull. Yet gave it no matter of mourning to the Court of *Ethelwulfe*, which now was busied in Affairs of Love, the effect of which was, that the King sent away his Daughter after *Easter* was over, to be married to *Burhred* King of the *Mercians*, and the Marriage was solemnized in the Royal village called *Cippanhamme*. However the following year the *Danes* wintered in the Isle of *Shepey*, the Annals say now the first time. Whether to make himself more acceptable to Almighty God, whose help he now found was highly necessary for suppression of these perpetual Annoiances, or otherwise religiously moved, he nommade a Book of the tenth part of all his Lands, and his whole Kingdom which he dedicated to his service. Now as if he was fitted for undertaking a Pilgrimage to *Rome*, he went thither taking with him his young Son *Alfred* again, and there having staid twelve Months, married and died as the Monk of *Malmesbury* hath related, after two years.

He reduces the *Britains* in *Northwales*, to obedience.

Beats back the *Danes* from landing in the Isle of *Thanet*.

In villa pegia quæ dicitur Cippanhamme *Asser*.

7. Of the difference betwixt his Eldest Son and him, after his Return the Annals have nothing, but *Asserius* confirms the report, assigning the pretended Cause, being that he had taken with him to *Rome* his young Son *Alfred*, there to be inaugurated King, and had brought home with him an Outlandish Wife. Generally he is said to have been averse to matters of War, a Lover of Peace and Quiet which we are more apt to believe, having it told us, and * elsewhere that in his young years he was Bishop of *Winchester*, and for want of other Heirs was constrained to take upon him the Kingdom. If this be true, then must *Ethelstan* formerly mentioned have been his Son, not his Brother or the Son of *Egbert*, who having him must have had an Inheritour of his Dominions, and no necessity could then have lain upon *Ethelwulfe* of being King. To conclude with *Ethelwulfe*, the Annals give us his Pedigree, which reacheth no higher than to *Adam* himself. The Monk of *Malmesbury* is so bold, as to mention it together with that we find in St. *Luke*, and thinks it not superfluous to put it into his History, although he is afraid, that the noise of barbarous Names may violate the ears of such as are not accustomed to them. I disapprove of his mentioning it with the other in the same Page, in the same Book, nay, the same day or year. I am half afraid of the same thing, and justly of more, that the Reader will give no credit to it; but to be guilty of this once, and no more, as a piece of curiosity I shall leave it to the consideration of our Students in Heraldry, referring them, if they desire more, to other Stemms of these *Saxon* Princes particularly, that of *Alfrede*, which he may find in *Asserius*. *Ethelwulfe* then was the Son of *Egbert*, *Egbert* of *Ealkmund*, *Ealkmund* of *Eafa*, *Eafa* of *Eoppa*, *Eoppa* of *Ingild*, the Brother of *Ina*, King of the West *Saxons*. They were the Sons of *Cenred*, *Cenred* of *Ceolwald*, *Ceolwald* of *Cutha*, *Cutha* of *Cuthwin*, *Cuthwin* of *Ceaulin*, *Ceaulin* of *Cenric*, *Cenric* of *Cerdic*, *Cerdic* of *Elesa*, *Elesa* of *Esla*, *Esla* of *Gewis*, *Gewis* of *Wig*, *Wig* of *Freawine*, *Freawine* of *Frithugar*, *Frithugar* of *Brond*, *Brond* of *Bældæg*, *Bældæg* of *Woden*, *Woden* of *Frithuwald*, *Frithuwald* of *Freawine*, *Freawine* of *Freawulfe*, *Freawulfe* of *Fiun*, *Fiun* of *Godwulf*, *Godwulf* of *Geat*, *Geat* of *Tætwa*, *Tætwa* of *Bæaw*, *Bæaw* of *Sceldwea*, *Sceldwea* of *Heremod*, *Heremod* of *Itermon*, *Itermon* of *Hrawrain*, who was born you must know in *Noah*'s Ark. Now he is of small Learning that knows not the Ancestours of *Noah*, viz. *Lamech*, *Mathusalem*, *Enoch*, *Jared*, *Mahalaleel*, *Cainan*, *Enos*, *Seth* and *Adam*. The Monk of *Malmesbury*'s Pedigree differs much in Names from this.

The farther reason of the conspiracy against *Ethelwulfe*.

His Genealogy.

* *Abbreviationes Chronicorum Authore Radulfo de Diceto & Chronic. Joh. Brompton Abbatis Jornalensis.*

Annal. seu Chronolog. Saxonica ad An. DCCCLIV.

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this. But the Heraldry of the Annals is the Ancienter. Let such as desire various Readings upon this Learned Subject, compare this Genealogy with that of his and others: some perhaps may have so little to doe. And Reader, if thou hast heard of a wonderfull Atchievement, which some who thought themselves very Learned, they say, performed of deriving King *James* his Pedigree from *Adam*, behold here the greatest part done, it's but carrying on this Pedigree to the Sister of *Edgar*, *Etholing* married to the King of *Scots*, and her Daughter to our *Henry* the Second.

Ethelbald and *Ethelbert* succeed in the Kingdom.

8. *Ethelwulfe* being dead, his two Sons *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert* divided his Kingdom betwixt them. *Ethelbald* reigned over the West *Saxons*. *Ethelbert* obtained *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey* and *Sussex*. *Ethelbald* began his Reign in the sixteenth year of *Michael* the third Emperour of *Constantinople*, the second of *Ludovicus*, the second Emperour of the West; in the days of *Charles the Bald* King of the *Franks*, the sixth of *Burhred* King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCCLVII. He was, as *Malmesbury* from *Asserius* sets him out, heavy and sluggish, one that defiled his Father's Bed, Marrying after his Death his Wife *Judith*. But he dying after five years, the whole Kingdom fell to the other Brother. The Annals speak nothing at all of him from his coming to the Crown till his carrying to his Grave, which they say, as *Malmesbury*, was at *Sherburn*. They add that *Ethelbert* (or *Æthelbryht* as they call him) obtained the whole Kingdom of his Brother (his Father rather) and governed it in great peace and concord. During his Reign a great Fleet of the *Danes* arrived at *Hampton* (saith *Malmesbury*) and sacked the City of *Winchester*, which the Annals do confirm, as to the latter place not mentioning where they landed. But they were speedily encountred by * *Osric* the *Ealdorman* with *Hamptonshire* (now *Hamshire*) and *Æthelwulfe* the *Ealdorman*, with *Bearwucshire* (or *Berkshire*) who put them to flight and became Masters of the Field. The Monk to this relation adds, that being beaten away by the King's Captains, after much loss received they went over the Sea, and taking a great compass, chose the Isle of *Thanet* to Winter in. This he relates as done all in one year, whereas from the Annals it appears, that their coming to *Thanet* was not till six years after. The Kentish men found themselves concerned to purchase Peace with them by a summ of Money; but the Pirates under pretence of receiving this Money, and confirming the League, made an Excursion into the Countrey, and wasted all that part of *Kent* which lies toward the East. *Malmesbury* again adds, that the Inhabitants united themselves and drove away these perfidious Wretches. About the same time died *Ethelbert* after he had Reigned but five years, and his Body was buried with his Brothers at *Sherburn*.

Ethelbald dies and is buried at *Sherburn*.

The *Danes* sack *Winchester* but are afterwards put to flight.

Ethelbert dies.

An. DCCCLX. Þeр Æþelbalð cyning forþfeрðe. ⁊ hiг lic liðð æт Scirburnan. ⁊ feng Æþelbryht to callum ðam rice hirbroðuг, &c.

* ⁊ riþ ðone here gefuhton Osric ealðorman mið Hamtun scyre ⁊ Æþelwulf ealðorman mið Bearrucscyer ⁊ ðone here geflymdon, &c.

Is succeeded by *Ethelred*.

9. After the death of *Ethelbert* succeeded *Ethelred* his Brother, another Son of *Ethelwulfe*, in the first year of *Basilius Macedo* Emperour of *Constantinople*, the twelfth of *Ludovicus* the second Emperour of the West, the sixteenth of *Burhred* (titular) King of the *Mercians*, *A. D.* DCCCLXVII. † *Malmesbury* having told us, that he obtained his Father's Kingdom, the same number of years which his two Brothers, falls into a bemoaning of the fate of all the three, their miserable and deplorable fate, as he terms it, that they should all die an immature death, yet indeed being Royally descended, and the Nation being involved in such dreadfull Calamities, they might well prefer an honourable death before a miserable Reign. They so courageously and valiantly demeaned themselves in defence of their Countrey, that no default is to be charged upon them, if prosperously did not succeed what they resolutely had intended. This King nine times in one year fought with the Enemy in the Field, (as the chance of War is, with various success, yet usually with advantage) besides many sudden Excursions whereby, as he was excellently skilled in Strategems, he often represed the Insolency of these Rovers. On the side of the *Danes* were slain nine Earls or Captains, one King, and multitudes of People without number. But above all memorable is the Battel he fought at *Esschendune*. The Army of the *Danes* being drawn up in that place, one part of it was led by two Kings, the rest by other skilfull Leaders. The King with his Brother *Alfred* comes upon them: The King must ingage with the Kings: *Alfred* is set upon the Captains. So courageous and resolute were both the Parties, that this day sufficed not to determine the Quarrel, the Controversie must be adjourned to that which followed. Scarce did the light appear when *Alfred* was up and ready. His Brother staid in his Tent busie at his Devotions, and though a Message was brought him that the Pagans with great rage came on, he refused to stir untill they were ended. This Religious Confidence of the King was very seasonable for the restraining of the heat of his Brother's youth, who was already ingaged. For the Battel of the

† *De gestis Regum Anglorum lib.* 2. *c.* 3.

Who fought several pitch'd Battels with the *Danes*.

the *English* went to the worst; the Infidels had the Advantage of the Ground, and made such use thereof, that the Christians began to think of flight. Now comes he unexpectedly into the Battel, beats back the Enemy, incourages his Friends and demeans himself with that Valour and Conduct that by God's assistence the *Danes* were discouraged, betook themselves to their Heels and ran away. There fell their King *Oseg*, five Earls, besides an innumerable company of the Vulgar sort. Sect. 10.

The *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* endeavour to revolt.

10. Here our Writer will have us to remark that the Kings of the *Mercians* and the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at these *Danish* Wars wherewith *Ethelred* was incumbred, withdrew themselves from the yoke of the West *Saxons* as much as they could, and had almost recovered their former Independency, each Province therefore envying the prosperity of the other, the several Kings chose rather to harbour the Enemy in their own Bosomes than give any relief to their distressed Countreymen; and by this means studying rather a recovering than a preventing course, by their lazinesse they let their Countrey run to ruine. The *Danes* grew upon them without any opposition, the *English* were discouraged and terrified, and every Victory by means of the abundance of Captives became instrumental to procure another. The Territories of the Eastern *English* with their Cities and Villages were possessed by these Robbers, and their King St. *Edmund* being killed by them in the eight hundred and seventieth year from the Incarnation, on the nineteenth of *November* by a short Temporal death purchased an Eternal Crown. The *Mercians* being overrun more than once, lessened their Miseries by Submission, and giving up Hostages. And those of *Northumberland* having been sometime tossed with Civil Dissentions, when the Enemy was at their heels fairly composed all their Differences. *Osberth* their King whom they had expelled, they now received again, and having made great preparations, they goe and meet the Enemy. But they are easily beaten, and shut themselves up within the Walls of *York*, which being quickly set on fire by the Conquerours, and the flame increasing, burns the Buildings, and therein they perish and cover their native Soil with their own Bones. Thenceforth *Northumberland* falling by right of War to the share of the Barbarians, for a long time groaned under their Dominion, and sighed at the thought of its former liberty. As for King *Ethelred* though unbroken with all his many labours he died at last, and was buried at *Winburn*.

The East *Angles*, *Mercians*, and *Northumberland*, wasted by these Robbers.

11. This short but good account we have from *Malmesbury*, of the state and condition of these times, how the *English* Affairs stood both in reference to the Enemy, and to one another. What he speaks of in general, we shall illustrate as much as we can by particular instances, as to time and place, the best course we can take in these obscure matters. In the very first year of his Reign a vast Army of *Danes* invaded the Land, Commanded by *Hinguar*, and *Ubba*, two great Souldiers but very cruel: *Hinguar* was very crafty and subtile, *Ubba* was a Man of extraordinary Courage. They landed in East *England*, where wintring, they made truce with the Inhabitants out of design to obtain from them a sufficient number of Horses whereon to mount their Men. Being now become a strong Body of Horse; the following year they passed over *Humber* as far as *York*, where the Civil dissentions of the People afforded them a notable advantage whereon to work. As *Malmesbury* observes they had driven into banishment *Osbryht* their King, and set up a Tyrant, one *Ælla* in his room; but now though it was late, and the year declined, they recalled him, and so composed their matters that they feared not to meet, and encounter this puissant Army at *York*, into which City part of the Pagans had already entred: They brake into the Town, but were recieved so warmly by the *Danes*, that within as well as without, great slaughter of them was made, and the quarrel was decided betwixt their two Kings, both of them being slain in this Action, together with a great multitude of the People. The Remnant got as good terms from the Enemy as they could; but they were overrun, and the Countrey harassed as far as the River *Tine*. *Egbert* one of the *English* Race, was appointed King over them in room of *Osbrith*. And now should come in the story of *Bricern*, whose Wife *Osbert* is said to have ravished, and who called in the *Danes* to revenge the injury upon the King. The thing if true was very remarkable, but we know not where *Brompton* had it; his Authority is not great, his Antiquity small.

Hinguar and *Ubba* Arrive.

Huntingd. lib. 5. Annal. ad An. 866. Þinter ſetl namon on Eaſt Engl. ⁊ dæn ge-hoſrudc pundon. ⁊ hihim ſlup-namon. *Ann.* 867. Þer ſoſſe-hene of Eaſt Eagl. oſer hum-bre muſan to Eoſoſ-ſic on Noſ-þhumbre, *&c.*

12. But the *Danes* having wrought their will in the Parts beyond the River *Humber*, the next year invaded *Mercia*, and bent their course toward * *Snottengaham* (then, and long after so called from the Caves in the Rocks) at present *Nottingham*. There they took up their Winter Quarters, which so alarm'd *Burhred*

The invade *Mercia*.

* *De Nottingamia sic Asserius.*

Sect. 10.

But at *Nottingham* are Beleaguered by *Ethelred*, who makes peace with them.

red King of the Countrey and his Noblemen, that they made an humble address to *Ethelred*, desiring that he with his Brother *Alfred* would undertake their Patronage and Defence. This they readily did, and with a considerable power of Men marched to *Nottingham*, where they offered Battel to the *Danes*. *Hinguar* was so crafty, as knowing himself unable to grapple with them, he would not stir a foot out of the † Castle, so that no considerable fight happened, and at length with good words he, saith *Huntingdon*, obtained a truce of the *English*, who were not able to break the Wall. Though the Annals seem rather to say that the *Mercians* obtained it of him, yet *Ingulphus* writes expresly, that *Burhred* constrained the *Danes* to quit *Nottingham*, where at the Siege he renewed the Charter of Privileges to his Monastery of *Croyland*, which bears date from the Siege in the year 868. on the five and twentieth of *July*, from the subscriptions to which it appears that both *Ethelred*, his Brother *Alfred*, and also *Edmund* King of East *England*, was at the Siege. But a peace or truce was made, and the *Danes* returned back to *York* with great booty, where they stayed a year, and there cruelly demeaned themselves. When Winter was over they passed over *Humber* into *Lindsey*, and landing at *Humberstan*, as ‖ *Ingulphus* farther tells us, miserably wasted all the Countrey; particularly that most famous and ancient Monastery of *Bardency* they destroyed, killing without mercy all the Monks in the Church. Having made their stay in those Quarters all the Summer, and with Fire and Sword consumed all things, about the Feast of St. *Michael*, saith he, they enter *Kesteven*; another part of *Lincolnshire*, at this time, as well as the other, distinguisht by name) where they waste, kill and burn every thing they light on. At length, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred and seventy, in the month of *September*. *Algar* the younger (so called in respect of the late Earl *Algar* his Father) that most valiant Earl, got together all the youth of *Honland* (now *Holland*; mark, Reader, the antiquity of these three Divisions of the County and their names, they continuing at this very day the same) and two Souldiers Senescals (as he calls them) *Wiburt* and *Leofric*, (from whom two Villages, the places of their residence, took the names of *Wiberton* and *Lefrinkton*) together with a Company belonging to the Monastery of *Croyland*, consisting of two hundred most stout Warriours, being for the most part fugitives: Headed by *Fryar Toly*, a Monk converted of the said Monastery, who before his conversion had been a Souldier of great Name throughout all *Mercia*, for warlike enterprizes; Besides these they got from *Deeping*, *Langtoft* and *Baston*, about three hundred stout Men fit for War; *Morcard* the Lord of *Brunne* (or rather *Bourne*) with his Family which was both valiant and numerous, and the Vice Lord (as he calls him, meaning the Governour) of *Lincoln*, by name *Osgot*, an old Souldier and most hardy, joyned with them with the *Lincoln* Squadron, consisting of five hundred Men.

Thence they go into *Lincolnshire*.

Eodem anno pp ædictur paganorum exercitur Norlanhymbrior pelinquent in Mercia-am venit; Jbnotingaham adiit ⁊ quod Britannice Tiggwo cobanc interpretatur latine autem Speluncarum domur ⁊ J *vide etiam Ingulphum, ad Ann.* 866.

† Cumque Pagani tutione arcir muniri bellum dare negarent ⁊ J Christiani frangere murum non ruppetebat ⁊ pace inter Mercior et paganor facta duo illi fratrer cum rur cohortabur domum reuerri runt. *Idem.*

‖ *Ingulphi Historia.*

13. Being all drawn together in *Kesteven*, upon the Feast of *Maurice* the Martyr, they gave Battel to the Pagans, and by God's great mercy having killed three of their Kings, with a great multitude of the ordinary sort, they beat the Barbarians, as far as the gate of their Camp, where making most stout resistence, the Invincible Earl withdrew his Forces. That very night came into the Camp of the Pagans, all the rest of their Kings, from their several excursions, having divided the Countrey amongst them for the plunder, *viz.* *Gogroum* (or *Godroum*) *Baseg*, *Oskebil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, with as many Earls, *viz.* *Frena*, (or *Erena*) *Unguar*, *Ulba* and both the *Sidroks*, the Elder and Younger, with their Armies, and too much Booty, besides a multitude of Women and Children. Their coming being known, most of the Christians sorely terrified, slipt away by night, so that with the said Earl *Algar* and his Captains of eight hundred (of which his Party consisted) scarcely two hundred Persons remained; with whom, as few as they were, by break of day, having heard Divine Service, and taken their Sacred *Viaticum*, being all of them most ready to dye for the faith of Christ, and the defense of their Countrey, they went into the Field against the Barbarians. The most Valiant Earl seeing his own Forces so much diminished, ordered *Fryar Toly*, with five hundred Men, who had gallantly demean'd themselves to stand on the right hand, assigning him for assistant *Morcard* of *Brunne*, with all his Followers. *Osgot* with his five hundred he placed on the left side, and with him joyned *Harding de Rebale*, with all the *Stanford* Men, who were young and but too Valiant. He himself with his Senescals, stood in the midst to succour each quarter as need should require. The *Danes* being much inraged for the slaughter made of their Men, early in the morning buried their three Kings in a Village formerly called

But renewing the fight burn and destroy all before them.

called *Laundon*, but afterward *Trekingham* from their Sepulture, and now four Kings prepared themselves to fight together with eight Earls; for two Kings and four Earls were appointed to look to their Camp and Captives. The Christians being so few drew together in form of a Wedge, against the Archers, setting as it were a Palisado of their Bucklers, and against the violence of the Horse a wood of Lances, and in that posture, instructed by their Leaders, continued all the Day till Night now approached: The Enemy perceiving that neither his Bowmen nor his Horse could doe any execution, resolved to counterfeit flight and to leave the Field, which the Christians beholding broke their Ranks, notwithstanding all their Leaders could doe, and in pursuit of the Pagans were dispersed through the Plain without any Order or Conduct. The Barbarians hereupon return and like Lions fall upon so few poor Sheep. The most valiant, and never to be forgotten Earl *Algar*, with the Souldiers we named and Fryar *Toly*, clustering together upon an Hill, for a long time bore the brunt of the Barbarians, till seeing the stoutest Christians dead, they died also, fighting most valiantly over their Bodies. A few young men belonging to *Sutton* and *Gedeney* casting away their Arms escaped into the adjoyning Wood, whence the next Night with much adoe, they got to *Croyland*, and thither brought the sad news of the overthrow, as *Theodorus* the Abbat and his Monks were at their Vespers. The *Danes* after this plundred and burnt the Abby of *Croyland* on the twenty fifth of *August*, killing the Abbat and all the Fryars, except one Boy of ten years old, *Tugar* or *Turgar* by Name, on whom young *Sidrok* to save him put on a *Danish* Coat. Thence went they to the Monastery of *Medeshamsted*, where they did the like; and thence with innumerable Spoils passed on towards *Huntingdon*, the two *Sidroks* bringing up the Rere as they ever did, and passing over a Bridge, two Waggons full of Treasure fell into the River *Nene*, which as the followers of young *Sidrok* were busied in drawing out, *Turgar* the young Fryar escaped from them and returned to *Croyland*.

Sect. 10.

Next for *Cambridge* and the Isle of *Ely*, which they plunder with East *England*.

14. The Pagans still marched on wasting all the Countrey as far as *Grantebrig*, now *Cambridge*, and so to the Isle of *Ely*, where having rifled and burnt the famous Monastery and killed all they found therein with much Plunder and Cattel, which for the reputed security of the place, had been brought thither out of the adjoyning Countrey, they proceeded into East *England*, where meeting with Earl *Wulketule*, who made vigorous resistence, they cut him off with all his Army. Having taken also the most Holy *Edmund* King of that Countrey and led him to a Stake as a Butt to shoot at, they first with many Arrows shot him through, and afterward cut off his Head. Having possessed themselves of all East *England*, there they spent all the Winter, at *Thetford* say the Annals. The year following (having received great Supplies, as *Huntingdon* hints, who calls their Army a new and mighty one, and compares it to a River which overflowing bears away all before it) they bent their Course toward the West *Saxons*, the Territories of whom alone had not felt the effects of their Covetousness and Cruelty, who alone were in capacity to resist them; for the overturning of the Heptarchy (the Monarchy being not yet fully established) had weakned all the other Provinces, wanting now such Officers as should vigorously defend them. Coming to *Reading* they fortified themselves betwixt the two Rivers *Thames* and *Kenet*, and after three days sent out two Earls to forage the Countrey, but they were encountred by *Ethelwulfe* Earl of *Berkshire*, who at *Englafeld* (or *Englefeild*) gave them Battel, killed one of their Earls (*Huntingdon* names *Sidrac*) and obtained the Victory. Four days after came King *Ethelred* with *Alfred* his Brother and the main Body, and gave Battel to the *Danes*, wherein on both sides very many fell; Earl *Ethelwulfe* here lost his life, being by *Ethelward* the Historian called *Adulf*, who writes that he was buried in the Province of the *Mercians*, at a place called *Northworthige*, but in the *Danish* Tongue *Deoraby*, and the *Danes* became Masters of the Field. Yet was not the disadvantage so great on the *English* side, but that four days after the King and his Brother appeared again in the Field against them at a place called * *Æscesdune* or *Ashdowne*, where they ingaged on both sides with their full strength. The *Danes* divided their Army into two Bodies, whereof the one was led by

Ingulphus ubi supra.

An. DCCCLXX.

Then to the West *Saxons*.

Where they are encountred by *Ethelwulfe*.

And fight several Battels with *Ethelred*.

Þeр рæб ре heре oрер oрер Myрce innan eaрт Engle ⁊ pintep реtl namon æт Þeoðpopda. inтep ðuo plumina тameren ⁊ cynetan. *Asser.*

Corpus quoque supradicti Ducis abstrahitur furtim, adducitúrque in Merciorum provinciam in locum qui Northworthige nuncupatur, juxta autem Danaam linguam Deoraby. Lib. 4. c. 2. * *De nomine sic Simeon Dunelmensis ad Ann.* DCCCLXXI. *Statuunt Legiones in loco qui dicitur Etscesdun, quod Latinè mons Fraxini potest reverenter interpretari. Sic Asserius:* in loco qui dicitur Æscesdun ⁊ quod Latine mons fraxini interpretatur.

Sect. 10. *Backſecg* and *Healfdene* their Kings, the other by their Earls. With the firſt ingaged King *Ethelred*, and *Alfred* with the other. In the former Battel fell *Backſecg*; in the latter the two *Sidroks*, beſides three other Earls, *Oſbearn*, *Fræna* and *Hareld*. Both the one and the other were beaten and put to flight, many thouſands ſlain, and night interrupted a greater Execution, though *Ethelward* writes, that the whole Youth of the more excellent Barbarians here periſhed, neither after nor before was ſuch ſlaughter heard of, ſince that the Nation of the *Saxons* by War obtained *Britain*. Here ſome obſerve that *Ethelred* both had the diſadvantage of the lower ground, and came later into the Battel from his Devotions. *Alfred* began the Fight e'er his Brother came into the Field. And as for the *Daniſh* King, whom the Annals call *Backſecg*, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory talks of one *Ivare* the Son of *Regnere*.

15. *Aſſerius* writes of a ſupply which the Pagans received ſhortly after from beyond the Sea. Yet was it not till *Ethelred*, fourteen days after the former Fight again aſſiſted by his Brother, had encountred their whole Power at *Baſing*, in which ingagement they had the better, being headed by *Agnere* and *Hubbo*, the Brothers of the ſlain *Ivarus*. But ſtill, as we lately obſerv'd, the loſs received by the *Engliſh* could not be great, for about two Months after they were again ſo well recruited, that they durſt a third time fall upon the Pagans at a place called *Merotune*, divided into two Bodies, and in the ſame poſture as they had formerly ſought. Both theſe Bodies were put to flight, although for a great part of the day they had had the better. Great was the ſlaughter made on both ſides, and yet ſay the Annals, the *Danes* became Maſters of the Field, ſo various was the fortune of this day or rather ſo uncertain their Intelligence. To be ſure *Heahmund* a Biſhop was there ſlain, beſides other good men, not a few: And a grievous Plague followed in Summer. Hereof (we may gueſs, for the Annals ſpeak not expreſly) died *Ethelred* after *Eaſter*, when he had Reigned five years, and his Body was buried at *Winburn*. *Brompton* in his Chronicle ſays, that he died of wounds received in a Fight he fought with *Somerled* a *Dane*, who returning to *Reading* from the Battel at *Merton*, deſtroyed whatever there he found. But his Authority is but ſmall, compared with that of others. As for the place of his Burial, by the Annals called *Winburnan* and *Winburnham*, in other *Saxon* Monuments is the ſame with that ancient Town *Vindogladia*, whereof *Antonine* maketh mention. Probably it had that Name from being ſituate betwixt two Rivers, for *Windugledy* in the *Britiſh* Tongue, ſoundeth as much as betwixt two Swords, and *Rivers*, by a peculiar Phraſe of their own, they termed *Swords*, as appeareth by *Aberdugledian*, the *Britiſh* Name of *Milford Haven*, as much as to ſay, the mouth of two Rivers, becauſe two Rivers named with them *Gledian*, that is, *Swords* run into it. The laſt Name *Winburn* (a Town in *Dorſetſhire*) is compounded of *Vin*, a parcel of the old Name, and the *Saxon* word *Burne*, which alſo among them betokeneth a *River*, by the addition thereof, the *Saxons* being wont to name places ſtanding upon Rivers. Here *Cuthburg* Siſter to *Ina* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, being divorced from the King of *Northumberland* her Husband, built a Nunnery which at length being decayed by time, a fair Church was erected in the place with a Vault under the Quire, and an high Spire beſides the Tower Steeple, wherein were placed Prebendaries in lieu of theſe Nuns. In this Church lyeth *Ethelred* interred, upon whoſe Tomb not very long ſince repaired, in *Cambden's* time this new Inſcription was to be read, *Here reſteth the Body of Saint* Ethelred *King of the Weſt* Saxons *Martyr, who died in the year of our Lord* DCCCLXXII, *the three and twentieth of* April, *by the hands of the Pagan* Danes. By his Saintſhip and this Inſcription he ſhould either have died or been mortally * wounded in Battel.

Ethelward ubi ſupra.

An. Dccclxxi. ⁊ þæs ſæns Heahmund biſcop oflegen. ⁊ realagodra monna. ⁊ aften ðyſrum geſeohte com micel ſomon liba. ⁊ penoſen Eaſtron ge ſon Æþelred Cyning ⁊ he micle beſt geap. ⁊ hiſl c liþæt þinburnan ⁊

Who dies.

Is buried at *Winburn*.

* *De eo tamen ſic Ingulphus: Anno namque incarnationis 872 Rex Ethelredus multis præliis contra Danos vexatus, ſed ſemper invictus, obiit Winburnæ & Sepultus eſt.*

16. *Alfred*, *Ælfred*, *Alured*, or *Elfred* his Brother, the fourth and youngeſt Son of *Ethelwulfe* ſucceeded him, in the ſixth year of *Baſilius Macedo*, Eaſtern Emperour; the ſeventeenth of *Ludovicus*, the Second Emperour of the Weſt; the one and twentieth of *Burhred*, King of the *Mercians*; the fifth Indiction, *A. D.*

Alfred ſucceeds.

Al (ſeu Æl) ſpete *Omnis Pax. Alurede idem Urede (cum V Conſonanti) Pax hodie Vader Father*

Belgis. V enim & F promiſcuè uſurpantur in lingua Teutonica. Urede Frede, Vlie Flie, Vliſſingen Fluſhing, & multa alia; pro f. ſcribunt v, pronunciant tamen ut f nobis pronunciatur; pro noſtris th. d. eſt illis in uſu; dat that, donder thunder; mille alia.

Sect. 10

An. Dom. Incarnationis 849. natus est Alfred angul Saxonum rex in villa regia quæ dicitur Vuanating in illa paga quæ nominatur Berrocscire, quæ Paga taliter vocatur a Berroc silua ubi buxus habundantissimo nascitur. *Asserius.*

DCCCLXXII. He was born at * *Wanating*, (or *Wanatune*) now *Wantage*, a Town in *Berkshire*, then a Royal Village or Manour of the Kings, at present eminent for nothing, except it be for a Market. His Mother was *Osburg*, the Daughter of *Oslae* the Panther of King *Ethelwulfe*, but of great Descent, which he drew from the *Goths* and *Jutes* of the stock of *Stuph* and *Wihtgar* the two Brothers, who receiving the Isle of *Wight* from their Uncle *Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his Son, slew those few *Britains* they found in the Island, in the place called *Swihtgaraburg*, the rest had either been killed before, or driven into Banishment. In the fifth year of his Age, his Father sent him to *Rome*, accompanied with many persons both Noble and Ignoble, where Pope *Leo* the Fourth ordained and anointed him; and if a certain * Chronicle tell us truth, he was the first King of *England* that was anointed. He adopted him also for his Son. Afterward when *Ethelwulfe* went himself to *Rome*, this young Son he took along with him, being more tender of him than any of his other Sons. For beauty and wit he exceeded them all, his conversation being delightfull and charming. But this tenderness grew to such fondness in his Parents, that they neglected the great part of his † Education, *viz.* of learning his Book till he came to twelve years of Age, yet in the mean time did he learn many *Saxon* Poems, and in the Art of Hunting was skilfull to admiration. On a time the Mother having got a Book of Songs in her Hand, shewed it her Sons, and told them that he that could first get them by heart should have the Book; he much enamoured of the first letter for its fairness, took it, and going to his Master, learnt to Reade, and then said it before his Mother. After this he became expert in the Diurnal Course, or Celebration of Hours, as it was called; certain Psalms, and many Prayers, which being digested into a Book, day and night he constantly had about him, and made use of them upon all occasions. But after this time, when his Youth afforded him opportunity of learning the Arts and Sciences, there were no Masters to be had to Teach him, of which he often with many and deep sighs complained, as one of the greatest misfortunes of his Life. But afterward when he came to more ripe years, and had the opportunity of Books, and Teachers, then by sickness, by his extraordinary care and solicitude in business, by the frequent hostilities exercised by the Pagans both by Land and Sea, he was diverted from what he exceedingly desired: yet still as he could he omitted no opportunity, but stole it from his Recreations, to improve himself.

Who was the first King of *England* that ever was Anointed.

* *W. Thorn.* ch. 5. sect. 4. *Hic Elfredus fuit primus Rex Angliæ qui inunctus erat. Hic constituit Hundred & Lestes.*

† *Asserius ad A. D.* 866.

Marries.

17. When he was twenty years Old, he Married *Alswitha*, *Etheswida*, or *Egolswitha* the Daughter of *Æthelred* Earl of the *Gaini*, Sirnamed *Mucil*, or the Great, from his stature, of the Royal Bloud of the *Mercians*. In his two and twentieth year, his Brothers being now all dead, to whom, as *Asserius* terms it, he had been Secundary, he came to Possession of the Kingdom, though not without reluctancy, out of apprehension of that danger which hung over his head, from the constant Invasions and Hostilities of the Pagans. And scarcely had he made an end of his Brother's Funerals, when after one Month he was forced with a slender Army to Engage their whole Power at *Wilton*. He had the better of it at the first, for he put them to flight, but unwarily giving the Chase, they rallied, and returning upon his Men, now quite tired out, became Masters of the Field. And that it may not seem strange that here the *English* should be foild, *Asserius* shews, that besides the smalness of their Number, in comparison of the Enemy, this one year they had been spent and weakned by eight several Battels fought against these Pagans. In these eight Battels perished one *Danish* King, and nine of their Earls, with innumerable multitudes of the lesser sort, besides what fell in those Excursions made by day and night, the number of which was not to be counted. The Annals instead of eight, say that nine several Battels were this year fought, and that upon the Southern Bank of the River *Thames*, wherein one King, and nine Earls were killed. Now this same year the West *Saxons* made an Agreement with the *Danes*, on condition that they departed out of their Quarters, which they performed, so wearied were both sides with these incessant Hostilities. The following year (from *Reading* say the Annals) they went to *London*, and there they Wintered, whither the *Mercians* sent Messengers, and renewed the Peace which they had formerly made with them.

Uxorem de Mercia nobilem scilicet genere filiam Æthelfredi Gainorum comitis qui cognominabatur Mucil.

Fights several Battels with the *Danes*.

Makes an agreement with them.

18. The year following being the DCCCLXXIV. of our Lord, and the twenty fourth of *Alfred*'s Age, the Army of *Danes* left *London*, and went into the Countrey of the *Northumbrians*, where in a Region called *Lindesey* they Wintred, and there again the *Mercians* renewed the Peace. So Writes *Asserius*, and the Annals say the same thing, adding this, that the place they Wintred in was a Village called *Turcosige*. This Village is at this day known by the Name of *Torksey*

Who March to *Lindsey* in *Lincolnshire*.

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sey, about five Miles South from *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*, in that division called *Lindsey*, seated upon the River of *Trent*, South from the River of *Humber* (above twenty Miles) as all *Lindsey* is, being most certainly within the Countrey of the *Mercians*, so that a wonder it is that both *Asserius* and the Annals should place them in *Northumberland*, which by universal consent was bounded on the South by the River *Humber*. But here we may suppose they chose to take up their Quarters, because of the conveniency of the River, by which carrying at High Tide Vessels of considerable burthen, they might receive supplies of Men, Arms, or Provisions from beyond the Seas as they had occasion; for this reason afterward they landed sometimes in those Parts, and took up their Quarters also at *Gainsborough*, where one of their greatest Tyrants was stabbed. The meaning of it seems to be this, that they designed to pass into the Parts beyond *Humber*, but here stopt because of conveniency, or because *Lindsey* was sometime under the Power of the Kings of the *Northumbrians*; thereupon, and because it lyes so far North, by some Writers, in a general acceptation it came to be reckoned as part of it. That this was so in the days of *Asserius*, (who yet being a *Welsh* Man might be Ignorant in the *English Saxon* Chorography) seems from what he writes at the year following, that the often mentioned Army of *Danes* quitting *Lindsey*, went into *Mercia*, and Wintred in the place called *Hreopdune*. Notwithstanding the renewing of the Peace, here they forced *Burhred* King of the *Mercians*, to quit both the Island, and his Kingdom, in the two and twentieth year of his Reign, whence he went to *Rome*, and not long after his Arrival, died. He being gone, they brought all *Mercia* under their dominion: yet committed it to a silly Servant of *Burhred's*, one *Ceolwulfe* on this condition, that he should again restore it the same day it should be demanded. For performance hereof he gave Hostages, and Swore, that in no manner would he contradict their will, but be obedient in all things. *Hrependune* is that Town now called *Repton* in *Derbyshire*, the Residence of the *Mercian* Kings, when *Derby* was scarcely so good as a Village; seated upon the River *Trent*, where it takes into it the River *Dove*, eminent both for the Burial both of good King *Ethelbald*, and the deprival of this *Burhred* who had all the while he lived supported his Title, partly with fair Language, and partly by Gifts, and now (as one * observes) became an Example to teach Men in how ticklish and slippery a place they stand, who are underprop't onely with Money.

Seize upon the *Mercian* Kingdom.

19. † The *Danes* departing from *Hreopdune*, divided themselves into two Parties. One of them under Conduct of *Healfdene* one of their Kings, went into *Northumberland*, where they Wintered by the River *Tyne*, and subdued all the adjacent Countries, and wasted the Territories of the *Picts*, and Pictish *Britains*. The other Party Commanded by *Gothrum*, *Osketill* and *Amund*, three other of their Kings went streight to *Grantebrig*, and there remained a whole year. *Alfred* in the mean time, sensible that all these mischiefs happened at land, because he was not Master at Sea, rigged up a Fleet with intent to surprize the Pirates, e'er they should land. He met with five (says *Asserius*, seven say the Annals) of their Ships, whereof one he took, and the rest escaped. The following Summer the *Danes* moved to a Castle of the West *Saxons*, called *Werham*. *Alfred* now thought fit instead of Fighting, to Treat with them; either for that he being taken up in Sea Affairs was not well provided at Land, which made them so bold as to enter his paternal Territories, or because they doubted of their own strength, and were very willing to entertain Overtures. Some say by Money he purchased a Peace, whereby they were streightway to depart his Dominions. For performance of the Accord they gave up what Hostages he himself named, took an Oath upon Holy Reliques, and upon a Sacred Bracelet; (an Oath so great and solemn as they never before would swear to any Nation) yet as it seems not with any intention to observe it. * For not long after by Night they took their Horses, (*Asserius* saith they killed all his, or their own; for the words are ambiguous) and went to *Exeter*. This same year *Healfdene* their King had brought his Affairs to that settlement and perfection in *Northumberland*, that he divided the Countrey amongst his Men, and began to cultivate it with Tillage. And this same year it was as *Asserius* affirms, that *Rollo* with his *Normans* having Wintered here in *England*, passed over the Sea, and invaded *France*.

Then subdue *Northumberland*.

And invade the West *Saxons*.

Alfred then King, forced to purchase Peace.

* *Cambden.*

† *Asserius ad A. D.* 875. Necnon ⁊ Pictor ⁊ Strattutenses depopulati sunt. Annales ⁊ orþengaðe on Paohtor ⁊ on strecleð Pealas. *Cur Strattutenses? Supra monuimus Cambros sive Britannos qui regiones septentrionales habitabant usque ad Cludam Amnem constituisse Regnum quod à flumine Cluda Strateluyd à Wallis, à Mariano Scoto corruptè Streadiylcad Walanorum. Habitabant hi Britanni juxta Pictos atque inde* Peatas strælcleb *Strieled Welsh, id est Wallos Pictos seu variegatos Anglis eos apellarunt.*

* Nocte quadam proebente disputo omnes equites quos habebat occidit vestisque inde Domnaniam ab locum qui dicitur Saxonicè Saxanceastre Britannicè autem Caputvirsy Latinè quoque civitas in orientali ripa fluminis Vuire sita est proxime maris meridianum ⁊ quia interfluit Galliam Britanniamque ⁊ inopinatè disexit ⁊ ibi hyemavit.

20. The

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20. The year which followed being the DCCCLXXVI. of Our Lord, and the twenty sixth after the Birth of *Alfred*, part of the Pagan Army remained at *Exeter*, and another part in Harvest time made excursions into *Mercia*. The number of these Rovers dayly encreased, so as any that fought with and defeated them never so often, had but the same endless employment as he that cut off the Head of *Hydra*; for if as this day thirty thousand of them were killed, to Morrow others would succeed them, and their number be doubled. *Alfred* perceiving that for all his labour for this reason he should profit nothing, but that each Victory (if he obtained it) would prove but a prelude to a farther trouble and danger, gave order throughout all his Dominions for furnishing out Gallies, or long Ships, to prevent the landing of these troublesome Guests. He himself hasted to *Exeter*, wherein he Besieged the *Danes*, from whom to cut off all supplies, he manned out his Ships to intercept all provisions that should come by Sea. His Navy met with one hundred and twenty of their Vessels, upon which they set with all violence imaginable, and all the Vessels full of Men as they were, perished; how *Asserius* tells us not, and the Annals say it was by Tempest near *Swanawic*. The same year the Pagans quitting *Werham*, partly on Horseback, and partly on Shipboard, and these at Sea when they came to the place called * *Suanavine* perished to the number of one hundred and twenty Vessels, more if credit be given to the Copy of *Asserius*, whereas the Annals mention but one loss at Sea this year, and the identity of the number in *Asserius*, makes us suspect it one and the same loss, and that his Text is corrupted. However so it happened, that the *Danes* affrighted with this great loss (or losses) gave him what Hostages he desired, and promised to depart. This they did in the Month of *August* marching into *Mercia*, which Region they granted, partly to *Ceolwulfe*, a certain silly Servant of the King, and partly divided amongst themselves.

Asserius, Tunc rex Ælfredus iussit Cymbas ⁊ galeas i longas fabricari per regnum, &c.

* *Asserio* Gnauepic.

The *Danes* suffer great losses at Sea.

21. In the year from our Lord's Incarnation DCCCLXXVII, and the twenty seventh after *Alfred*'s Nativity, the often mentioned Army of the Pagans from *Exeter*, in *Christmas* departed to *Ceppanhamme* a Royal Village seated * in the Northern part of *Wiltshire* on the Eastern Bank of the River, in *British* called *Abon*, where it wintred. Hence did it make excursions into the Territories of the West *Saxons*, of whom many it forced to quit the Land, and in great fear and want of all necessaries to cross the Seas; such as remained were constrained to submit themselves to their Authority. *Alfred* with a few of his Nobility, with a small Party of Souldiers and some of his Vassals in Woods and the miry parts of *Somersetshire* was forc't to hide his Head. A miserable life he led, having nothing whereby to subsist except what by stealth and Irruptions he could get from the Pagans or from his disobedient Subjects which had submitted themselves unto them. He was forced to take up his Quarters with one of the Keepers of his Cattel. The † Neatherd's Wife being on a time busie in baking Cakes upon the Hearth, the King sate by the fire side fitting and trimming up his Bow and Arrows with his other Habiliments of War. It happened that the Cakes, set too near the fire, burned, at which the Woman very much concerned, in haste ran to the fire and snatched them away, but heartily chid the Guest upon the Bench, saying, *How now man wilt thou not turn the Cakes that burn? Thou wouldest be glad to have a share of them when they are bak'd.* The unhappy Woman (says *Asserius*) little thought she spake to King *Alfred* who had fought so many Battels with the Pagans, and got so many Victories over them. But so great affliction happened to him, as our Authour guesseth, for not having in his younger years when he first came to the Government, heard and relieved his oppressed Subjects, for which neglect St. *Neolus* his Kinsman foretold out of a Prophetick Spirit, that these Calamities would fall upon him. In the mean time the Brother of *Hinguar* and *Healfdene* departing from *Northwales* with three and twenty Ships, where they had made great waste, sailed into *Devonshire*, and facing a Castle called *Cynwith*, were killed in a Salley made by the King's Garrison, with two hundred of their men. There was taken their Banner called *Reafau*, said to have been made at one Noon-time of the day by the three Sisters of *Hinguar* and *Hubba* the Daughters of *Lodebrock*. Before every Battel if they chanced to be victorious, the likeness of a living and flying Crow was reported to have appeared in it, but in case they happened to have the worst it would hang directly down and not move at all. And this hath often been proved by experience, saith our Authour.

* Quæ est sita in sinistrali parte fluminis quos Britannicè dicitur Abon.

The West *Saxons* submitting to the *Danes* put *Alfred* to his shifts.

In sinistrali parte; loquitur more Hebræorum & Wallorum qui meridiem dextram vocabant Aquilonem ad sinistram, dum scil. Orientem versus facies converterent.

† *Asserius ex vita Sti Neoli.*

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22. This same year *Alfred* built after *Easter* a Castle at a place called * *Ethelingaeg*, whence with his Nobles of *Somersetshire* he made frequent excursions against the Pagans. In the seventh week after *Easter* he rode to the stone of *Ægbryht* in the Eastern part of the Wood called *Selwad*, in Latine *Silva Magna*, and *Coitmaur* in *British*, (in the Eastern part of *Somersetshire*, now not so great) where met him all the Inhabitants of *Somersetshire*, *Wilts*, and such of *Hamshire* as had not been driven beyond the Sea, who received their King as one risen from the dead, with extraordinary Joy, and there they rested themselves that Night. Dislodging as soon as it was light, they travelled that day as far as *Acglea*, and the next arrived at a place called *Ethandun*, (now *Edindon* in *Wiltshire*) where they ingaged the whole Power of the *Danes*, and got the Victory. They pursued them to one of their fortifi'd Castles, to which *Alfred* caused close Siege to be laid, which having continued fourteen days, the Pagans pinched with hunger and cold and despairing of Relief, yielded on condition to have leave to depart out of the King's Dominions; for to depart they were, and gave up what Hostages he was pleased to nominate, confirming the Agreement also by their Oaths. *Gothrun* also their King ingaged to become a Christian and be baptized: All which Covenants they faithfully performed. For after about three weeks he came to *Alfred*, then lying at *Alre* a place near to *Ethelingaeg* (now *Aulre* in *Somersetshire* upon the River *Parret*, a Village consisting of a few poor Cottages) accompanied with thirty of the choicest of his Army, and *Alfred* adopting him for his Son, received him out of the Font, and named him *Athelstan*; the solemnity of loosing his Chrismal Ligamant, was performed at *Wetmore* or *Wædmore* an House of the King's, with whom he continued twelve days (or twelve Nights to speak in the Dialect of our *Saxon* Ancestours) and then returned, both he and his followers having received very great Presents. So good a change was wrought upon them, that they kept their word. For the next year they departed from *Cippanham* to *Cirencestre*, and there continued an whole twelve Month. Thence removed they to the East *Angles*, the Countrey whereof together with *Northumberland*, some write that *Alfred* gave to *Guntrun* at his Christening, to be held in fealty of him.

Alfred recovers his Kingdom.

Routs the *Danes*.

Makes *Gothrun* their King turn Christian.

Givihg him East *England* to hold in fealty of him.

23. For the Gift of *Northumberland*, we have nothing to say, but as to the other there is extant the (*a*) Form of a League made betwixt these two Kings, in the first Article whereof the Limits of their Territories are thus described. *The Limits of our Land are first upon the* Thames, *then proceed they to the River* Lee *as far as his Fountain, then streight to* Bedford, *and so up to the River* Ouse, *as far as* Watling-*street*. The second Article, *appoints the value of a Man slain, whether* English *or* Dane, *to be four Marks of melted Gold, and the Redemption of each four hundred Shillings. But if the King's Servant or Thane, was accused of Manslaughter.* The third Article proceeds, *that he be tried by twelve other of the King's Servants. In case he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to some inferiour Lord, he should be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's Servants. The same Order was to be taken in all suits, which exceeded four Marks. But in case he refused to undergoe this Trial, his fine was to be increased three fold.* The fourth appoints *Vouchers for the sale of Men, Horses or Oxen.* The fifth and last ordains, *that none from either Army should pass to the other without leave. And in case it be by way of Traffick, such shall find Sureties for their Civil Deportment, that the Peace may not be infringed.* Such was the League the Preface to which declares, that it was made betwixt the two Kings, *Elfred* and *Gythrun* (so the *Saxon*) by consent of all the wise men of the *English*, and of all those that inhabited East *England*, and that not onely in behalf of themselves, but of their Posterity. This sufficiently sheweth that the Eastern Parts of *England* belonged to the *Danes*. Yet *Polydore Virgil* calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, vehemently contends that he had not that Countrey bestowed on him. *Krantzius* also denies, that *Gormon* was converted to the Faith; yet confesses that about this time, one *Froto* was converted. Whatever they write, this League evinceth the Distinction of their Territories, and the Testimony of *Asserius*, is uncontrollable as to his Baptism, who lived himself at this very time, not to mention that the Annals (ancient Monuments also) affirm the same.

The form of the League.

24. But the same year that these things thus passed, another great Army of Pagans came from beyond the Seas, and sailing up the *Thames*, wintred at *Fullonham*, now *Fulham*, at present the seat of the Bishop of *London*, upon this River. The same year happened also a great Eclipse of the Sun. In that which followed, the Army of *Danes*, that wintred at *Fulham*, passed over the Sea into the

* *Asserio* Æpelingaeg *Annal.* Æpelinga. *Ethelingaeg.* The Isle of Nobles made by the winding of the River *Parret* into the Thone. From hhim and his People frequenting it so named, now known by the Name of *Athelney* in *Somersetshire. De isto Rege sic Malmesb. Gudrum quem nostri Gurmundum vocant, alii Gormovem qui Regiam suam habuit in vico inde Gormonchester dicto corruptè Godmachester, juxta Huntindoniam.* Cippanham *mercandi locus à nundinis scil. quæ etiamnum ibi (Chippenham in Wiltshire) claræ sunt.*

(*a*) *Inter Leges Saxon à Lombardo Editas.*

C. 1. Æpeſt y ſunbuge landgemeþa up on Eemeþe. Ꝡ ðonne up on Ligar. Ꝡ anðlang Ligan od hiþe æþylm. ðonne on gegnl Meto Beðanforþa ðon up on Vran od þælingaſtræt.

C. 2. Be oſſligenan manneſſeþe ⁊

C. 3. Be ðegnum ðe betogene ſynð ⁊

C. 4 Be getimum ⁊ Ꝡ cal ſeoðeoð ðe on Eaſt englumbeoð

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the Eastern *France*, and continued a whole year at *Ghent*, whence the Summer following they pierced farther into the Countrey, and had battel given them by the *Franks*, with what Success as to particulars we know not, but with no great Disadvantage surely to the *Danes*, who after the Fight became Horsemen, and afterward passed up the River * *Meuse*, farther into the Land, and there wintred. *Alfred* in the mean while, being by experience sufficiently instructed, that his main care ought to be employed how to become Master at Sea, in three years time provided him a Fleet, wherewith he ingaged some Rovers, and took two of their Vessels, killing all he ound therein. Two other ships were commanded by two of their Princes, who with all their Fellows being much wounded, and tired out in fight cast down their Arms, and with bended Knees and humble supplications yielded themselves into his Hands. Their Countreymen the following year, sailed up the River *Scheld*, as far as a Monastery of Nunns called *Cundoht*, and there took up their Winter Quarters.

Alfred prepares to be Master at Sea.

* Þep þop ře heřup onslonǯ Mæře þeop on þponclonď, *ita Annales, at vero Asserius hoc modo:* Þep þlumen quoď ðicťuþ Ine ře ruþrum tanto longè in þpanciam þep traxit ⁊ *Per Ine forsan Rhenum intelligit, nobis Rhine.*

25. The year that followed being the DCCCLXXXIV, of Our Lord, and the four and thirtieth of King *Alfred's* Age, this Army divided it self into two Bodies, whereof the one held on its course into the Eastern parts of *France*, and the other making for this Island, arrived in *Kent*, and laid siege to the City of *Rochester*. Before the Gate they built a Fort, and used all means they could to become Masters of the place, but the Inhabitants made stout resistence, and held out till King *Alfred* came to their relief, the noise of whose approach frighted away the Besiegers to their ships, wherein they were constrained to return to the Coasts of *France*. The League which was made betwixt *Alfred* and *Guthrun*, it seems, was broken by this time, probably by that Intelligence which the *Danes*, inhabiting East *England*, held with their Countreymen, that ever and anon arrived. *Alfred* found himself concerned to man out his Fleet, to lessen and restrain their Power, which design so prospered, that coming to the Mouth of the River *Stour*, and meeting thirteen of the Enemies ships, which came ready prepared for an Encounter, they took them and killed all their Men. But growing secure upon this Success, the *Danes* gathered together all the Vessels they could make, and setting upon them as they lay in the same place in a careless posture, spoiled their Triumph at their return. The year that followed, a considerable Number of these *Danes* who had come from the West, quitting *Britain*, returned into that Quarter by Sea, and passed up the River *Seine* as far as *Paris*. There they incamped where they could best intercept the passage of the Citizens, over the Bridge, the City being seated in the midst of the River in a little Island, and continued their siege for a whole year, but such was the Vigilancy and Industry of the Inhabitants, that they could not force their Entrance. While God Almighty thus preserved the City of *Paris*, from the Violence of the Barbarians, at the same time he was pleased to restore the City of *London* to her Ancient Lustre, she having as well as many other *English* Cities been defaced, and depopulated by these continual Invasions of the Pagans. King *Alfred* making it his chiefest care to repair it, made it habitable, and committed it to the Government of *Ethered*, the Earl of the *Mercians*, to whom he gave his Daughter *Ethelfleda* in Marriage. To him turned now all such *English* and *Saxons*, as formerly had been dispersed, and had lived in captivity under the *Danes*, and willingly submitted to his Dominion, and from the Rovers he rested quiet for about eight years (some say thirteen, but to them the Annals bear not Testimony) four of which being expired, *Guthrun* the Northern King (as the Annals call him) who reigned in East *England*, departed this life.

The *Danes* invade *Kent*.

Asserius ad An. 886.

Guthrun dies.

26. All this while the other Northern Rovers employed themselves upon the Continent making continual Invasions into *France*, which they never left harassing till they had *Neustria* assigned them to inhabit, to which they affixed the Name of *Normandy*. Eight years being passed from the last hostility they had attempted in *England*, an Army of them being beaten out of *France* by the Emperour *Ernulph* and the *Britains*, passed from the Eastern to the Western parts of *France*, and went to *Boloigne*, where furnishing themselves with Vessels, with two hundred and fifty sail, they made for the Eastern Coasts of *Kent*, and there put into a River called *Limen*, near to the great Wood *Andred*, a Wood which extended it self in length an hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth contained thirty. Into this Wood they drew up their ships about four Miles from the Rivers Mouth, where they built a Fortress. After them one *Haesten*, with eighty Vessels more entred the Mouth of the *Thames*, and built a Fort at *Midleton*, while the former Army remained in a place called *Apletree*. *Alfred* to prevent the storm which he saw was coming

The Rovers land in two Places.

Latrunculi enim 13 annis Gallias infestantes ad extremum ab Ernulpho Imperatore & Britannis multis prœliis victi, in Angliam opportunum scil. tyrannidis suffugium convolavere.

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coming fast upon him, resolved to hinder the Correspondence which was wont to be entertained betwixt the new Comers, and those that were already fixed in the Countrey, a thing which ever proved of pernicious Consequence. Those of *Northumberland* he obliged to him by an Oath of Fidelity and the Inhabitants of *Essex*, from whom he received Hostages, for ever as any Strangers invaded the Land they were wont either to join with them or commit some Hostility themselves, while the King's Forces were elsewhere employed. Having then got a sufficient Power together, he incamped himself betwixt the two Armies at such a distance, as to be ready for either of them, in case they offered to remove. And dividing his Army into two Parts, one he kept incamped with an Eye upon the Enemies main Body, the other was ready upon all Occasions to restrain such Parties as foraged the Countrey. They ranged up and down till they came into *Essex*, and thence again passed the *Thames* into *Surry*, where at *Farnham* the King's Troops met them, and put them to the rout. Their King was wounded, and with one Party staid behind, the rest crossed the *Thames* again into an Island near *Colne* (some say in *Essex*, others by *Colebrook*) where the King's Army besieged them so long, till Provisions failed. In the mean time the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, not able to hold their Hands while they saw their Countreymen inriching themselves with Booty, broke their Faith, and with an hundred ships coming to the East *Angles*, scoured the Southern Parts, as they did with forty, the Northern Coasts, and sailing about came to *Exeter*, which they presently besieged. *Alfred* hearing this hasted thither with all his Army, except a strong Party of *Welsh*, which marching to *London* joined with the Citizens, and others that came from the West, and then went Eastward to *Beamfleet*. Where *Haesten* having built a Fort was himself gone out to forage, but had left a strong Party to defend it. But this Party they cut in pieces, plundered the Castle, took much Booty and Prisoners, and either destroyed all their ships, or brought them away to *London* or *Rochester*.

27. Among other Prisoners was taken the Wife of *Haesten*, with his two Sons which so affected the Barbarian, that he begged Peace of the King, giving Hostages and Oath for his peaceable Deportment. *Alfred* set his Wife and his Sons at Liberty, to one of which he himself was Godfather, and the other was the Godson of Earl *Ethelred*, and besides he bestowed on him a good Summ of Money. But returning to *Beamfleet*, he could not restrain his ravenous Inclination, but fell of wasting the County adjacent; which was under the Government of *Ethelred* his Gossip. After this both *Danish* Armies joined, and coming to *Shobury* in *Essex*, there built another Castle. Thence passing the *Thames*, with such as joined with them from *Northumberland* and East *England*, they marched on to *Severn*, wasting all in their way. Here the King's Captains, *Ethered*, *Ethelm* and *Ethelnoth*, with Forces taken out of all the Countries adjoining, pitch'd their Camp over against them at a place called *Buttington* (in *Montgomeryshire*) the River running betwixt them, and there they faced one another for many weeks. In the mean time the King by a siege sorely distressed the *Danes* in *Exeter*, who having eaten part of their Horses resolved to sally out, and join with their fellows that lay incamped on the East side of the River, but the King set upon and discomfited them all with loss of *Ordhelm*, and several other of his own Officers. Those that remained fled to *Essex* to the Fort they had there built, and their ships. But no sooner was one Party suppressed, but another arose. *Laf* one of their Leaders, before Winter gathered a great Army out of East *England* and *Northumberland*, and depositing their Wives, Ships and Moneys in the Hands of the East *Angles*, marched, Day and Night with such Expedition, that they came to a City of the West called *Wirheal* which they took, e'er the Army that pursued could reach them.

Their Armies join wasting all near *Severn.*

Alfred besieges the *Danes* in *Exeter.*

Æt Buttinꝷ tune.

Hie þa þea la þucena þæton on tpa healþe ꝺeþeea.

Ista Wirhea nonne eadem Urbs quæ hodie Chester? sic enim Annales.

Þ hie ꝷeꝺýton on auþe þeþtpe ceaþtpe on Þiþhealum þic ıþ Leꝷa ceaþtepꝷe-haten.

28. Having wasted the Countrey round, the year following, they quitted the place and invaded North *Wales*, which after they had plundered, they returned some into *Northumberland*, and some into East *England*; whence proceeding into *Essex*, they seized on a small Island lying toward the East, called *Meresig*, and another Party returning by Sea from the Siege, landed upon the Coast of *Sussex*, where the Inhabitants of *Chichester* Sallying out, slew many of them, and took some of their Ships. The same year they that seized upon *Meresig*, drew up their Ships, some into the River of *Thames*, and others into *Lee-Road*, on the Bank of which, the year following, they built a Fort about twenty miles from *London*. The *Londoners* looking upon this as a curb not to be endured, with other Assistents, endeavoured to demolish it, but were beaten back with loss of many Men, and amongst

The *Danes* invade North-*wales.*

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mongst the rest, three of the King's Officers. Hereupon the King in time of Harvest Incamped nearer the City, to restrain the incursions of *Danes* upon the Reapers. As he was Riding on a time by the River *Lee*, it came into his Head, that by digging of large Ditches on each side, he might turn the Stream from the Chanel, and so cause their Ships to rest upon the dry ground; which thing having devised, he attempted with such success, that the *Danes* perceiving they were not to be got off, sent away their Wives and Children into East *England*, and on foot marched as far as a place called *Quatbrig* upon the *Severn*, where they built a Fortress and Wintred. The Citizens of *London*, very joyfully and in Triumph, brought such of their Ships as they could get off, into their own Road, and the rest they burnt or disabled. This happened three years after that from the transmarine Parts, these *Danes* first arrived in the mouth of *Lirnene*. During these same three years raged a great Plague, both amongst Men and Cattle. The King lost most of his choicest Nobility, as *Swithulfe* Bishop of *Rochester*, and several great Earls; *Ceolmund* in *Kent*, *Brithulfe* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, besides *Ealbard* Bishop of *Dorcester*, *Eadulf* the King's Officer in *Sussex*, *Beornwulfe* Governour of *Winchester*, *Eigulfe* Master of the King's Horse, and many others.

A great Plague.

29. This Disaster was followed by many irruptions made by the *Danes* Inhabiting *Northumberland* and East *England*, into the Territories of the West *Saxons*, by means of their long Gallies, which they had built many years before. To overmatch them, King *Alfred* commanded other Gallies to be made twice as long, higher, and yet both swifter and steddier than they, some of sixty Oars, and some of more, like to which were not then in use, either amongst the *Danes* or *Frisons*. At this time the Isle of *Wight*, the Coasts of *Devonshire*, and other Maritime Parts were much infested by six Pickeering Vessels which hovered upon these Quarters. The King commanded some of these new Gallies to be Manned out against them for an experiment. The Fight was partly by Water, and partly by Land, managed with dexterity and courage enough on both sides. Two of the Pirates Ships were stranded, one escaped away into East *England*, and all except but such as served in this, were either slain or taken; but not without considerable loss also on the King's side. Here fell *Lucumon* the King's Earl, *Wulfheard*, *Ebba* and *Ethelere*, all *Frisons*, and *Ethelfrith* the Overseer of the King's Cattle. All the *Frisons* perished, of the *English* sixty two, and of the *Danes* one hundred and twenty. The Prisoners were led to the King to *Winchester*, where he commanded them to be hang'd as Pirates and publick Enemies. This year died *Wulfric* the Master of the King's Horse, who was also his Governour of *Wales*, which therefore was at this time subject to his Command. The year following hath nothing notable, but that *Ethelm* the Earl of *Wiltshire* died nine nights (so particular are the Annals in matters of smallest consequence) before *Midsummer*, and this was the last of *Ethered* Earl of *Devonshire*, and of the Bishop of *London*. These ushered into another world the King himself, who having enjoyed two or three years of Peace, as a preparation to everlasting Repose and Felicity, in the five and twentieth of *October*, in the one and fiftieth year of his Age, and the thirtieth of his Reign, in the year of our Lord, DCCCC. passed from a temporal to an eternal Kingdom.

The *Danes* of East *England*, and *Northumberland*, waste the Territories of the West *Saxons*.

The Isle of *Wight*, and the Maritime Coast infested with Pirates.

Who are taken and executed at *Winchester*.

Alfred dyes.

æþelfreþþ Cyninges geneat.

ꝑulfric Cyninges hoþr þegen ge þæs eac Pealhgefena.

Die] *Kalend. Novemb. ita Asser. Ann.* sic. six nihtum ær ealra haligna mæssan.

30. Whoever considers the worth of his Person, will find that our opinion of his happiness, is not founded merely upon Charity. A Man who (humane frailty alone set aside) so discharged all the Offices of a King and of a Christian, as scarcely any can be found in these vertues to have been so accurate, by whose (almost I had said single) example no infirmity of Body, no travel of mind, perpetual disquiets and dangers can excuse from the performing of all duties which the Relation, a Man stands in both to God and Men, exacteth from him. In what continual disturbances he lived and reigned, we have sufficiently seen already, how seldom he enjoyed any repose and quiet, in what perpetual distractions, cares and anxieties, any other man would have been involved. But his inward griefs were as great and pressing as were his outward molestations, scarcely one day from his Infancy, till he came to be forty five years of Age, was he free from extraordinary pains in his Body. From his Childhood, till he came to be twenty, he was exceedingly troubled with the Piles. Then after his Marriage, seized with so great and strange pain, that no Physician could guess what the cause should be, some imagined him bewitched, others thought it the mere effect of the Devil's malice, who hates and envies all good Men, others imagined it an unusual sort of Fever, and others his former disease of the *Hæmorrhoids* increased to a

His indisposition of Body.

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His management of Affairs.

31. Amidst his Wars, the many disturbances of his Life, the Invasions of Pagans, and the daily Infirmities of his Body, he ordered the matters of State concerning his Kingdom, practised all the Art of Hunting, instructed all his Gold-Smiths and Artificers, his Huntsmen and Falconers, contrived new Buildings more sumptuous than any of his Predecessours, he himself being the Inventour and Architect, read *Saxon* Books, got *Saxon* Verses by heart, and saw that others did the like. Constantly was he present at Divine Service, Psalms or Prayers he read, his diurnal and nocturnal Hours he ever celebrated, alone in the Night time when all others were asleep, he frequented Churches and then performed his Devotions, oversaw the distribution of Alms to Poor and Strangers, set himself to the searching out the Causes of unknown things, and in all these Employments, and during his Pains behaved himself with incomparable Affability, and pleasantness toward all Men. Many *Franks*, *Frisons*, *Galls*, *Pagans*, *Britains*, *Scots* and *Armenians* on their own Accord, became his Subjects, as well noble as ignoble, all whom according to their several Qualities and Conditions, he loved, honoured and relieved as his own Nation. Sermons either from Strangers or his own Chaplains, he heard constantly and attentively. His Bishops, the whole Clergy, his Earls and Nobles, his Servants and Familiars, he loved most affectionately. Such of their Sons as were at Court he took personal care of no less than his own Children, instructing them himself Night and Day in good manners and literature. But as if in all these he had no comfort at all, and as if no other thing either internal or external troubled him, Night and Day he was very sad, and with many sighs bewailed his condition both to God and his familiar Friends, that he was destitute of Divine Wisedom, and of the liberal Arts.

His desire and improvement in Learning.

32. He made it his business to get such men about him as could best supply this defect which his own humility represented to him far greater than indeed it was. As his utmost wish and the greatest Boon he beg'd, was like to that of *Solomon*, so the success of his Prayers was (though not proportionably) the same, God giving him both learning and Wisedom, and (if not Riches yet) Honour in such abundance, as no Prince of his Age, nor for many Ages afterward attained. Four learned Clerks he sent for out of *Mercia*, and some he had in his own paternal Dominions of the West *Saxons*, by whose indeavours his insatiable desire of knowledge was still exercised. For both Night and Day when he had any spare time he heard them reade, never being without some one of them in attendance, whereby it came to pass that he had a thorough knowledge almost of all sorts of Books. Yet not contenting himself with what they could teach him, he sent for the learnedst men he could hear of out of *France*, and out of *Wales*, for *Asser* the Writer of the Story, all whom he rewarded and preferred suitably to their Merits. By assistence of these men he arrived at such eminent learning, (that Age especially considered) that he became not onely the most knowing of all Kings, but in universal knowledge exceeded almost all, both his own Subjects and others. He was learned in Speech, but especially made it his business to be throughly versed in Divine and Practical knowledge. He penetrated to the profound Mysteries of all Liberal Arts, which he acquired with utmost diligence. The greatest part of the *Roman* Library he made familiar to his *English* Subjects. He was so universally learned that he became both an excellent Grammarian, Philosopher, Rhetorician, Historian, Musician and Poet; nay, a most perfect Architect and Geometrician. He himself for the benefit of his Subjects, whom the Invasions of the Barbarous *Danes* had well nigh deprived of all Learning, translated into their own Language the History of *Orosius*, the Ecclesiastical History of *Bede*, (which Translation we make frequent use of) and death prevented his finishing an *English* Translation of the Psalms of *David*. *Ingulphus, Malmesbury, Balæus, alii.*

33. The

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His Devotions.

33. The more wonderfull this is still, if we consider that his Devotions took up so much time as scarcely any Religious Person, whose work alone it was, spent more in God's Service. He made a Vow to dedicate to him one half, excepting that of sleep and necessary Refrethings. And because herein he could not be accurate for the cloudiness of the Air and want of Clocks, (which in this Age were not invented) he caused six large Tapers of Wax to be provided, each twelve * Inches in length, by the burning of which he measured out the four and twenty Hours. Perceiving that the burning of them was unequal by reason that the Wind through the Windows, the Cranies of Walls of his Chapel, or the thin Cloths of his Tents got to them; to prevent this inconvenience he invented a Lanthorn made of Wood and Horns of Oxen. But that which took up not the least part of his time thus divided with the hearing of Causes and Administration of Justice, wherein to relieve the Poor and Distressed, Night and Day he travelled indefatigably; for in all that Kingdom (saith our Authour) besides him alone they had no Protectour, or very few, Persons of publick Spirits as well as Employment, having always been rare in this Nation. Such Partiality and Contention were there amongst Inferiour Judges, that he was perpetually pestered with Appeals, wherein he was so Sedulous an Inquirer, that all Villany was ever brought to light. But besides Appeals few Causes were heard in Inferiour Courts of any moment, which however decided he did not examine. If he found his Judges unskilfull, he gravely admonished them as such, who in case they did not study improvement were to loose their Places. This made them so vigilant and industrious, that though his Officers all in a manner were illiterate from their Infancy, yet in their elder Age did they apply themselves to learning, and such as by reason of Age or other Avocations could not doe it, brought up their Sons, their Kinsmen or their Dependants and Servants to reade to them. As he being the Superiour Judge (not onely as to Authority but Administration of Justice) took care that his People should be furnished with able Ministers, so he provided them of good Laws, and for the better Government of the whole *English* Nation, brought up several laudable Customes, which still to this day continue, and we shall declare when we come to speak of the Laws and Polity of our *Saxon* Ancestours. To keep up Civility and Learning he erected Schools for the training up of Youth, and used severity against such as broke the Peace, that he might by Punishments deter, as well as by Rewards and Encouragements allure, the two great Engines of Magistracy. Thieves and Highwaymen he so prosecuted, that he rid the Land in a manner of them, to the terrour of all such, causing upon high Posts in the Cross ways certain Chains of Gold to be hung, as it were daring any one to take them down; so that during his Government Justice did not onely reign but Triumph.

* Ut unaquæque candela 12 Unciar pollicir in re rignatar in longitudine habepet. *Asser.*

He administers Justice.

Encourages Learning.

And rids the Nation of Thieves and Highwaymen.

34. We have seen how he employed his time, one of the greatest Concernments of a Prince; another remains as great, *viz.* how he spent his Revenue. Making this a main point of Conscience, and having vowed to the Service of God, as well the half of his Revenues as his time, he commanded all his Annual Income to be equally divided into two parts. The first of these he appointed to secular uses and subdivided it into three Portions. The first he appointed to pay the Wages of Souldiers, his choicest Ministers, and those that by their turns attended him in his Court. For of such he had three Divisions each whereof waited their month, and then resting two at their own homes again returned to their former monthly service. The second Portion he assigned to Workmen and Architects, of whom he kept employed almost an innumerable Multitude of all Nations. The third he freely bestowed on Strangers that came to him from all parts far and near, whether they asked it or asked it not, as their Qualities were, and (according to that which is written, *God loveth a chearfull Giver*) with a chearfull mind. Thus did he employ the first half of his Revenue. The second half of his whole Revenues and Incomes with a most free will he devoted to the Service of Almighty God, and caused it to be divided into four Portions. The first of these he conferred on such Poor as flocked to him out of all Nations. The second on two Monasteries he had caused to be built at *Æthelingaeg*, and at *Scoftesburg*. The third to a School which he had erected for the Instruction of the Nobility of his own Nation, said to have been at *Oxford*, but *Asserius* mentions no place. The fourth to the Monasteries round about in *Saxony* (the Countrey of the West *Saxons* he means) and *Mercia*, and some years by turns to the Churches and Servants of God in *Britain*, *Cornwall*, *Gall*, *Armorica*, *Northumberland*, and also in *Ireland* he either according to his ability sent relief, or resolved to doe it as opportunity and his Treasury would permit.

The management of his Revenue.

35. Such

Sect. 10. 35. Such was the demeanour of *Alfred* in his Religious and Civil kind of life, a demeanour accurate indeed, but not such as can denominate him a formal or foppish man, for under all this Discipline he was not sowre or melancholly, but carried himself (as an eye or ear witness left recorded after his Death, when he could have no temptation to flatter him) with wonderfull Affability and Facetiousness. To his severer Studies and Practices he also joyned the gentile Divertisements of Musick and Hunting (things not possible to be reached by formal Fops, may our Wits be Judges) and his Military skill and valour was so admirable, that no Disasters or Discouragements could abate it. *Malmesbury* testifies of him that while he was overthrown and lay as it were groveling on the Earth, he was still a terrour to his Enemies. In all Battels he was present every where, striking into the Hearts of his Enemies fear and coldness, and paleness into their Faces, adding fresh Courage to his own Men. He alone would expose his Breast to the Enemies Swords, he alone would restore the Fight when his Army was ready to run away, and by his Example constrain his Souldiers to repell the insulting and pursuing Pagans. Nay, after he had been forced to flie, he became more terrible to his Foes, the memory of his Defeat made him more Circumspect, and an ardent desire of Revenge more venturous. Fifty six set Battels by Sea and Land he fought against the *Danes*, and of these eight in one day, so that by his miraculous Courage and Conduct he so afflicted and tired them, though they still came in fresh numbers upon him, that they were forced to give up what Hostages he pleased, and submit to such Conditions as he thought fit to impose. That these are not Flourishes, the universal consent of Writers bears Witness, all who admire him as an Heroe, and by an unparallel'd example tax him with no Vice at all; somewhat *Asserius* speaks of *Niolus*'s object to him the neglect of administring Justice, which was in his young years, and for which in his riper he made abundant Compensation. Upon the whole we cannot but dismiss him with the Exclamation of Wonder, into which Sir *Henry Spelman*, upon due consideration of all things, breaketh forth. " O *Alfred*, the Wonder and Astonishment of all Ages! If we " reflect upon his Piety and Religion it would seem that he had never gone " out of a Monastery: If on his Warlike Exploits, that he had lived no where " but in a Camp: If on his Writings and Studies, that he had spent his whole life " in an University: And lastly, If we regard his Administration of the Affairs " of his Kingdom and Subjects, one would think that his whole time had been " employed in nothing else but enacting Laws, and promoting Justice in his Tri- " bunals and Courts.

His Divertisements.

His Courage.

36. King *Egbert* is generally esteemed the first Monarch of the *English Saxons*, and as such we have placed him, his time better agreeing therewith, but indeed was a Monarch in the same sense that the other seven were, which *Beda* mentions, the Authority of whom extended through the Heptarchy, though the several Kingdoms had their several Kings. He as *Julius Cæsar* to *Augustus* shewed the way, and chalked that out which was afterward perfected by his Glorious Son *Alfred*, who indeed was toward his latter end Monarch of all the parts of *England* which were not possessed by the *Danes*, for if a petty King afterward was set up in *Northumberland* or else where, so inconsiderable was his condition as deserves not to be taken notice of. But, not onely were the *English* his Subjects. The *Welsh* or *Britains* had also submitted to him, over whom he appointed a Governour, as we lately observed him by Name out of the *Saxon* Annals. But *Asserius* acquaints us with the Affairs of that his own Countrey, more particularly in relation to the Obedience they paid to *Alfred*. He tells us that at that time and long before all the Regions of the South (Western) parts of *Britain* (*Dextralis Britanniæ* he terms it) did belong, and so did still to the Dominion of King *Alfred*. Namely *Hemeid*, with all the People of *Demetia* or South West *Wales*, being forced to submit to him by the violence of the six Sons of *Rotri*. In like manner *Howel* or *Houil*, the Son of *Ris* King of *Gleguising*, morever *Brochmail* and *Fernail* Sons of *Mouric*, Kings of *Guent*, being oppressed by the violence and Tyranny of Earl *Eadred*, and the *Mercians*, of their own Accord submitted to him as their King, that by his means they might be protected from their Enemies. Besides these *Helised* the Son of *Teudyr*, King of *Brecknock* (*Rex Breckoniæ*) driven thereto by the violence of the foresaid Sons of *Rotri*, voluntarily gave up himself into his hands. Nay at last *Anaraut* himself with his Brethren the Sons of *Rotri*, deserted the Alliance they had contracted with the *Northumbrians*, from whom they received no emolument at all, but rather hurt; and earnestly desired the King's friendship. He was admitted into his Presence, and with much honour

Vide Math. Floril. hic.

His Dominions.

nour entertained by him, who at his receiving confirmation from the hands of a Bishop, acknowledged him his Spiritual Son, and at his departure presented him very richly. The effect of this Meeting was, that he subjected himself to the Sovereignty of King *Alfred*, to be obedient to him in all things as Earl *Ethelred* and the *Mercians* were. Neither in vain did any of these obtain the friendship of the King. For such as desired Earthly power hereby found a means to increase it, such as desired Money had Money, such as designed Familiarity got Familiarity, and such as would have both obtained both. All of them procured Love, Defence, and Protection on every side, as far as the King was able to protect himself and his own Subjects.

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⁊ as manum episcopi in signum confirmationis accepturs.

An Account of his Wife and Children.

37. King *Alfred* by *Elswitha* his Wife, with whom he lived in all Conjugal temperance, had several Children. His Eldest was * *Ethelfleda*, married to *Eadred* Count of the *Mercians*. The next was a Son named † *Edward*. The third a Daughter, *Ethelgeda* as some call her, but *Asserius* names her ‖ *Ethelgeofn*; she was Abbess in the Nunnery founded by her Father at *Shaftsbury*. The fourth was *Elfrida*, *Asserius* calls her * *Elfthrith*, married to *Baldwin* the second Count of *Flanders*. The fifth and the youngest was * *Ethelward*, who by Divine Council (saith our Authour) and the admirable Providence of the King, together with well nigh all the Noble Children of the whole Countrey, and many of the Inferiour sort, was committed to the Discipline of the School under the diligent care of Masters. In this School Books of both Languages, *viz.* *Latin* and *Saxon* were diligently read. They were taught also to Write, insomuch that before they had strength to undergoe Manly Exercises, which befit Noble Persons, as Hunting and the like, they became Studious and ingenious in the Liberal Sciences. *Edward* and *Elfthrith* were always brought up at Court diligently attended by their Nurses and Governours (as designed to Princely Estate and Government) being exceedingly beloved by all, both home born and Strangers, to whom they carried themselves with all humble Affability and Gentleness. To their Father they shewed all manner of Duty and Subjection, neither were they amid their other Employments suitable to their Birth suffered to live idly and carelesly without Liberal Studies. For they diligently learnt Psalms by heart, read *Saxon* Books, but especially got by heart *Saxon* Poems, and very frequently made use of other Books.

* Ælfelfleda.
† Eadpeapd.
‖ Æpelgeofn.
* Ælfðryð
† Æpelpeapd.

To *Alfred* succeeded *Edward*.

38. Of these *Edward* the Eldest Son succeeded his Father in the sixteenth year of *Leo* the Sixth, *Porphyrogenitus* Emperour of the East, the second of *Lewis* the Fourth Emperour of the West, the same year that *Charles* the Simple began his Reign in *France*, in the Fourth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCI. *Ingulphus* and *Malmesbury* after him writes of him that in Learning he was far Inferiour to his Father, but incomparably more glorious in the Power of his Kingdom, that he indeed had conjoyned the two Kingdoms of the *Mercians* and the West *Saxons*, but held onely that of the *Mercians* as King in Name and Title, it being assigned over to Duke *Ethelred*. But his Son after the Death of *Ethelred* first wholly brought under his Dominion and Propriety the *Mercians*, then presently after fully the Western and Eastern *English*, or those of *Northfolk*, the *Northumbrians*, who had imbodied themselves with the *Danes*; then the *Scots* inhabiting the Northern part of the Island and all the *Britains* or *Welsh* did he subdue by his Sword; and having cast out the Pagans from all Cities and Walled Towns, placed Christians in their rooms; neither ever in any Battel was he worsted. He ingeniously invented ways to restrain the Excursions of the *Danes*, by either repairing old Cities or building new ones in convenient places, which he furnished with sufficient Garrisons to protect the Inhabitants and to repell the Enemy. By this means the valour of the People was so much excited, that upon report of the Enemies coming they would without consulting the King or his Captains arme themselves and valiantly charge the Invaders, whom they always overpowered both by their numbers and Military skill; so that the *Danes* became contemptible to the *English* Souldiers, and a Laughing-stock to the King himself.

A Glorious King.

Despising the Attempts of the *Danes*.

Ethelwald his Kinsman Rebells.

39. But notwithstanding this his great felicity, the beginning of his Reign was much disturbed by *Ethelwald* his Kinsman, *viz.* his Cousin German by *Ethelred* his Father's Elder Brother, though others call him the Brother of *Edward*, for his Genealogy is variously related. Most probable it is, that he was the Son of *Ethelred*, and founded his pretensions to the Kingdom upon no weaker ground than being Son to the Elder Brother, whom he failed to succeed onely at that time for want of Age as some think, or rather because *Ethelwulfe* by his last Will and Testament had appointed *Alfred* his Youngest Son to succeed, in case he survived his three Brothers. For by the Testament of *Alfred* himself, which *Asserius* hath

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hath transmitted to Posterity, it appears that this King had some scruples in his mind, or conceived that others might have some cause to question his legal Title to the Crown. " After the Death of my Brethren (saith he) the inheritance " of King *Ethelwulfe* my Father devolved upon me by virtue of an Authentick " publick Writing made by him, and confirmed in a general Assembly of the " States of the Kingdom at *Langdene*. This Writing upon the Death of my last " Brother, *Ethelred*, I commanded to be freely and openly read in the Audience " of all the Deputies of the West *Saxons*. It being read, I required and adjured all " that were present, as they loved me to declare sincerely whether they knew " or had heard of any others who could justly claim any Right in this mine In- " heritance, for I my self did not know any. This Adjuration I again repeated in these words. " I beseech you my dear Friends, let not any of you either out of " love or hatred to me, spare freely, to speak the naked truth: for I have no desire " or intention at all to prejudice the Rights of any of my Kinsmen in the least " matter. When I had thus spoken, then all the Nobles and Princes of my People with a serious protestation Answered. " That never any Notice had come " to them of any one that had a juster Title than my self, neither could they i- " magine or by any Writings Discover that any such there were.

40. Though this may seem to have relation to certain Lands left him by his Father, yet is it evident from the Testament, that this was such an Inheritance as was to descend to all the Brothers, and the Regal Title so conjoyned with it, that the longer liver of them both by their Father's * ordination, and their own † consent should possess it, together with the whole Kingdom, assigning such Lands to his Brothers Sons as were convenient for their subsistence. He came therefore to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Conveyance, which was both ratified by the States, and confirmed by the mutual agreement of the Brothers, yet to remove all scrupulosity this excellent Prince would have his Pretensions to be scanned, and his Title examined in another Assembly before such time as he would undertake the Government. However *Ethelwald* knowing his Title would be warrantable enough if he could but get success to strengthen it, resolved to try his Fortune, and for that purpose seized on two Towns, called *Winburn*, and *Tweonam*. In *Winburn* he fortified himself, affirming there he would live or dye; but his resolution profited him little, the memory of King *Alfred* having so great a place in all the Hearts of the People, that they had no room to entertain any Inclinations toward any other Pretenders to the Royal Dignity than his Son and Heir. *Edward* assured of their fidelity, led an Army down to a place called *Baddanbyrig*, not far from *Winburn*, which so affrighted his Rival, that he who had boasted of what valour and constancy he would shew in that place, fled out of it by night, and got him into *Northumberland*, where he joined himself with the *Danish* Army. The King commanded some to pursue him, but this being in vain, he caused his Wife to be seized, which being a Nun Professed without leave from the King, or licence of the Bishops, he had taken out of a Monastery, and returned to the place and Profession from whence she came. This Monastery was that at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where we have for merly related King *Ethelred* the Brother of *Alfred* to have been Buried. *Baddanbyrig* is now called *Badbury*, being a little Hill upon a fair Down scarcely two Miles off from *Winburn*, compassed with a triple Trench and Rampire. It's reported to have had a Castle which was the seat of the West *Saxon* Kings. But if ever there were any such, it now lyes so buried in its Ruines that no token of it appears.

Who fortifies himself at *Winburn*.

But upon the approach of King *Edward*, flies.

41. *Edward* thus drove away *Ethelwald* without fighting, and the *Kentish* Men the year after at a place called *Holme* fought prosperously against a multitude of *Danish* Pirates. In the mean time *Ethelwald* was (as some * Authours affirm) chosen King by the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, who deposed their King *Osbert*. † *Matthew* of *Westminster* writes, that from *Northumberland* he passed the Seas into *France*, there to strenghen himself by the addition of a greater Force, (of *Normans*, as we may very well conjecture) who being of the same original with the *Danes*, had by this time obtained *Neustria* to inhabit, a considerable Province of that Kingdom. The year after returning into *England* with an Army he thereto joined a great number of Pagans, inhabiting *Northumberland*, East *England*, and other Places, and then invading *Mercia* with Fire and Sword, destroyed all things he met with. A later Writer tells us, he drew into his Society *Eric* the Successour of *Guthrun* the *Dane*, in the Kingdom of the East *Angles*, a Prince whose malice to the Nation of the *English* was most deadly. *Huntingdon* mentions his first landing in *Essex*, and subduing that Country without delay; to which the

A bloudy Battel betwixt the *Danes* and *Edward*.

* quam be hejjedıtate quam pater meuſ Æthalſulphuſ rex nobiſ tribus fratribuſ delegavit vitt. Æthelbaldo, Æthereodo J mihi; ita quod qui noſtrum diutiuſ proper ſuſpectes, ille totiuſ regni dominio congaudebit. † Et ſuſpen hoc unuſquiſque noſtrum alteri fidem firmavit ⁊ quod quiſ noſtrum diutiuſ vitam vivebit quod ipſe ulteriuſ terraſ poſſidebit J dominia J omnia quæ ſuſtinebant. præterea illam pacem quam uterque noſtrum filiis alteriuſ legavit.

* *Haveden.*

† *Ad Ann.* 901.

the Annals bear witness, but place his return from beyond the Seas, in the third year after his flying into *Northumberland*. In the following year he gathered together his Forces in East *England*, and wasted the Territories of the *Mercians* as far as *Geccagelade*, (so the Annals call the place) where passing over the *Thames*, he pillaged all places aswell within *Brædene* as round about, and so returned. King *Edward* with what force he could make made as much haste as possible after them, and laid waste all their grounds lying betwixt the Ditch and the River *Ouse*, as far as the Northern Marshes. Thinking fit thence to return, he gave orders that all the Army should Dislodge, and March together. But the *Kentish* Men notwithstanding seven several messages he sent to them, staid behind, which delay of theirs, and separating the King's Forces, encouraged the *Danes* to give them Battel, which was very bloudy, many Men falling on both sides; the King, lost *Sigulf*, and *Sigelm* Earls, *Eadwold* his Minister, *Cenwulf* an Abbat, besides *Sigebyrht* and *Eadwold* the Sons of two Noblemen. Of the *Danes*, besides great numbers of lower Rank, died *Eoliric* their King, and *Ethelwald* a Nobleman, the authour of this War; *Birhtsiger*, *Isop Hold*, and *Oskitel Hold*. On both sides a great slaughter was made, but a greater of the *Danes* though they continued Master of the Field.

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DCCCCIV. Þep com ſpelpal ȝ nideþ oþeþ-ræ miȝ ȝam flotan ȝe he miȝ þær on eart ȝe-axe ⁊ Ealliona lonȝ be-tpeoh ȝi-cum ⁊ þu-ranreal cþ-ra pennar norþ ⁊

42. There being no better way both for understanding and remembring of History than a knowledge of the places where eminent Actions have happened; it will be the Readers Interest and Delight to have a brief Account of such Names of Towns, and other places he meets with, especially being in his own Countrey. That place by the Annals called *Creclagelade*, by *Marianus* and others *Crécklade*, is that Town standing in the North Part of *Wiltshire*, watered with the *Thames*, known by the Name of *Greeklade*, which Name forsooth some believed it to have received from certain *Greek* Philosophers, who as the History of *Oxford* reporteth began there an University, which afterwards was translated to *Oxford*. That they call *Brædene* is *Breden* Wood, now *Breden* Forest, which beginning at *Wotton* (that is Wood Town) *Basset* not far from *Greeklade*, stretched it self far and wide. As for *Dike*, betwixt which and *Ouse* King *Edward* wasted all the Countrey, it's the same with that which the People call *Devil's Dike*, and cuts overthwart the Plain of *Newmarket* in *Cambridgeshire* so many Miles together. Those great and long Ditches which are seen in those Parts were (most probably) cast by the East *Angles* to restrain the *Mercians* who with their sudden Inrodes were wont to waste and spoil all before them. The first of them begins at *Hinkeston*, and runs Eastward by *Hildersham* toward *Horsheath*, about five Miles in length. The second called *Breutditch* near to the former, goes from *Melburn* by *Fulmire*. Another there is which begins at the Eastern Bank of the River *Cam*, and runs by *Fenn Ditton* (or more truly *Ditch Ditton*, saith *Camden*, so named of the very Ditch) between great *Wilberham* and *Fulburn*, as far as *Balsham*. It's now commonly called *Seven Mile Dike*, because it's seven Mile from *Newmarket*, but anciently it had the Name of *Fleam Dike*, that is in Old *English*, *Flight Dike*, of some memorable flight which there happened.

The Town of *Greccagelade*, where.

Brædeu.

Dike.

Cpecca. ȝela ȝe.

Dicum.

43. More Eastward from hence within the Countrey is to be seen the fourth Fore-fence or Ditch, meant by the Annals the greatest of all, with a Rampire adjoyning; which the common People out of Admiration of its greatness, as the work of Devils and not of Men, use to call *Devils Dike*; but others *Rech Dike*, of *Rech* a little Town where it begins. Above *Rech* the County is fenny, and was therefore impassible where it lay open to Excursions, there this Dike begins, and ends near to *Cowlidge*, where the Passage by reason of Woods, was more cumbersome. It was the limit aswell of the Kingdom as of the Bishoprick of the East *Angles*, but the Authour of so great a piece of work is unknown. Some later Writers mention King *Cnute* the *Dane*, but besides what here the Annals say of this Battel, *Abbo Floracensis* who Died before *Cnute* was King of *England* describeth it, together with the site of East *England*. Such as wrote since the time of *Cnute* have termed it St. *Edmund's Limit*, and St. *Edmund's Dike*, verily thinking that *Cnute* cast it up, who being most devoted to that King and Saint, granted to the Monks of St. *Edmunds Bury*, to make satisfaction for the cruelties exercised by *Swane* his Father upon them, very great Immunities even as far as this Dike. Certain it is that the two Fore-fences last mentioned were called St. *Edmund's Dikes*. And therefore *Matthew of Westminster* (which the Reader may observe) hath written, that the Battel betwixt King *Edward* and *Ethelwald* was fought between the two Dikes of St *Edmund*. Lastly, by *Ouse* must be meant *Ouse* the Greater, a River which disporting it self with manifold Branches and Divisions, separateth *Cambridgeshire* from *Norfolk*. This is the nearest *Ouse* to the Dike: for *Ouse* the Less

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separateth (together with the River *Waveney*) *Norfolk* from *Suffolk*. As for *Ouse* or *Isis* which joineth with *Tame*, and makes the River *Thames*; *Ouse* in *Torkshire*, or others (for this is a common Name of Rivers aswell as *Avon*, and therefore in *British* is thought to have signified a River or Water in general, aswell as it) they can have no relation to the matter in hand.

Which produces a Peace.

44. To pursue our story, whatever was the Success of this Battel it seems to have produced this effect, that in the second year after a Peace was concluded betwixt the King and the *Danes* of East *England* and *Northumberland*, at a place called *Ittingaford*, which lasted for the space of three years. Then was it broken, the Annals say not by whom first, but *Hoveden* lays the fault upon the *Danes*, who he says prevaricated with the King, and thereupon he sent an Army of West *Saxons*, and *Mercians* into *Northumberland*, where staying five weeks, it made a great devastation, and having killed very many of the *Danes*, compelled them to renew the Peace they had lately broken. But this Peace the Annals tell us they broke again the year following invading *Mercia*, where, as write *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worcester*, they were met by the *English* at *Teotenhale* or *Tetnal* in *Staffordshire*, and overthrown. King *Edward* was then in *Kent*, and had got together about an hundred sail of ships, besides such as being sent to the Southward, met him at Sea. The *Danes* imagining that he had shipt the main of his Forces, took liberty to rove up and down whither hope of booty led them, beyond *Severn*. King *Edward* sent before the lightest of his Army, to entertain them; till he himself could be ready to come. Then following with the main Body, he set upon them in their return at *Cantbridge* or *Cambridge* in *Glocestershire*, where he gave them a very great defeat. The Annals relate, that many thousands of them were slain together with *Ecwils* their King; but *Huntingdon* mentions two Kings, *viz.* *Haldene* and *Eolwulfe*, besides *Vther* a Consul as he calls him and eight other Noblemen, whose Names are harsh and without any loss to the Reader may be omitted.

But assoon broke by the perfidious *Danes* to their own Destruction.

*DCCCCXIII. Þep on þirgeape ymb Maptinep mæssan net Eadpard Cyng æt ymbpan panopþan burh æt þeo notron ba betreox Memepan ⁊ Benefican ⁊ Lygean ⁊ ⁊ ða aftep ðam ðaf on sumepa betreox gang ba-gum ⁊ mid-dum sumepæ. þa sop Eadpeapd cyning mid sumum hir sultume on east Se-axe to Mældune.

45. The year that followed died *Ethered* the Earl or Duke of *Mercia*, the Brother-in-Law of King *Edward*, who hereupon took into his Hands the Cities of *London* and *Oxford*, with the Territories thereto belonging. The year after about * *Martinmas* he caused to be built the Northern Borough of *Hartford*, betwixt *Memeran*, *Benefican* and *Ligean*, and afterwards in Summer betwixt the Rogation days and Midsummer, he marched with his Army to *Mældune* in *Essex*, and there lay incamped while his Souldiers built the Town of *Witham*. At this a good Part of the Countrey formerly subject to the *Danes*, submitted themselves to his Authority, and in the mean time another Part of his Army built the other Borough of *Hartford*, on the South side of the River *Ligean* now *Lea*. But whereas the Annals talk of building these Boroughs of *Hartford*, the Reader must know that that Town which gives name now to the whole shire, was much more ancient, being found in some Copies of *Beda*, called † *Herudford* (which some interpret the *Red Ford*, others the *Ford of Harts*) where he treateth of the Synod there holden in the year of our Salvation, five hundred and seventy. Therefore by building some Houses, must be onely meant repairing of the Town. Or chiefly the Castle is to be understood, which standing upon the River *Lea*, tradition reported to have been built by *Edward* the Elder, as inlarged afterward by the House of *Clare*, to which it belonged. By *Memeran* and *Benefican* are meant two Rivolets, which scarcely a Mile off from the present *Hartford*, increase the stream of *Ligean* or *Lea*, *Benefican* is guessed to be that on which standeth *Benington*, and *Memeran* the other Brook on which *Puckerich* is seated. *Mældune* is that we now called *Maldon* in *Essex* upon the River *Chelmer*, even the same with the famous *Roman* Colony *Camalodunum*, which many Ages since adorned that shore. *Witham* is that now called *Whitham*, in the same County, a fair Thorough-fair, a Mile distant from *Easterford*, and as much from *Blackwater*.

Ethered his Brother-in-Law dies.

Edward is employed in building and repairing several Towns.

† *Hist. lib. 4. cap. 5. Ita Camdenus. In exemplari per Wheloeum impresso Heorutford in capite ipso, in titulo vero Herudfordia Regi Alfredo Interpreti* Heoptford Heoptfeorba ⁊ Heoporfordba.

46. The year that followed, saith *Huntingdon*, but in the fourth year after say the Annals, *Easter* being past, the *Danes* from *Northampton* and *Ligeracester*, or *Leicester*, broke the Peace by an Inrode made into *Oxfordshire*, where they committed all Rapine, and made great slaughter of all they met, while another Party with worse success fell into *Hartfordshire*, where the Inhabitants now taking Courage, and sufficiently inured to such Allarms stoutly resisted them, drove them back and recovered the booty they had taken, withall making themselves Masters of their Horses. In the mean time *Ethelfleda* the King's Sister, and Relict of *Ethered* the Duke of *Mercia*, having the charge of this Countrey behaved herself, as she had done all along in her Husband's Life time, with such

Another rout given the *Danes* for their Inrodes.

Courage

Courage and Conduct as she became a great help to her Brother in his Wars, and stoutly defended all those that were under her Care. But the *Britains* who were Neighbours to the *Mercians*, disdaining to be curbed by a Woman, were so bold as to make some Incursions into the *English* Pale. She to divert and chastise them, sent a Party into *Wales*, which easily routed the *Welsh*, took the Castle of *Bricenameer*, and besides thirty four other considerable Captives, brought away Prisoner that King's Wife into *Mercia*. By this *Bricenameer* is to be understood, that we now call *Brecknockmeer*, a Lake of standing water two miles from the Town of *Brecknock*. *Marianus Scotus* witnesseth that this Lady in the year DCCCCXIII, entring into the Land of the *Britains*, wone by assault a Castle at *Bricenaumeer*, and there took Prisoner the Wife of the King of the *Britains*. But whether this Castle was *Brecknock* it self, or Castle *Dinas*; which standeth over it upon a Rocky Hill, which the higher it riseth, the slenderer and smaller it becometh, is not certainly known, saith Mr. *Camden*. But forasmuch as *Dinas* in the *British* Tongue signifies a Palace, and that the Queen of these *Britains* was here taken Prisoner, I judge it next door to certainty, that this was the Castle whereof we write.

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The Queen of the *Britains* taken by *Ethelfleda* Sister to *Edward*.

47. But this *Virago* not onely took Castles and Towns from the Enemy, but is exceedingly celebrated by all Writers, so many she either repaired or built within the *English* Territories. *Hoveden* gives us a list of them, with the time of their building or repairing, which as a memorable piece of Antiquity, we are obliged not to omit. In the year DCCCCV. by command of her and her Husband *Ethered* that City saith he which in *British* is called *Karlegion*, and *Legacestre* in the *Saxon* Tongue, was re-edifyed. Now there were two Cities in *Britain*, which the *Saxons* called by the Name of *Ligecestre*, from being the Seats of *Roman* Legions as is thought, though many others for the same reason might have had that Name, one of the *Coritani*, which we now call *Leicester*, and another belonging to the *Cornavii*, and a *Roman* Colony which we still (retaining the later part of the word) call *Westchester*, and simply *Chester*. Mr. *Camden* was of opinion, that the Town repaired at this time was *Leicester*, which *Ethelfleda* he saith strongly walled about. But we cannot agree with him in this point, because both *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worcester*, say it was that *Legacestre*, which the *Britains* called *Caerleon* or *Caerlegion*, by which Name they never called *Leicester*, but if we give credit to their great Antiquary, *Humphry* * *Lhuyd* by that of *Caerbeir*, whencesoever the *Saxon* Name of *Legecestre* was taken, which might first be given it upon some other account than that of a Legion, or rather one but like unto † it. It's evident enough, that at the time when those Authours wrote, it had not the Name of *Caerleon*, but that *Chester* had is most certain, and that first by way of Excellency, then alone by it self, the Names of other Places being changed, as of that City which from *Caerwtheling*, by reason of the *Roman* Legions having changed its Name to ‖ *Caer Lheon*, afterwards from a Noble *Britain* that repaired it, received that of *Caergwayr*, and by the *English* is called *Warwick*. But besides this reason from the Name, another as strong may be fetched from the Place. Her repairing and building of Towns was not accidental, but as the Exigency of Affairs required, so as the Countrey might be secured against the *Danes* and *Britains*. Now there could not be so great need for *Leicester* to be reinforced as for *Chester*, which as some say by the Invasions of the *Danes* had been destroyed, besides it was a Frontier Town, and a mighty curb against the treacherous and inconstant *Welsh*, if such they were indeed as our Writers would make them.

Her Buildings.

A Legione vicessima victrice.

* *Fragment. f.* 21. *b.*

† *In Annalibus scribitur.* Lygeja Ceartje.

‖ *Idem ibid.*

48. In the year DCCCCIX, on the second of the Nones of *May*, she marched with an Army to a place called *Sceargete*, and there built a strong Castle, and thence to *Brige* seated on the West side of the River *Severn*, where she caused another to be erected. The year following, at the beginning of Summer she went with her *Mercians* to *Tamvirting*, and repaired the City. *Florence* of *Worcester* calls the Place *Tamewordin*, *Marianus Tamawordia*, but *Matthew* of *Westminster* more truely *Thameworth*, being the same with *Tamworth* in *Staffordshire*, situate upon the River *Tame*, whence it hath part of its Name, and the other half from the *Saxon* word þeorꝑ; which signifies a *Farm-House*, as also an *Holme* or *River Island*, any place incompassed with water, as in *Germany Keyserwert* and *Bomelswert*, betoken asmuch as *Cæsar*'s Isle, and *Bomel*'s Isle. As long as the Kingdom of the *Mercians* continued, this was one Place of the King's Residence, a Town of great resort and very well frequented. *Hoveden* proceeds and tells us, that in the year DCCCCXI, she built a City called *Eadesbyrig*, and in the end of Autumn another called *Warwick*. *Eadesbyrig*, as several others, was some obscure place; as for *Warwick*, it must not by

Huntingdono Wirengevic.

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49. What *Matthew* ascribes to her concerning *Stanford*, *Marianus* attributes to her Brother King *Edward*, writing that he built a Castle, but it was just over against the Town on the Southern Bank, as the Annals also affirm, which now is called *Stanford Baron*, of which yet at this day there appeareth not the least token. *Weadelbucrh* is now *Wedsborough* a Town in *Staffordshire*. But as for *Stafford* it self, it's ancienter than so being called *Betheney*, before it had the Name of *Stafford*, but a Castle was here built about the year of our Lord DCCCCXIV, on the South Bank of the River *Sow*, which *Marianus* attributes to King *Edward* himself, which might be, because in his Reign it was erected. *Lichfield* was also ancienter, being by *Beda* called *Licidfeld*, which one interprets the *Field of dead Bodies*, from a Number of Christians which were there martyred under the Persecution of *Diocletian*. And as for *Shrewsbury*, whensoever and by whomsoever it was built, it rose from the Ruines of old *Uriconium* now called *Wroxester*, which being an ancient City of the *Romans* fell to decay in the *Saxon* and *Danish* Wars. Some four Miles from it arose that we now call *Shrewsbury*, in old time *Pengwern*, that is the Head of an old *Alder*, or and high *Plat of Ground planted with Alders*, in which sence by the *Saxons* termed *Scrobbesbyrig* from its being a thicket of Shrubs upon an Hill. It was the seat of the Petty Kings of *Powis* sometime, and when taken out of the Hands of the *Britains* might be new fortifyed and repaired, which our Builders to aggrandise the Act of this Heroical Lady call *Builderig*. For this is observed of her, that such Places as were repaired by her were such as by her Valour and Conduct, were formerly wrested by her out of the Hands of the Enemy. But that we may conclude this story of this Lady all together, the year after she had taken the Castle of *Brecknock* from the *Britains*, a little before *August* she set upon the Town of *Derby* then in the Hands of the *Danes*, took it by storm, after that they refused Battel in open Field, and then subdued all the Countrey round, though with the loss of four of her choicest Officers who were slain at the Entry of the Gate. *Huntingdon* adds that after this Victory she conquered *Leicester* with the greater part of the *Danish* Army that lay in these parts, as also that those of *York* promised submission, and all good deportment. After this Convention, this most prudent *Virago* to be preferred before the ancient *Amazons* in the opinion of *Ingulphus*, died at *Tamworth* twelve days before the Feast of St. *John*, in the eighth year of her Government of *Mercia*, and was buried in the Porch of St. *Peter* in *Glocester* by her Husband. *Huntingdon* farther writes, that she was reported to have been a Woman of so great Power, that by some she was not onely called Lady and Queen, but King also, out of admiration at her worth. She left one onely Child, a Daughter named *Alwina* (or *Algina*) for it's said that abhorring the pains of Childbirth after she was born, she would never more accompany with her Husband. To which passage *Ingulphus* adds, that in respect of the Cities she built, the Castles she fortified, and the Armies she managed, one would have thought she had changed her Sex. *Matthew* of *Westminster* tells us, she made her Daughter her Heir (of her Kingdom he terms it) but King *Edward* so far understood his interest, that within a year he sent for his Niece into *Westsex*, and seized *Mercia* into his own Hands.

Lhuyd in Fragment. f. 22. b.

She beat the *Britains* and *Danes.*

Dies.

After whose death *Edward* seis'd on *Mercia.*

50. That we may now return to him. The year after that *Derby* was taken, a new Fleet of *Danes* from the Southward arrived at *Lidwic* in *Devonshire* under Conduct of two Captains, called *Ottor* and *Roald*. Sailing Westward about the Lands end, they entered the mouth of the *Severn*; where landing, they wasted the North *Welsh* Coast, and coming to *Ircingafelda*, they there took *Cameleac* a Bishop, and carried him away to their Ships, whom afterward King *Edward* redeemed

Annal. ad An. DCCCCXVIII.

Ircingafelda.

deemed with forty Pounds. As they proceeded, the Inhabitants of *Hereford*, *Glocester* Shires, with others out of other Cities opposed their Progress and put them to flight, killing their Captain *Roald*, with the Brother of *Otter* and very many others. They pursued them into a Wood, where they Besieged them till they had given security for departing out of the King's Dominions. The King hovered with his Army between *Severn* and *Avon*, so that they durst not touch upon those Quarters, except in a stealing manner twice by Night, and then they came short home, being all cut off, but some that by Swimming escaped to their Ships: The rest being almost all famished in a small Island, removed from place to place, till at last about Martinmas time they passed over into *Ireland*, this was the Issue of this Invasion, and the Countrey enjoyed a breathing time from these Calamities. Those that bore the greatest brunt of this Storm were the *Herefordshire* men, especially those of that part of it which from *Gildenvale* declining and bending Eastward, was in those days called *Ircingafelda*, and at this time with like variation *Irchenfield*, but in Doomsday Book *Archenfeld*, which Book signifies that certain Revenues by an old Custome were there assigned to one or two Priests, on condition that they should go on Embassies for the Kings of *England* into *Wales*. And whether it was in memory of their Sufferings and Service in this Inroad of the *Danes*, the said Book hath this farther Observation: *The Men* Arcenfeld *whensoever the Army marcheth forward against the Enemy, by a Custome make the Vaunt Guard and bring up the Rere in their Return.* Sect. 10.

51. The Pirates being gone, King *Edward* to secure himself better from the Attempts of their Countrey men who lived about the Shires of *Buckingham* and *Bedford*, and still were ready to joyn with any fresh Gamesters, led his Army to *Buckingham*, where he staid an whole Month, and gave order for raising Forts on each side of the River *Ouse*. This it seems so startled the *Danes* that judging that they could not now doe better, several of them submitted themselves, as *Thurcytel* an Earl, together with most of the considerable men about *Bedford*, and many of them that belonged to *Northampton*. This obliged him the following year to go down to *Bedford*, which soon yielded it self to him whither then repaired such as had been formerly on his side. Here he also staid a Month and took care for building a *Burh*, as the Annals call it, on the Southside of the River *Ouse* which *Townelet*, as the best Copies of *Hoveden* have it, was in the *Saxon* times called *Mickesgate*. The year following, somewhat before Midsummer, he went again to *Maldon*, where he built another *Burh* and fortified the Town, and in this year *Thurcytel* finding he was like but to have a small Trade here, where the King so minded his business, got leave to carry over some men into *France*, where he knew his Countreymen might find him employment. And the King followed on his business indeed. The next year before *Easter* Holydays he went to *Tofacester*, which he caused to be fortified, and about Rogation Week caused a place called *Wiggingamere* to be built and strengthened. That *Tofacester* is now the Town called *Torcester* in *Northamptonshire*, in the *Roman* times *Tripontium*, from three Bridges made over so many Chanels, into which the little River divideth it self. *Marianus* names it *Toucester*, writing that it was so fortified in the year of our Redemption DCCCCXVII, that the *Danes* by no means could win it by Assault, and that King *Edward* the Elder afterwards incompassed it with a stone Wall. Yet now no Tokens of any such Wall appear. Onely there's an Artificial Hill remaining, which they call *Berybill*, turned into Private Gardens. *Wiggingamere* is now called *Wigmore* a Town of *Herefordshire*, not far from the River *Lug*.

He forces the *Danes* in *Bucks* and *Bedfordshire* to submit.

52. While *Edward* was busied about the Fortifications of *Wigmore*, the *Danes* of *Northampton* and *Leicester* not being well pleased to find themselves curbed with so many strong Towns, laid Seige to *Torcester*. For a whole day they belaboured it, but it standing stiffly out till Supplies came to them, they went their ways by Night, but were pursued and surpriz'd betwixt *Burnwood* and *Eglesbyrig* or *Aylesbury*, where many of them were taken with the loss of much of their Baggage. Much at the same time the *Danes* of *Huntingdon*, not judging their Castle convenient enough demolished it, and being assisted by those of East *England* built another at *Temesford* as more opportune, from whence to make their Excursions. They went also to *Bedford* with intention of recovering that Town, but the Garrison issued out repulsed and slew a great part of them. After this a greater Army was raised both out of East *England* and *Mercia*, which went and laid Siege to *Wigmore*, plundering the Countrey round about, but after a days tryal the Defendants obliged them to rise and be gone. Hereupon many of King *Edward*'s Friends about these parts gathered themselves together and uniting their Forces went and

Several Skirmishes betwixt the *Danes* and *Edward*.

Besieged

Sect. 10. Besieged *Temsford*, which they took by Assault, therein slew their King together with *Toylea* and *Mannan* his Son both Earls, his Brother and all the rest they could find, for they peremptorily stood it out against them. This *Temsford* is a Town in *Bedfordshire* standing upon the confluence of *Ouse* and another Brook which some call *Ivel*. Provoked or incouraged by the example of their Countreymen the men of *Kent*, *Surrey* and *Essex*, and several out of other places went and laid siege to *Colne Ceaster* or *Colchester*, and so pertinaciously carried on their Assault that they took it, and put all they found therein to the Sword, except such as had the good hap to escape over the Walls. ⁊ ꝼoꝼonꝼo Colneceaꝼꝼe.

53. Hereat many *Danes* both inhabiting the Countrey and the Port Towns much allarmed gathered themselves together, and being prevented as to the Relief of *Colchester* pleased themselves with the hope of revenging the Injury received upon *Maldon*, but the Inhabitants held out till relief came, which so discouraged the Besiegers that they drew off, but in their Retreat were pursued, and many thousands of them slain, Pirates and others, by those that they hoped to have devoured. King *Edward* being jealous of all their Countreymen hasted this very Summer with an Army of West *Saxons* to a place called *Pæssanham*, so called from passing over the River, now *Pætham*, a little distant from *Stony Stratford*, where he continued till *Torcester* was incircled with a stone Wall. This had such influence upon the *Danes* of these Quarters, that *Thurserth* an Earl with the Lords of the Towns thereabout, and all their Army as far as *Hampton* North of *Weolind* came and submitted themselves unto him. Now the King's Army desired to return home, yet part of it was ordered to *Huntingdon*, where it repaired the Town and repaired such Breaches as the King had formerly made, upon sight whereof all the People of those Parts submitted, desiring the King's Protection. Then with his West *Saxon* Forces this very year before Martinmas did he march to *Colchester*, which Town he repaired and fortifi'd at what time the People of East *England* and West *England* living under the *Danes*, together with the *Danish* Army in East *England*, sware obedience to him, as well by Sea as by Land fully to observe his Commands. Those of them also that lay at *Grantbrig* took the same Oath as he had commanded. The year following wherein died his Sister *Ethelfleda*, betwixt Rogation Week and Midsummer he went to *Stanford*, where, say the Annals on the Southern side he built a Castle, whereupon all such as held that on the other side, submitted themselves to him as their Lord. ⁊ eal ꝼehe-ne ðe to ðamtune hy þe noþ-poð peoluð.

Most of the *Danes* now submit and swear obedience to King *Edward*.

54. By her death all *Mercia*, as we said, fell unto him and willingly submitted, and about the same time *Howel*, *Cledanc* and *Jeothwell* the petty Kings of North *Wales* with all the Northern *Britains*, put themselves under his Dominion. After this he visited *Notingham*, which he repaired, and therein placed both *English* and *Danes*, of both which Nations, all inhabiting *Mercia*, now became his Subjects. To pursue and complete his good Fortune, the next year he went down with an Army to *Thelwall* in *Cheshire*, where he took care for the building and fortifying of the Town. The Annals onely tell us so much, but *Matthew* of *Westminster* tells us the reason of the Name, which came from the Bodies of Trees (the Boughs being cut off) fast set in the ground, wherewith he fenced it round: For the *Saxons* in their Language called the *Trunks or Bodies of Trees*, *Thel*, and *Wall* as we name it at present. While he staid at *Thelwall* he sent for another Party of Souldiers out of *Mercia*, and ordered them to *Manige Ceastre* in *Northumberland* to repair and Man it. This *Manige Ceastre* is *Manchester* in *Lancashire* said to be in *Northumberland*, for that this Countrey, as well as others, North of *Humber* were formerly under the same Kings. Lying so as it doth, it seems to have been quite destroyed in the *Danish* Wars, wherein because the Inhabitants demeaned themselves like very valiant men, their successours will have their Town to have been called *Manchester*, that is, as they expound it, *The City of Men*; in which conceit they wonderfully please themselves. And so they should for me. But one already has told them that *Mancunium* was the Name of it in the time of the *Britains* and *Romans*, so that the Etymology thereof out of our *English* Tongue, can by no meens seem so much as probable. He derives it rather from *Main* a *British* word, which signifies a *Stone*; because upon a Stony Hill it is seated, and beneath the very Town at *Colyhurst* there are very excellent and famous Quarries.

Thelwall whence so called.

Manchester.

Camden in Lancashire.

The reason of its Name.

55. The next year King *Edward* to secure all about him went down with an Army to *Notingham*, where he ordered a Borough to be built on the South side of the River right over against, and a Bridge to be made for entercourse betwixt them. Thence he marched as far as into the Territories of the *Picts*, to a place called *Bedecanwyllan*, where he commanded a Town to be built and strongly forti-

fi'd.

Sect. 10.

The King of the *Scots* and several others submit.

fi'd. Now did the King of the *Scots* submit unto him as his Lord and Sovereign, together with the *Scotish* Nation it self, *Reginald* the Son of *Eadulf*, and all the Inhabitants of *Northumberland*, *English* and *Danes*, in the North as well as in the Southern Parts, as also the King of the *Streatgledwalli* with all his Subjects. These are the great Atchievements of King *Edward*, as they are summarily laid down by the Annals, which speak his Power so great, that no King before him extended his Dominions to such a Proportion. By another we are told that as it were to complete his Felicity, a little before he died he reduced to obedience the Inhabitants of *Chester* and the Countrey about it, who having conspired with the neighbouring *Britains*, had attempted to shake off the Yoke; but he by his diligence prevented the joyning of their Forces, and by his Courage and the terrour of his Name, constrained them again to submit themselves. In so great glory he died in his Return toward his ancient Province of the West *Saxons* at *Faverdon* a Town of *Berkshire*, where for the most part he kept his Court, after he had reigned four and twenty years.

Malmesb.

Edward dies.

56. He was well nigh as happy in his Issue as in the course and success of his Government, yet not so happy in that of his first Wife because he knew not certainly how to call their Conjunction a Marriage. Concerning their Acquaintance and first meeting together, besides the Monk of *Malmesbury*, *John Brompton* the Abbat of *Jornual* relates, That in the Reign of King *Elfred* when his Son *Edward* was young, there was in a certain Village of the West *Saxons* the Daughter of a Shepherd called *Edgina*, who falling asleep dreamed that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright that all *England* was inlightened by the splendour of it. The Dream she told to a certain grave Woman that had been Nurse to several of the King's Children. She thereupon takes her into her House and brings her up as carefully and tenderly as if she had been her own Daughter, instructing her so to demean her self as might become a Person both of Birth and Breeding. In process of time it happened that Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldest Son, passing upon some occasion thorough this Town, thought himself obliged in honour and good nature to visit his Nurse, which as he did he got sight of this Maid, being exceeding beautifull, and fell passionately in love with her. By his importunity he got her consent to lie with him, and by one Nights lodging she became with Child, which proving a Son in respect to the Mothers Dream, the Father gave him the Name of *Athelstan*, which signifieth *the Most Noble*. Some call this Woman his Wife, (he might be Married to her afterwards) and others reckon that Lady for his first, whom he Married afterward. However by her he had another Son named *Ælfred*, who died several years before his Father, and a Daughter called *Editha* Married to *Sithric* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*. So some write; but *Malmesbury* calls his second Son *Ethelward*, begotten of *Elfleda* Daughter of Earl *Ethelin*, a Prince very well learned and much resembling his Grandfather *Alfred* both in Countenance and Disposition, but he died presently after his Father.

An Account of his Wife *Edgina* and her Issue.

57. By this *Elfreda* his (first or second) Wife, besides this *Ethelward*, whom some call *Elsward*, he had a second Son named *Edwin*, and a third called *Gregory*, as some write, who forsook the world and became an Hermite; of Daughters good store. As first *Edfleda*, who became a Nun in the Monastery of *Rumsey*, *Egwina*, called also *Edgitha* and *Edgina*, married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*, Son of *Ludovicus Balbus*, and Grandson of *Charles* the Bald, whose Daughter, as we said, *Ethelwulf* married in his return from *Rome*; *Ethelhilda* who was never married; *Ethilda* married to *Hugh* the Great Count of *Paris*, to whom she bore *Hugh Capet*, afterwards King of that noble Countrey; *Edgitha* and *Elgina*, both which their Brother *Athelstan* sent over to *Henry* Emperour of *Germany*, who bestowed the first on his own Son *Otho*, afterwards Emperour, and the second on a certain Duke, whose Territories lay near to the *Alpes*. This numerous Offspring he had by his Wife *Elfleda*. By his last Wife *Edgina*, he had two Sons, *Edmund* and *Edred*, who both of them came to be Kings, as we shall see; and two Daughters, *viz.* *Eadburga*, who became a Nun, and *Edgina* a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, bestowed in marriage by her Brother *Ethelstan*, upon *Ludouic* Prince of *Aquitain*. His Daughters he so brought up, as in their Infancy they all were taught to reade and write, and then to use the distaff and needle; by such employments to pass the time of their unripe Virginity: his Sons in such a manner, that first they might be fully accomplished with Learning, and afterward come not rude and ignorant, but like so many Philosophers, to publick business, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* words it.

His Issue by *Elfreda* his other Wife.

58. Of

Sect. 10.

Ethelwald dyes.

58. Of his Sons, *Ethelward* died a few days after his Father, and by his death, made way for the Succession of *Athelstan*, who though the eldest, and legitimated as it were by the after marriage of his Mother, yet being born of a then Concubine, could hardly have obtained the Crown, by reason of the great love and esteem which was born to *Ethelward*, as well for his own Learning and Vertues, as for the great resemblance he bore to his Grandfather King *Alfred*. He being dead, and the rest of the Sons of *Edward* being too young for so weighty an employment; *Athelstan* by consent of all the Nobility was chosen King, and Crowned at the Royal Town or Village (as *Malmesbury* tells us) called *Kingston*, not without the foredesignment of his Father in his last Will and Testament, who might possibly guess that his Son *Ethelward* would not be long lived. He was now about thirty years of Age. By his own pregnancy and care of his Parents, he had arrived at very considerable qualifications of mind, suitable to his weighty Employment. For *Alfred* his Grandfather is said to have presaged to him a lucky Reign, being much enamour'd of him for his great towardness and the extraordinary elegancy of his Features. When he was very young, he conferred on him the dignity of Knighthood, by investing him with a purple Robe, a Belt adorned with Gems, and a Sword of the *Saxon* Fashion, inclosed in a golden Scabbard. He caused him to be educated in the house of his Daughter *Ethelfleda*, the Wife of noble and valiant *Ethelfrede*, that by the instructions and example of so great Captains (such we may term them both) he might by degrees be trained up in such actions as might render him fit for that good Fortune and Condition, which the hopes conceived of him did portend. Accordingly after his Fathers and Brothers, he was Crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, a Town as some have written, formerly called *Moreford*, and standing upon a flat ground, subject to the Inundation of the *Thames*, which caused it to be removed thither, where now the present *Kingston* stands. The Kings of the West *Saxons* now found it their interest, being Monarchs of the *English* Nation, to remove their Seat into these Quarters, not so much in respect to *London* (which for opulency and multitude of its Inhabitants, had not been all along these *Saxon* times so considerable, but sustained great Calamities by Fire) as to the Invasions of the *Danes*, which were frequently made up the River *Thames*, and to be nearer to the East *Angles*, amongst whom these Rovers had fixed themselves. Therefore *Athelstan*, and after him *Edwin* and *Ethelred*, were openly Crowned Kings at this Town; which from them took the name of *Kingston*.

Athelstan crowned.

Apud Regiam Villam quæ vocatur Kingston Coronatus.

At Kingston, whence so called.

59. *Athelstan* began his Reign in the sixteenth year of *Constantine* the eighth, Sirnamed *Porphyrogenitus*, Emperour of the East, the sixth of *Henricus Auceps*, Emperour of *Germany*, the twelfth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCXXIV. His own deserts, and the general affection of the People were not effectual to prevent all inconveniences proceeding from the condition of his Birth. One *Alfred* made considerable opposition against the choice, as of an illegitimate Person, and conspired with his Complices to lay hold of him in the City of *Winchester*, and to put out his eyes. But the Plot was happily discovered, and *Alfred* it seems denying it, was sent to *Rome*, there to purge himself before that Bishop, where coming to take his Oath before the Altar of St. *Peter*, he fell down, and being carried by his Servants to the *English* School, there died the third night after. The Pope would not dispose of his Body, but sent to ask the advice of *Athelstan* what should be done with it, whether it was to be buried amongst those of other Christians. The Nobility and the Relations of *Alfred*, earnestly desired that it might be bestowed in Christian burial, to which the King assenting, and the Pope therewith acquainted, it was accordingly done, and his whole Estate was adjudged confiscate for his Treason. Such good fortune had *Athelstan* against this homebred Enemy. In other places he found little trouble, except on the Northern side of *Humber*; where *Inguald*, one of the *Danish* Kings seized upon *York*, and *Sithric* who some time before had killed *Niel* his Brother, by force made himself Master of *Davenport* in *Cheshire*. The Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that he was a Barbarian both by mind and Nation. That he was Kinsman to that *Gurmund*, of whom we reade so much in the Acts of King *Alfred*, that having proudly contemned the Power of former Kings, now humbly desired the alliance of *Athelstan* by Messengers, whom he himself followed, to make good what they had prayed on his behalf. *Athelstan* found him so considerable, that he gave him in marriage his Sister *Edgitha*. But he enjoyed her but the space of one years, by his death giving occasion to *Athelstan*, of laying *Northumberland* to his own Dominions, to which he might lay claim, saith our Authour, both by an ancient Right, and a new Alliance.

A conspiracy against him.

Charta quædam Donationis Monasterio Malmesburiensi per ipsum Regem Athelstanum apud Gulielm. Monachum de Gest. Reg. Angl. l. 2. c. 6.

York seized by Inguald King of the Danes.

Northumberland added to his Dominions.

60. Here-

Sect. 10.

60. Hereupon *Anlaf* the Son of *Sictric* fled into *Ireland*, and *Godefrid* his Brother into *Scotland*, whom followed shortly after Ambassadours from the King, both to *Constantine* King of the *Scots*, and *Eugenius* King of the *Humbrians*, demanding the Fugitive to be given up, or denouncing a speedy War upon refusal. And as others say, a War indeed he made, passing into *Scotland* with great Powers both by Sea and Land, where he drove his Enemies before him by Land as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Werlermore*, and by Sea as far as unto *Cathness*. But *Malmesbury* affirms, that not daring at all to displease him, without fail they came to a place called *Dacor* (or *Dacre* in *Cumberland*) where each delivered up himself and all his into the hands of the *English* King, who was Godfather to the Son of *Constantine*, now ordered to be Baptized in Testimony of the Accord. But for all this *Godefrid* escaped while they were preparing for the Journey, and with one *Turfrid* travelling into several Parts, at length got some Men together, and laid Siege to *Tork*, the Inhabitants of which they essayed both by fair and foul means to let them in, but not prevailing they went their ways, yet were both taken shortly after and shut up in a Castle, whence they escaped by deluding their Keepers. *Turfrid* not long after was Shipwreckt at Sea, and became a prey to the Fishes. *Godefrid*, endured much misery both by Sea and Land, and at last came in the posture of a suppliant to the King's Court, who kindly received him, but after he had been profusely Feasted for four days together, he got him again to his Ships, grew an old Pirate, as accustomed to the water as a very Fish, in the Monk's opinion. In the mean time *Athelstan* demolished a Castle in *Tork*, which the *Danes* had fortified, that therein they might no longer shroud themselves. And the large Booty found in it he divided man by man amongst his Souldiers.

He invades *Scotland*.

61. But a great tempest began to gather against him in the North-western Parts, where *Constantine* the King of the *Scots* exasperated by the late Invasion joined with * *Analaf* the Son of *Sithric* (others but more unprobably will have him not this Son, but another of his Name who was King of *Ireland*, and the Isles adjacent) and drew in *Eugenius* the King of *Cumberland*, with great Forces from several Nations to their Assistence. After preparations of some four years they invade *England* by the River *Humber*, and pass up the Countrey to a place called † *Brunanburg* or *Bruneford*, which *Cambden* placeth in *Glendale* of *Northumberland*, on the *Scotch* Borders; *Athelstan* on purpose giving way, to obtain some better advantage against them, as some write, or, as others, they being fearfull to Grapple with him. *Analaf* perceiving with whom he had to doe, puts off his Royal Ensigns, and becomes a Spye in the habit of a Musician, attending with an Harp in his hand at *Athelstan*'s Tent, to which Instrument Singing, he was easily admitted to the King's presence as one who got his living by that course of life. There he made them merry till such time as having eaten and drank sufficiently they began to debate seriously about the work they had in hand, and he all the while made what Observations he could, till then he received his wages, and was put out of the Tent. The Money scorning to carry with him, he hid into the Earth, of which a certain Souldier took notice who had formerly served him, and thereby coming to know him, after he was gone acquainted the King. The King blamed him for not giving timely notice, which the Souldier excused as having formerly taken in *Analaf*'s Service the Military Oath, affirming that had he betrayed *Analaf*, he himself to whom now he was in the same Relation could have expected no more fidelity; but he advised *Athelstan* to remove his Tent into another place. This Advice was lookt upon as very good, and how seasonable it was very shortly appeared. A certain Bishop coming to the Camp this night in that very place, as being pleasantly situated, pitched his Tent. Him *Analaf*, with a design to destroy the King, fell upon, being ignorant of what had passed, and easily killed him with all his Followers.

England invaded by the King.

**Ingulphus sic, contra quem cum Analaphus Sitrici filius quondam Regis Northanhumbriorum insurgeret, &c. aliis est Analphus.*

† Ann. Brunanburh. *Ingulpho Brunford in Northumbria. Et Brunnamoere Turgotio in Ethelredi legibus Bromdune. Malmesb. Bruneford, Ethelwerdo Brunandune hodie Brumridge appellatur.*

62. *Ingulphus* (who is more to be credited than any other Historian in this matter) writes, that *Anlaf* though he had brought with him an infinite multitude of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Scots* and *Picts*, yet either out of diffidence or the craft familiar to his Nation, chose rather by night to surprize his Enemy, than fairly give him Battel in the open Field and by day light. He fell suddenly upon the *English*, and killed the Bishop who was come but that night to the Camp, which causing a great tumult and noise, the King though a Mile off, and his whole Army took the Allarm, and putting themselves into such order as the surprize would give leave, by break of Day came up to the place of the slaughter, where they found the Invaders tired, and disordered by their late travel, and for want of sleep. It happened that *Athelstan* in person leading all the West *Saxons*, light upon *Analaf* himself, and *Turketul* his Kinsman and Chancellour,

 who

Sect. 10.

Whence a bloudy Battel enſued.

who had the Conduct of the *Londoners*, and all the *Mercians*, upon *Conſtantine* the *Scotiſh* King. Their Miſſile weapons being quickly ſpent, they came to hand-ſtrokes, to fight it out with Sword and Buckler. Many poor Mortals there loſt their lives; the Carkaſſes of mean perſons lay confuſedly together with the ſlain Bodies of Kings, Death making no diſtinction. The diſpute continuing long and moſt violent, by reaſon that the multitude of Barbarians was ſo great, *Turketul* took with him ſome few *Londoners* whom he knew to be moſt valiant, and a Centurion of the *Wiccii* called *Singin*, one of approved valour, and with them, being taller than the reſt, of ſolid and ſubſtantial Limbs, and ſtrongeſt ſet amongſt all thoſe *London* Heroes, he ruſhed into the throng of his Enemies, and laying ſtoutly about him hewed down Ranks of Men both on the right hand and on the left. He paſſed through the heaps of *Orcadians* and *Picts*, bearing a wood of Darts and Arrows on his Breaſt-plate, and falling upon the crouds of *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, at length reached *Conſtantine* himſelf, whom he diſmounted and would have taken alive, but the *Scots* were ſo concerned for their King that they made a very ſharp Conflict about him, and many of them preſſing upon a few *Engliſh*, eſpecially aiming at *Turketul* he began to repent of his raſhneſs, ſeeing no means of eſcaping or getting off his Priſoner, when ſuddenly *Singin* the Centurion killed *Conſtantine*, who being once ſlain the *Scots* were diſcouraged and retired, and the report flying about the Army, *Analaf* and all his Followers ran away, after an unheard-of number of Pagans was ſlain in the place.

63. So much *Ingulphus* relates concerning this *Turketul* the Chancellour, who was afterward Abbat of *Croyland*, and Predeceſſour in the government of that Monaſtery, where he left the memorial of his Secular Employment. All Authours agree that this was a moſt bloudy Battel, nay the bloudieſt ſay ſome that ever this Iſland ſaw. *Ingulf* tells us, that beſides *Conſtantine* five other Kings were therein ſlain, twelve Earls, and an infinite number of the inferiour ſort. The *Saxon* Annals (ſtrangely perplex on this ſubject) ſpeak of five Kings in all, and ſeven of *Analaf*'s principal Commanders, of *Freda* a *Norman*, and ſeem to hint, that *Conſtantine* eſcaped home, but loſt his Son in the Battel: that ſome of King *Edward*'s Old Souldiers were here loſt; but on the other ſide great multitudes; which done the reſt fled to their Ships, particularly *Analaf* to *Dublin*, with a ſmall remainder of his great Army. *Malmesbury* adds this circumſtance, that the Battel was fought from Morning to Night, agrees with *Ingulf* that *Conſtantine* was ſlain, with five other Kings, and twelve Earls. The King's loſs ſeemed ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of what his Enemies ſuſtained, that our Writers mention few particulars, yet here fell his two Kinſmen, *Elwin* and *Athelſtan*, whom he cauſed to be Buried at *Malmesbury*. Whatever his loſs was of Men, his gain of Reputation by this Victory was very great, as is evident from what *Ingulphus* hath obſerved for us. For the notice of it flying throughout all Chriſtendom, all Kings deſired to have him their Friend, and on any terms to make an Alliance with him. *Henry* the Emperour ſent Ambaſſadours to deſire one of his Siſters in Marriage for his Son *Otho*. *Hugh* alſo the King of the *Franks* (ſo he terms him) requeſted another for his Son. And *Ludovicus* Prince of *Aquitain* begged the like favour for his own perſon: So many and ſo great and Royal Preſents they brought along with them as never had been formerly ſeen by the *Engliſh* Nation.

Ceciderunt ſiquidem in illo prælio Conſtantinus Rex Scotorum ac alii Reges numero quinque, Comites duodecim, Barbaries populorum infinita.

Which procures great Reputation to the King.

Being courted by all Princes for his Alliance.

64. "Beſides rich Perfumes, Gems, Horſes for the Courſe with golden Furniture, Veſſels of Onyx, and other rare and moſt pretious things, a piece of the Croſs of Chriſt, and of his Crown of Thorns, both ſet in Chryſtal; the Sword of *Conſtantine* the Great, on the Hilt of which incloſed with Maſſy pieces of Gold was ſet one of the four Nails which faſtened our Saviour to the Croſs; the Banner of *Mauricius* the Martyr, with the Launce of *Charles* the Great of no ſmall eſteem amongſt the *Franks*. King *Athelſtan* was pleaſed with theſe Preſents; readily ſent his Siſters as was deſired, under Conduct of ſeveral of his greateſt Courtiers, the chief of whom was *Turketul*, whom he eſpecially employed in this affair, in reſpect he was his firſt and his chiefeſt Chancellour, moſt prudent and truſty of all he had, and for that he was near akin to the Ladies. With the Chancellour go the four Virago's to the Sea; if we look at Chaſtity, ſuperiour to *Diana*, and if we regard Beauty, more fair than *Helena*, ſaith our Authour. By the Dukes, Earls and all other of the *Engliſh* Nobility many rich Preſents of Jewels and Bracelets are made them. At length leaving *England*, they ſail over the Sea with a proſperous Gale, and up the *Rhine* they paſs as far as *Colein*. The two Elder Siſters are put into the hands of the Emperour *Henry*, whereof the Eldeſt he beſtowes on his own Son *Otho*; and the other upon

Which he conſents to.

Quæ caſtitatis honore Dianam vincebant, & corporali pulchritudine etiam Helenam ſuperabant.

Sect. 10.

Marrying his Sisters accordingly.

upon a great Prince of his Court. *Hugh* the King of the *Franks* took the Third Sister for his Son; and *Ludovicus* Prince of *Aquitain* Married the Fourth, the Youngest of all, and the most Beautifull. *Turketul* the Chancellour then having dispatched the Affairs of his Embassy, returned home, loaded with great Gifts, as were his Followers; who to the meanest Boy were highly Presented.

He invades *Wales*.

65. The Renown of *Athelstan* being so great abroad nothing could withstand him at home, where presently after his success in the North, and his having reduced the *Scots* and *Picts* to obedience, with his Brother *Edmund* he invaded *Wales*, and with much more ease brought *Ludwal* King thereof into Subjection. This King *Ludwal* is by others called *Hunwal*, *Huwal* or *Houil*, no Name having more various reading, and is thought to have been the same with *Howel Dha*, or the *Good*, the Son of *Codel* and that Great King of the *Welsh*, so famous for the Laws he made to Govern his Subjects. Perceiving them out of all order for want of Laws, he summoned together out of every *Kemul* or *Hundred* of his Kingdom, both Laymen that were eminent for Authority and Knowledge, as also all Ecclesiasticks, that by reason of their Authority bore * Staves, or had Staves born before them, aswell Archbishops, Bishops, as Abbats and Priors to a place called *Guin* upon *Taff yn deud*, an House he had caused to be built of white or pilled Rods for his use when he came to Hunt in the Parts of *Demetia*, whereupon it was called by the Name of *Ty Guyn*. There the King and they continued all the *Lent*, Fasting and Praying for a good issue of their meeting according to what he had designed. Of those that now met he chose twelve of the Laity, and a very Learned Clerk called *Blangondus* to make a draught and preparative for their business which he would have divided into three parts. Of which the first should be the Law of his dayly Court, the second the Law of his Countrey, the third the Practice of both. For this purpose three Books he ordered to be made, one to follow his dayly Court, a second for the Court of *Dinewr*, and a third for that of *Aberfran*, or any of the three Parts of *Cambria*, viz. *Guenet*, *Powis* and *Dehenbarth*, which should for every matter in hand have the Authority of a Law. *Cambden* will have this Assembly held in the Year DCCCCXIV. a certain Manuscript written long agoe, about the Year DCCCCXXVI. the History of *Wales*, after or about the Year DCCCCXL. so great is the disagreement of Writers, which seems to hint that three several Assemblies were held, it so long the Reign of this *Howel* continued. Some affirm he was not King till about the Year DCCCCXL. and Reigned not beyond DCCCCLXVIII. But the Book of *Landaff* makes him later, the Contemporary of King *Edgar* who began not his Reign till the Year DCCCCLIX: or thereabouts, in the History of whom we shall have another special occasion to make mention of this *Howel*.

Leges Hoeli Dha (i Boni.) Regis seu Principis totius Walliæ à secularibus suis MSS. decerptæ. Apud Spelman in Conciliis. p. 408.

* *Et omnes Ecclesiasticoe authoritate baculosos.*

Making *Howel* and the other Petty Kings pay him Tribute.

66. To return to *Athelstan*. He caused all the Petty Kings of *Wales*, aswell as *Howel* their Principal (if now he Reigned) to give him a Meeting at *Hereford*, where under the Name of a Tribute he imposed on them a yearly Payment of twenty Pounds of Gold, three hundred of Silver, of Beeves twenty five thousand, with as many Hounds and Hawks as he should demand. Moreover because in the Western Borders toward *Cornwall* the *Britains* and *English* dwelt confusedly together, which bred Quarrels, and many times drew the affection of the *English* from their Prince, he expelled all the *Cornish Britains* out of *Exeter* (which he strongly fortified) and other Parts of *Devonshire*, though there they had formerly dwelt in equal Right with the *English*, as we have formerly hinted, that the *Britains* were wont to dwell in some other places, especially till the great Ditch of separation made by the *Mercians*. To their County of *Cornwall* he fixed certain Limits, dividing it from *Devonshire* with the River *Tamara*, as he bounded the other Northern *Britains* with the River *Vaga*, or the *Wey*. Thus dreaded at home and feared abroad he lived in repose for so much as we know for three years, and then left the World in great Glory (whatever the *Scotch* Writers pretend) no way eclipsed except it were by the Death of his Brother *Edwin*, which some report he willingly made away as one who by his legitimate Birthright would endanger that to which Possession gave him the greatest Right. The story is this. *Elfred* as we have already said, conspired to prevent the promotion of *Athelstan* by putting out his Eyes, and many Complices doubtless he had who gave their Names to the Enterprize. There were not wanting Sycophants to accuse *Edwin* of the Plot, as being the next Heir to the Crown (at least) the Eldest Son of King *Edward*'s second Wife, for whose sake the Treason was first hatched. A Crown is commonly lined with Jealousie and Suspicion, and the apprehension of a Rival usually overpowers all obligations both of Friendship and Nature.

An account of his Brother *Edwin*'s Death.

Malmesb Mat. Westmonast.

Sect. 10

Edwin both by word of mouth and by messengers, by Oaths and Imprecations protested his Innocence. But this would not prevail against the Whispers of Parasites who affirmed, that being driven into banishment, he would be commiserated by foreign Princes, and still more indanger the King. Therefore is such a course found out, as under the Notion of Banishment, may send him away to his long home. A ship rotten of it self, and not able to endure the violence of the Waves is found out, to the Government of which no mariners are appointed, onely he himself and his Page (or Armour-bearer) put therein. For some time they weathered out at Sea, till the young Prince brought up tenderly, and not used to hardship being weary of his life, cast himself headlong, and so perished in the Ocean. His Servant better advised was contented to live, and making use of better fortune, landed with his Master's Boy at a place called *Whitsand*, not far from *Dover*.

Which is punished with that of the Contrivers.

67. The fact was not long committed before *Athelstan*'s Repentance began to follow, which he is said by a seven years penance to have testified to the World, as by the Punishment of him who was the principal Instrument in the late Tragedy, and whispered jealousie into his Ears. This was his Cup-bearer, who upon occasion being to present a cup of drink to him, one of his Feet slipt, but by the nimblenes of the other recovering himself, he offered these words: *Thus one Brother helps another*. The King hearing them, and sadly calling to mind how little he himself had helped his Brother, oppressed by the Calumnies of this parasite, caused him to be put to death. This is the tale told by *Malmesbury*, and by *Matthew* the Flowergatherer who delivers it (as many other grand Improbabilities) for a truth, whereas the former tells it as a story of which he himself doubteth. But *Buchanan* the *Scotch* Writer runs away with it as a certain truth, joyning it with more of the same credit, *viz.* that he was the Murtherer of his Brother *Edred* also, and was vilely suspected to have by his contrivance brought his Father himself to a violent death, forasmuch as Writers give him the Title of *Edward* the Martyr. The very mentioning of these brings the other into suspicion; for that *Edred* survived and succeeded *Athelstan* next but one in the Kingdom is sufficiently known, and the other suspicion shews the Writer both ignorant and malitious. For who but a mere stranger to *English* History, can imagine *Edward* the Martyr the same with *Edward* the Elder, the Father of *Athelstan*? If one consider his extraordinary kindness to, and care for all the rest of his Brothers and Sisters, this will still seem more improbable; for whose sake as some will believe he abstained even from Marriage, making them his Companions in the Kingdom. His mercifulness to his very Enemies, is taken notice of by Writers who generally incline to quit him from this charge of murthering his Brother, as grounded rather upon uncertain fame and rude songs, than upon certain or approved History. Even such as believe him Authour of the Fact acquit him from the Crime, by affirming *Edwin* to have practised Treason against his Person.

To *Athelstan* succeeds *Edmund*.

Who invades *Mercia*.

68. *Athelstan* being dead, after he had reigned sixteen years, though the Annals give him but fourteen years and ten weeks. *Eadmund* his Brother a youth of eighteen years of Age, succeeded him in the thirty second year of *Constantine* the Eighth sirnamed *Porphyrogenitus* Emperour of *Constantinople*, the fifth of *Otho* the Great Emperour of the West, *A. D.* DCCCCXL. In courage he was no way inferiour to his Brother. In the second year of his Reign he invaded *Mercia*, which was generally held then by the *Danes*, and putting them out of Power, took from them fives Cities, *viz. Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stanford* and *Darby*, where it seems they had been plac'd by King *Edward*, but at this time it was not thought convenient that they should continue. For from what *Simeon* of *Durham* relates it should appear that he had matter of Jealousie and provocation from the *Danes*, inhabiting *Northumberland*, the King whereof *Anlaf*, from *Tork*, wasted all Southward as far as *Northampton*, but was met and stopt by King *Edmund* at *Leicester*. Here Peace was made betwixt them by the Intervention of two Archbishops, *Odo* and *Wulstan*, which was ennobled by the conversion of *Anlaf*, to whom as the Annals witness *Edmund* was Godfather the same year, who also a little after received *Regenlad*, another King from the Hands of the Bishop at Confirmation: moreover it is said, that their Territories were bounded North and South by *Watling street*. Who this *Anlaf* should be is something uncertain, whether him spoken of so much heretofore or another. *Huntingdon* will have him, another, not that *Anlaf* who died this very year. But the Annals are rather to be credited, which two years after call this *Anlaf* (now first of all) the Son of *Sithric*, relating that *Edmund* now drove both him and *Regenald* the Son of

Subdues *Anlaf*, and joins *Northumberland* to his Dominions.

Bunga ꝥre Ligora ceꝥter ⁊ Lincylne ⁊ Snotingaham ꝥylce Stanfoꝛd eac Deoraby. Eadmund cyning on ꝥenꝥ Anlaꝥe cyninge æt ꝥulpihte. ⁊ Ðy ylcan geaꝛe, ÿ he teala my cel ꝥæc he on ꝥenꝥ Regenolde cyninge æt birceoꝛeꝥ handa.

Guthferd

Guthferd out of *Northumberland* which he subdued, and forced to submit to his Dominion. Sect. 10.

Harasses *Cumberland*, and gives it *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*.

69. The year that followed King *Edmund* harassed *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, on condition to assist him in his Wars both by Sea and Land. Hitherto, though much distressed and disturbed by their Neighbours, the *Picts*, *Scots* and *English*, the ancient *Welsh* in this Countrey had continued a kind of State and Government, even after several of them being wearied out, had retired into *Northwales*, and there erected the Kingdom of *Stratcluyd*, which we formerly mentioned. From this time they continued under the Power of the *Scots*, but fell again to the Dominion of the *Normans* when they had conquered *England*, and at this day their Countrey retains the Name of *Cumbri* or *Kumri*, the same whereby the *Welsh* or *Britains* still call themselves, although the Remainders of them still inhabiting these Parts, by reason of continual Commerce with their troublesome Neighbours, have lost the Language which onely sticks to certain Towns and Places, not so subject to alteration. But as to this conquest of *Northumberland*, *Matthew* of *Westminster* gives us farther the Circumstances, that *Edmund* did it by assistence of *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, and that he put out the Eyes of both the Sons of *Dunmail* King of the Provinces, whom he had deprived of his Kingdom. Thus did *Edmund* flourish, giving hopes of still greater things to be performed by him, when in the height of the Expectations of his Friends and his own Confidence; a too venturous act cut him off, and a strange Accident deprived his People of him. The year which followed this Alteration in *Cumberland* he kept the Feast of St. *Augustine*, with many of his Nobles at a Place which has in Writers several Names, but now is called *Puckekerke* or *Puckle-Church* in *Glocestershire*, in memory of his first converting the *English* Nation. As he sate at meat amongst his Guests, he espied one *Leof* a noted Thief, who for his Robberies had been banished six years before. Hereat transported with Rage, he rose from the Table, ran upon him, caught him by the Hair, and pulled him to the ground. The Thief expecting no less than death, thought he would not dye unrevenged, but pulling out a short Dagger thrust it into the Breast of the King as he lay upon him with all the violence he was able. He was deadly wounded, and that e'er the Company could turn or imagine what the matter meant, but when it was perceived they flew upon the Murtherer, and cut him in pieces, who yet like a furious wild Beast at a Bay laid about him, and e'er he was killed, wounded some of his Assailants. To this lamentable end came *Edmund* after he had reigned six years and an half, and was buried at *Glastenbury*.

Being assisted by *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*.

Malmesbur.

Edmund is stabb'd at *Puckle*Church in *Glocestershire*.

Edred succeeds.

70. *Edmund* died not without issue Male, as we shall see hereafter, but his Sons being Infants, *Edred* his Brother, the third Brother of *Athelstan*, succeeded him, and was Crowned at *Kingston*, in the thirty eighth year of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus*, the eleventh of *Otho* the Great, and the DCCCCXLVI. year of our Lord. The course of his Actions sufficiently shewed that he did not degenerate from his Ancestours. In his very first year he subdued all *Northumberland*, which ever was revolting by the practices of its petty Princes, and he so ordered his matters by the Reputation hereby attained, that the *Scots* swore obedience to him to will whatsoever he should will, as the * Annals express it. But the *Northumbrians* ever unfaithfull, now also shewed the fickleness of their disposition. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* here talks still of *Anlaf*, as that he should once more be recalled, and Reigning four years, again be put to shift for himself. *Simeon* of *Durham* writes of their chusing one *Eric* a *Dane*, the Son of *Harald*, for their King, against whom *Edred* entred *Northumberland*, and having wasted the Countrey returned. *Eric* fell upon his Rere in his Retreat, which ingaged him to face about, and prepare to Charge the pursuing Enemy; which so affrighted the *Northumbrians*, that dreading again to prove what they had already sufficiently experienced, they cast off *Eric*, killed *Amanc* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with great Presents appeasing *Edred* again, submitted to his Government, and quitting the Administration of their petty Kings, were thenceforth Ruled by Earls, of which one *Osulf* is reported to be the first. Such is the account we have of this expedition in general, the onely particular of consequence is, that *Wulstan* the Archbishop of *York* sided, at least connived, as *Malmesbury* words it, with his Compatriots in their Revolt, for which he was committed to Prison, where having continued a considerable time (but a year saith *Stubbes*) he was at last pardoned, and released out of respect to his coat and function. As *Edred* thus proceeded to equal the worth of his Predecessours, he was taken away in the flower of his Age, when he had Reigned some nine years and an half, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at *Winchester*.

The *Northumbrians* revolt.

* *An.* DCCCCXLVI. ⁊ Ecottaȝ him aþaȝ ȝealban þ hie polban eal þ he polde.

Are assisted by *Wulstan* Archbishop of *York*.

Edred dies.

Th. Stubbes. f. 1699.

71. By

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Edwi made King.

71. By this time *Edwi*, or *Eadwig* (as the Annals call him) the eldest Son of *Edmund*, was advancing to Man's estate, and therefore now upon his Uncle's death was admitted King, and crowned at *Kingston*, in the forty seventh year of *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* so often mentioned as contemporary, as also the twenti- of *Otho* the Great, in the DCCCCLV. year of our Lord. He was about fourteen years of Age, of Beauty, much above the ordinary comelines of Men, which got him the Sirname of *Pancalus* or altogether Fair; which Youth and Beauty exposed him to the Arts and Allurements of bad people. He is generally ill spoken of, though by some his actions are not represented with that disadvantage, which particular prejudice in other writers may seem a little to have procured. By them he is reported to have given extraordinary offence by his inordinate pleasure on the very day of his Coronation. There was in his Court a Lady nearly allied to him, who had a Daughter far exceeding her self in Beauty, though she was very handsome, called by the name of *Algina*. Mother and Daughter, by their unchaste deportment, had so insinuated themselves into his favour, that neither he could be quiet, nor any publick business be dispatched without them. The design of the Mother was he should marry her Daughter, yet is she said to have had as vehement a desire to partake of their lusts, which she often did, he being wont shamelesly to imbrace the one in the others presence. The Ceremony of the Coronation being over, the Feast was prepared, or else they fell into a serious consultation about publick matters. But the King quits the place, and without any regard to so venerable an Assembly as consisted of his Prelates and Nobles, flung away into the chamber of these women, where he cast himself upon a bed betwixt them. The Lords hereat exceedingly fretted, as they had reason, and consulted how to reduce the Youth into their company. This was undertaken by *Dunstan*, Abbat of *Glastenbury*, and *Kinsi* Bishop of *Lichfield*, who was related to the King, and therefore chosen as one whose authority would sway the more with him. They enter the Chamber and find him in that indecent posture; *Dunstan* rebukes the women, and gently reprehends the King, praying him by his absence, not to put so great an affront upon his Nobility. He fumes, they taunt and scoff, but *Dunstan* takes him by the hand, pulls him from them, sets the Crown upon his Head, which he had cast aside, and brings him back into the Assembly.

Eadric Eadwig.

Who is given to Women.

Is severe towards Monks, especially *Dunstan* of *Glastenbury*.

72. The women hereat enraged to all degrees of malice and revenge, vowed to procure the ruine of *Dunstan*, which they so far prosecuted, that the King caused all the wealth of his Monastery to be seized, and banished him into *Flanders*, nay so great an aversion he conceived against men of his Profession, that miserable was the estate of Monks at that time, as *William* the Monk of *Malmesbury* affirms; who complains that his Monastery, which for two hundred and seventy years had been Inhabited by Monks, was now made a Stable of Clerks, for so he terms it. He and the Aurhour of *Dunstan's* Life, and this Monk are they who tell this story with such tart reflexions upon his Person, which others not so much concerned for the Monastical life, relate more indifferently. However he was a Child, and so apt to be seduced, by the pleasing allurements of women, and the conceit of his Royal Authority, which he lookt upon as uncontrollable. But *Odo* the Archbishop, is said to have excommunicated and pronounced a Divorce betwixt him and his *Algina*, and the People so to have resented the affronts offered to Religious People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up his younger Brother *Edgar*, leaving to him the Kingdom of the West *Saxons* onely, the ancient Patrimony of his Family. As for the two Ladies, *Odo* contented not himself with exercising his Spiritual Jurisdiction in cutting them off as putrid Members from the Body of the Church, but by the Council and Assistence of the Nobility, caused by force, and against the Kings will and pleasure, to be drawn out of the Court *Algina* the Daughter, because she did most harm to the King, and being nearer to him in bloud, was incestuously used by him as his Wife. But this severity ended not here: they added marks of scorn, defacing her Beauty by branding her Face with an hot Iron; and they lamed her by cutting the Sinews of her Hams, which done, they banished her into *Ireland*. *Edwi* having been King four years, took these disasters to heart, and died not long after, (some say two years he lived after his Excommunication) and was buried in the new Monastery at *Winchester*.

Is excommunicated.

Part of his Subjects rebell setting up his younger Brother.

His Mistresses punished which he takes to heart and dyes.

Matth. Westmonast.

73. *Edgar* his Brother, a Youth of sixteen years of Age, by his Death became King of all *England*, in the one and fiftieth year of the often mentioned *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, and the twenty fourth of *Otho* the Great, *A. D.* DCCCCLIX

Edgar King of all *England*.

No

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Revokes his Predecessours Laws, and calls back St. *Dunstan.*

No sooner was he advanced, but to serve the Interest of the Party that set him up, in an Assembly held at *Branford*, he revoked all the unjust decrees of his Brother, took care for pursuing, taking and putting to death the Adultress of *Edwi*, and for recalling *Dunstan* with great Glory, whom within a little time he promoted to the See of *Canterbury*. Concerning the Government of *Edgar*, *Malmesbury* gives us this short account, that not any one year is mentioned in the Chronicles, wherein he performed not some great thing, and necessary for the good of his Countrey. Yet suffered his Kingdom no violence, either by domestick Treachery or outward Force, a story going, that St. *Dunstan* at his Birth was told by an Angel, that Peace should flourish in *England* so long as this Boy Reigned, and as he himself should live. That this Peace and Tranquillity was not obtained by neglect and idleness, we may be sufficiently assured from his vast Naval preparations. He understood and practised the true Interest of his Countrey, which was to give Laws, and to be Master at Sea. He was so wise as to know preventing Physick to be the best, better to hinder the Invasion of an Enemy, than suffer his own Kingdom to be the Seat of a War; which at best must bring devastation and poverty, and make the Conquerour a very great looser by the Victory. He rigged up such a Fleet as for number of Vessels, may seem incredible. Every Summer, saith *Malmesbury*, immediately after *Easter* he commanded his Ships upon every Shore to be brought into a Body. He Sailed usually with the Eastern Fleet, to the Western Part of the Island; and then sending it back with the Western unto the Northern, and thence with the Northern he returned to the Eastern, being exceeding diligent to prevent the incursions of Pirates; and Courageous for the defence of his Kingdom against Foreigners, and the Training up of himself and his people for Military employments.

His Naval preparations.

74. Each of these Fleets we are told consisted of one thousand and two hundred Ships, and these also very stout ones, so that the number of all must have amounted to three thousand and six hundred Sail; which * some of our Authours speak expressly. But others write of four thousand Vessels, and there are that add to these three a fourth Fleet, by which means the number will be encreased to four thousand and eight hundred Sail, as may be seen in *Matthew* of *Westminster* and the Flowergatherer. To sustain this charge, besides the private Contributions of his Subjects (of which we shall hereafter more conveniently speak) he had Eight petty Kings, who being his Fiduciary Clients or Vassals, were bound to him by Oath to be ready at his Command, and serve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Chester*, where he had given them order to meet him, as he Sailed about the North of *Britain* with a great Navy. Their Names are *Kened* or *Kineld*, King of the *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland* (who at this time it seems hath this Name, though as we said the *Cumbrians* had thrown off that Title, and taken the other of Earls as more modest) *Maccuse* of the *Isles*, and five of *Wales*, the Names of whom were *Dusval*, *Griffith*, *Huual*, *Jacob* and *Judethil*. Having these then altogether at his Court at *Chester*, to set forth the Splendour and Greatness of his Dominion, he went one day into a Gally, and caused himself to be rowed by the petty Princes, he himself holding the Stern, and steering the Boat about the River *Dee*: Waited on by all his Dukes and Nobles in another Barge, he Sailed from the Monastery of St. *John Baptist*, where an Oration being made to him, in the same state and pomp he returned to his Palace. Here when he Arrived, he is said to have told those about him, that then his Successours might boast themselves Kings of *England*, when by so many Kings they should be so attended, and Arrive, as *Malmesbury* expresses it, at such a Prerogative of Honours. As for these Princes, *Maccusius* by *Florent* of *Worcester*, and *Hoveden*, is termed a King of very many Islands. *Matthew* of *Westminster* calls him King of *Man*, and very many other Islands. And *Malmesbury* calls him an Archpirate, by which word a Robber is not to be understood; but as *Asserius* and others of that Age use it, one skilled in Sea affairs, or a Seaman so called from *Pira*, which in the Attique Tongue, signifies Craft or Art, but afterward it came to be applicable onely to such as without any justice infest the Seas. Not long after, the Governour of a Ship of Pirates, came to be called a Pilote from *Pile*, the name of a Ship in the ancient Gallick Language, some remainders whereof still continue among the *Franks*. After the insolency of these Northern Rovers and Pagans grew so great, all the Maritime Towns throughout Christendom might well be sensible of their danger, and the means of their deliverance, as to express their common Faith, and next their common Refuge under God, on one side of their Coin they stamped a Cross, and on the Reverse a Ship, which gave Original to that,

* *Hoveden Florentius wigorn.*

Sect. 10. that, though much practised, yet little understood custome of casting and naming Cross and Pile to this day.

75. Another of the Kings and those of *Wales* was *Huual* or *Huwal*, who though he be not placed the first in order, yet if we follow the Account of some Authours, must have been the chief of them all, the Prince to whom all the rest performed obedience. The Book of *Landaff* bids us take notice that at the same time lived *Edgar* King of all *Britain*, *Huwell Da* and *Margan Heu*, which two yet were the Subjects of King *Edgar*. At that time *Morgan Heu* obtained all *Morganuc* in peace and quietness, onely *Huwell Da* endeavoured to take from him *Istradin* and *Euwias*. King *Edgar* having notice hereof, summoned *Huwell Da*, *Morgan Heu* and *Heweyn* his Son to his Court, where in full Council he debated both their Titles, and it was plainly found that *Huwell Da* had dealt ill with *Morgan Heu* and his Son *Huweyn*, and for this Reason *Huwell* was driven from the possession of these two Countries for ever without recovery. " Afterward King *Edgar* gave " and granted to *Morgan Heu* and his Son *Huweyn* these two Lands, *viz. Istradin* " and *Euwiæ* by name, lying in the Bishoprick of *Landas*, as his own Inheritance, " and the aforesaid two pieces of Land to him and his Heirs, without the Calum- " ny of any earthly man, he has confirmed by our common Assent, and with " the Testimony of all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Earls and Barons of all " *England* and *Wales*. And cursed is he by our Lord the Father who separates " these two pieces of Land from the Lordship of *Morganuc*, and the Parish (Dio- " cese is meant) of *Landaff*; and blessed be he of our Lord Jesus Christ who " observes this, and by all Christian People henceforth for ever. *Amen.* Moreover you must know that the writing which on that day was made and written before King *Edgar* in full Council, was deposited in the Church of *Landaff*. Fare you well. Now this seems to be no other than the above mentioned *Hoel Dha*, in Latine called *Hoelus Hælus*, and sometimes *Huual*; one of these five *Welsh* Kings, whom *Malmesbury* relates, together with *Kunade* King of the *Scots*, *Malcolm* King of the *Cumbrians*, and *Maccusius* the Arch Pirate, or rather *Chief of the Seamen* and *Governour of the Seas*, to have met him at the City of *Chester*, and in way of Triumph to have rowed him on the River *Dee*, by such a Spectacle to shew him as Lord and Monarch both of the *British* Earth and Ocean. This is that *Howel Dha* of whom we have already spoken, whose Laws saith Sir *Henry Spelman* I understand were Printed by one *Salisbury* a *Welshman* forty years agoe, and dispersed among his Countreymen; but I never had the happiness to see them.

Codex Londinensis, fol. 103. apud Spelman, Conc. p. 414.

76. This Pomp used by *Edgar* in the Attendance of these eight petty Princes was, as some write, but the Epilogue to a greater Act of State. For this very year he was solemnly Crowned, having the sixteenth year of his Age, wherein he was made King, omitted this Ceremony till he came to be thirty, out of penance for his former sins of Incontinence, as some would have it, whereas upon his Brothers death he might have received the Ensigns of Majesty e'er he came to be so guilty of these youthfull Crimes. The Solemnity was performed with great splendour in presence of the Nobility, and a great confluence of all sorts of Persons, in the old City *Acmans cestre*, say the Annals, otherwise called *Bath*, on the happy day of Pentecost. But as for his youthfull extravagancy toward Women being that alone wherewith he is charged as the blot of his life (for as for his cruelty which some objected, of it we have no instance, but one that follows) several Stories are told by the Monk of *Malmesbury*. *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire* had a Daughter named *Elfrida*, famed for extraordinary Beauty, which caused the King to be in love with her upon bare report. But to be certain he sent Earl *Athelwold* his Secretary to see her, resolving to Marry her if she were found to be so handsome indeed. *Athelwold* made haste and got a sight of her, wherewith he was so smitten, that he concealed his Message and resolved to obtain her for himself, which being easily done, he vilifies her to the King as a Woman very ordinary, and such a Dwarf as would much unbeseem his Royal Bed. The King's thoughts are hereby diverted upon other Objects; but at last the Earl's Enemies bring all to light how he had deceived his Master; whom to inrage they omit no words to set out, nay enhaunce the wonderfull Beauty of the Lady. The King conceals his Anger, and resolving by another Device to overreach him, tells him in a pleasant manner on such a day he would see his Wife, a Woman so fair as she was esteemed. He exceedingly struck with a thing so unexpected, earnestly desires her to provide for his safety, by putting on bad Clothes and deforming her self by all other means imaginable. She had by this time perceived how for a King she had Married

Florentius. Hoveden.

Is Crowned at *Bath*.

Murther laid to his charge with the account of it.

On ðæne ealðan byrig Acemanscestre. achte buend oþre popðe Baþon nemnaþ. ⁊ cýgaþ Pentecostenes dæg.

Married an Earl, which raised such Womanish Pride, and Indignation in her, that against the coming of *Edgar* she dresses her self in the most amiable and tempting manner she could devise, which had such effects upon him, that his Love being the more inflam'd by being so long defrauded of her, he appointed for a pretence, a day of Hunting in the Forest called *Warewell* now *Harewood Forest*, and there slew *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earls base Son coming when the thing was done, and looking upon his Father's dead Body, the King demanded of him *how he liked this Game*; to which he answered, *That whatsoever pleased the King, ought not to displease him*; with which mild Reply the King's angry mind was so appeased, that he ever after highly favoured the Youth, and expiated the Crime committed upon the Father by the great kindness he shewed to the Son. *Elfrida* he speedily Married, who to make the usual amends for Murthers and other horrid Crimes committed, built a Nunnery in the place where her Husband was slain. Sect. 10.

He is fleshly given.

77. Another thing is laid to his charge, that he took by force a Virgin veiled out of a Monastery, and used her as his Concubine, for which he was so sharply reproved by St. *Dunstan*, and laid it so much to heart, that he willingly underwent a Penance of seven years continuance, *viz. Fasting, and the want of his Coronation.* But it seems he could not abstain from all sorts of flesh. Coming on a time to *Andover* a Town not far from *Winchester*, he would have the enjoyment of a certain Duke's Daughter much spoken of for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed. The Mother of the Virgin not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring to be a Baud to her own Daughter, resolved to deceive him by the darkness of the Night, and sent a Waiting Maid she had in her room, one that was handsome enough, and not unwitty, as she made it appear. When it was Morning she offered to rise, and he demanding of her why she made such haste? She replyed, that she must up and doe the work her Lady had set her. The King wondering what she meant, as not having doubted but that she was the Duke's Daughter, she besought him to set her free from the Service of her Mistress as a Reward for her deflowered Virginity; a Boon his Majesty could not deny her. He for a time wavering and not knowing how he should take it, at last dissembled his Indignation, put off all with a Jest, set her free from her Mistress, and carrying her away with him, used her with all kindness, and onely kept himself to her till such time as he married *Elfrida*. These were the Vices of *Edgar*, of which more noise had been made by the Monks, but that he built so many Monasteries (every year one it's said) that they could scarcely think any ill of one so devoted to their course of life, one perhaps as great a lover of Chastity as Solitariness, in another Person. But it's certain *England* flourished mightily under him, being a man so answering the Epithete given by *Homer* to a King, *That not onely from cruel Enemies but Savage Beasts he secured his People*, laying a yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves upon *Ludwal* King of *Wales*, which when he had paid three years together, in the fourth he gave over, professing there were no more to be found. Ποίμην λαῶν. *Malmesbur.*

Exacts a Tribute of Wolves from *Ludwal* King of *Wales*.

Takes care that Justice be administred.

78. What his Employment was in Summer we have already seen. In Winter and the Spring he usually rode a kind of Circuit to administer Justice to the People, and take care that his Officers did the like. A low man he was and slender, but of such Courage and so strong made, that he would provoke the most robust he could hear of to grapple with him, disdaining they should at all spare him out of respect to his person. It happened on a time, that *Kened* King of the *Scots* was at his Court, to whom, as *Matthew* of *Westminster* relates, he gave rich Presents with the whole Countrey of *Lothian*, on condition that he and his Successours at high Festivals should come and attend on the *English* King when he sate Crowned; moreover many Lodging places he assigned him by the way, which to ease them in their Journey were till the time of *Henry* the Second still held by these Kings of *Scotland*. This *Kened* as he sate one day Feasting, said jestingly to those about him, *That it was a strange thing that so many Provinces should obey such a little Contemptible man.* The words were brought to the King's Ears. "He sends for "*Kened* as to consult upon some important Affair, and carries him into a Wood, "where none being present but they two, he delivers into his hand one of two "Swords he had brought along with him. Now he tells him they were alone, "and so he had a good opportunity to try his strength. He was resolved it should "now be determined which of them ought to rule, and which to be Subject, "bidding him not stir a foot but decide the Controversie with him, for it was "an ugly thing for a King to talk at a Feast and not be forward at a Fray. *Kened* "hereat exceedingly abashed, without replying, fell down at his Feet, and begged

His Courage and Strength.

 his

Sect. 10. "his pardon for what he had spoken in jest without any intended Reflexion, "which he readily gave him. So great was his Courage and his Power the effect thereof, that if a Charter of his be to be credited, he subdued the greatest part of *Ireland* with the City of *Dublin*, and was Lord of all the Isles as far as *Norway*; but of this no other Writer makes mention, and instead of a Warriour he is usually stiled *Edgar the Peaceable*. However such was his Fame that if he did not go to Foreigners, they came to him out of *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark* it self and other places. *Malmesbury* observes, that their coming over did much detriment to the Natives, who *from the* Saxons *received rudeness and fierceness*, *Effeminateness from those of* Flanders, *and Drunkenness from the* Danes, being before free from these Vices, as contented to defend their own with a natural and innocent simplicity, and not given to admire the Customs and Fashions of other Nations. Hereupon the Monk tells us he is deservedly blamed in Story. But happy had it been for *England* had his Successours by their deserved Fame and Reputation given such occasion for Reprehension. He died when he had Reigned about sixteen years in the flower of his Age, and with him all the glory of the *English Saxons*, nothing henceforth being to be heard of amongst them but Death and Ruine.

Ædgari Regis Anglorum Charta de Oswaldes law hoc est de ejiciendis Clericis Uxoratis & introducendis Monachis apud Spelman. Conc. p. 422.

He Dies.

79. He had by *Egelfleda* Sirnamed the *Fair*, the Daughter of *Ordmer* a potent Duke (it's uncertain whether his Wife or his Concubine) a Son Named *Edward*, by *Wilfrida* another Concubine a Daughter Named *Editha*, which became a Nun; and by *Elfrida* the Daughter of Duke *Ordgar*, *Edmund*, who dyed five years before his Father, and another Son called *Ethelrede*. *Elfrida* outliving him made a great Faction, labouring earnestly that her Son should succeed, by objecting Illegitimation to *Edward*. By the assistence of *Elfer* Duke of the *Mercians*, she wrought a great disturbance, which by means yet of *Dunstan* and *Oswald* the two Archbishops was composed to the advantage of *Edward*, whom they maintained for Legitimate against her Pretensions, and shewed it to be the late King's Will that he should succeed him. *Edward* then succeeded his Father in the fifth year of *Joannes Zimises* Emperour of *Constantinople*, the third of *Otho* the younger Emperour of the West, *A. D.* DCCCCLXXV year of our Lord. Presently after his promotion Comets appeared, which portended either the misery of the Inhabitants, or the alteration of the Government. For presently followed barrenness of the ground, Famine amongst Men, death of Cattel, and an horrible Contention betwixt Monks and Secular Priests, which we are to relate in another place, here hinting this onely, that it put the whole Kingdom into a Combustion. As for *Edward*, he was so extraordinarily Religious and mild by nature, that out of self-denyal and for quietness sake, he let his Step-Mother order all things as she pleased, giving her all respect as to his Mother, and fostering his young Brother with all love and tenderness imaginable. She on the other side from his kindness and love, conceives greater and more implacable malice, and with the Sovereignty she already enjoyed was so ill satisfied, that she must needs have the Title it self from him. Her purpose she covers by notable dissimulation, till a convenient opportunity present it self for the Execution. At length the poor Innocent Youth wearied with Hunting and sore vexed with Thirst, while his Companions followed the Game and minded not what became of him, hearing that her House was near at hand, alone by himself rode thither, fearing nothing because of his own Innocence, and imagining every one meant as honestly as he himself.

His Issue.

Edward succeeds him.

80. She receives him with wonderfull good words, and when (as it seems) he refused to light from his Horse, caused some drink to be given, but when the Cup was at his Mouth one of her Servants privately before instructed to stab him with a Poniard. He exceedingly affrighted with such unexpected kindness, put Spurs to his Horse and fled as fast as he could towards his Company, but the Wound being Mortal, spent with loss of bloud he fell to the ground, and having one foot in the Stirrop was dragged through by-ways and trac'd by his bloud by those she sent after him, who brought back the dead Body, and they buried it without Honour at *Werham*. Here they imagined they had buried his Memory as well as his Body, but the place of his Sepulture (it's said) grew famous for Miracles, whereupon Duke *Elfer* that had an hand in his Death, interred it Royally at *Shepton* or *Shaftsbury*. Yet notwithstanding this amends, as he thought he had made, did he die shortly after eaten up of Lice. *Elfrida* was so convinced of her wickedness that from her Courtly and Delicate course of life she betook her self to a very severe Penance; wearing Haircloth, sleeping on the ground without a Pillow, and

Who is stab'd.

Malmesb.

and herein she continued all her life. But so perished *Edward* after he had born the Name of King three years and an half; for his Innocency and the Miracles wrought after his death, obtained the Sirname of *the Martyr*, which opinion of his Sanctity was more confirmed by other great Miseries which shortly after fell upon the Land, which the People did verily believe were inflicted on them for his Murther. The place of the Murther (which *Hoveden* calls *Corfégate*) was *Corfe Castle* (as Mr. *Camden* affirms) in *Dorsetshire*, in the Isle of *Purbeck*; which for a great part of it is an Heath, and (Forest like) in his time was furnished both with Red and Fallow Deer. *Shaftsbury* is also a Town in that County. Sect. 10.

And succeeded by *Ethelred.*

81. *Ethelred* the second Son of King *Edgar* by *Elfrida* succeeded his murthered Brother in the third year of *Basilius* Junior Emperour of the East, and the seventh of *Otho* Junior Emperour of the West, *A. D.* DCCCCLXXIX. *Malmesbury* gives us this short Character of him and his Reign. That he rather besieged than governed the Kingdom for seven and thirty years. That the course of his life was cruel at the beginning, miserable in the middle, and dishonourable in the conclusion. To cruelty he attributes the death of his Brother, which he approved because he did not punish; he was infamous for his Cowardise and Idleness; and miserable in respect of his Death. His sluggishness was predicted by *Dunstan* from his * bewraying the Font at his Baptism; such a Story as is told of *Constantinus Copronymus* Emperour of *Constantinople*. Yet is not that a sign of ill nature which the Monk adds concerning him, that being then but a Child of ten years old, when he heard of his Brother's death he wept most bitterly, which drove his Mother into such a fury, that having not a Rod at hand she beat him with Wax Candles that lay in her way till he was half dead, which caused in him such an aversion to them that he could never endure any such Lights to be brought in before him. But to come to the material points of his Reign, his Mother, after she had done her Feat upon *Edward*, assembled the Nobility together for his Coronation, which was to be performed by *Dunstan* the Archbishop. His work it was, and he did it though with great Reluctancy, not thinking it convenient to set any other Pretender up. But as he put the Crown upon his Head he could not contain himself, but broke out into these Expressions. *Because thou hast aspired to the Kingdom by the death of thy Brother, Thus saith the Lord God, the sin of thine Ignominious Mother shall not be expiated, neither the sin of those that were her Counsellours, but by great bloudshed of thy miserable People, for such miseries shall come upon* England *as it never underwent since it had that Name.* Not long after, some three years, came to the Port of *Hampton* near to *Winchester*, seven ships of Pirates, and wasting the Maritime Coasts again departed; which (saith the Monk) I pass not over, because amongst the *English* there is great discourse concerning these Ships.

** Alii de mingendo solum loquuntur ut Huntingdon. his verbis: Minxit namque cum baptizaretur in Sacro fonte.*

Who is Crowned by *Dunstan.*

82. About the time of the Coronation which was solemnized at *Kingston*, one Midnight, a Cloud sometimes bloudy sometimes fiery appeared all over the Land, portending the return of the dreadfull *Danish* Tempest which had long surceast. These barbarous and inhumane Rovers understanding what the Estate of *England* must needs be under the Government of a Child, in the third year of his Reign arrived at *Southampton* (as *Malmesbury* hints) and from seven great Ships took the Town, plundered and spoiled the Countrey taking away with them great Booty. Thence they went to the Isle of *Tanet* which they wasted, when about the same time others from *Norway* did the same by the Countrey lying about *Chester*. The following year these Pirates that had done so much mischief at *Southampton* harassed again the Maritime parts of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, and in that which followed three other Vessels arrived and very much indamaged the Coasts about *Portland*, to which Mischiefs this was added, that the City of *London* was burnt, by what Accident is not discovered; in the year of our Lord DCCCCLXXXI. The Disorders hereby raised in the Land were increased by Domestick Troubles. For a difference arose betwixt the King himself and the Bishop of *Rochester*, it's uncertain upon what occasion, but the King laid Siege unto the City. *Dunstan* the Archbishop sent him an affrighting Message, that he had best take heed how he provoked St. *Andrew* the Patron of the Place; who as he was very kind and favourable to such as well deserved at his hands, so terrible in his Vengeance upon such as incurred his displeasure. But though the King was little more than a Child he could not be removed with such Scarecrows, he continued his Siege till *Dunstan* was fain to purchase his removal with an Hundred Pounds, which so affected the Bishop as to put him into another Prophetical fit. " He sent him word, that be-

England infested with Pirates in several places.

Hoveden.

Domestick Troubles.

Sect. 10. "cause he had preferred Silver before God himself, Money before an Apostle, and "Covetousness before him; the Calamities formerly related should speedily come "upon him, but he the Bishop should first be dead. And within two years he died, his death being ushered in with strange Fevers upon Men, and Fluxes upon Cattel.

St. *Dunstan* dies.

Febres hominum & lues animalium quæ Anglicè Scytha nominatur, Latinè autem fluxus Interaneorum dici potest. Hoveden.

83. Immediately followed these Mischiefs, which one less than a Prophet might foresee, the *Danes*, having got a measure of the present weak estate of the Nation through the King's sloath and want of Spirit. But they themselves had at this time a Prince of a quite contrary Disposition, one *Suene* or *Suene-Otto*, as *Adam Bremensis* calls him, the Son of *Harald* the Great, one so undutifully active as to deprive his Father of his Kingdom. He made use of some whom *Harald* had constrained to profess Christian Religion, which now abjuring they renounced their Faith and Allegiance both together setting up *Suene* against his Father, and declaring War against the old Man, who had therein the fortune to miscarry, and flying to a City of the *Sclavi* called *Jamne* there died of his Wounds. *Suene* now rid of his Father persecutes Christians, and breaths revenge against the *Sclavi*; against whom making War he is twice taken Prisoner by them, and redeemed with vast Treasure. After this *Heric* King of the *Swedes* takes occasion to quarrel with him, and ingaging with him in several Sea Fights has the better of him, and at length outs him of his Kingdom which he quietly enjoys all his life. Thus justly rewarded for his horrid Crimes, he wanders up and down without relief. *Thrucco* the Son of *Haco* then Prince of the *Normans* rejected him as a Pagan, and *Ethelred* the Son of *Edgar* (he calls him *Adalread*) remembring what mischiefs the *Danes* had brought on this Island, with scorn repells him. At length he is entertained by the King of the *Scots*, who taking compassion of him gave him free Quarter for fourteen years together. But so inraged was he at the repulse given him by the King of *England*, that ever after he made it his study how to plague and afflict the Countrey, sometime by his own peculiar Forces, and sometime by the assistence of others, as we shall see. How true this Story is we cannot assert, the Affairs of the Northern Nations as to those times being involved in so great obscurity. However we thought it not amiss to relate it as suiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved so great a Plague to this our Countrey that he seems to have been acted by some extraordinary passion, whether of Revenge or Ambition or both together.

Suene deprives his Father of the Kingdom of the *Danes*.

But is afterwards outed by *Heric* King of the *Swedes*.

Who being repulsed elsewhere is entertained by the *Scotish* King.

84. Not long after the death of *Dunstan* the *Danes* invaded the Maritime parts of *Devonshire*, against whom one *Goda* Lieutenant of that County, and *Stremewold* a most valiant Souldier, made head and put them to flight, but died themselves in the Combat. For two years we hear no more of them, but in the third they infested again the Eastern Parts and spoiled the Town of *Ipswich* (then and long after called *Gippswich*, from the River *Gipping*) their Leaders being one *Justin* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Steitan*. They were opposed by *Brictnoth* the most valiant Duke of the East *Saxons*, who fought with them at *Maldon*, where a great Multitude on both sides were slain, but the disadvantage fell to the *English* by reason of the loss of their Captain. Now were all Havens, all convenient places of Landing filled with the *Danes* who swarmed in such Numbers into the Land, that it could not be known where most conveniently they might be met with. The readiest course, doubtless, had been for the King to imitate his Father in manning out a stout Fleet to scour the Seas. But he was too lazy to follow his example, and as generally the humour of a Prince makes a strong impression upon the minds of his People, especially the Nobility and those near about him, as he lay idle and useless, so they contracted a great Rust; and resolved it was by the Advice of *Siricius* the Successour of *Dunstan* in the See of *Canterbury*, and of two Dukes *Ethelward* and *Alfric*, that those who could not be beaten with Iron should be bribed with Gold, of which ten thousand Pounds were given them on condition to quit the Countrey, and no more infest the Coast. An Infamous Example (saith *Malmesbury*) and unworthy of men, to redeem their Liberty with Money, which no violence can wrest from an unconquer'd mind.

Hoveden ad Ann. 991.

The *Danes* invading all parts are bought off.

85. This stopt their mouths for a year or thereabouts, but then their appetite was more exasperated by what they had already tasted, being taught the way how to come by more. They land again in the North, and set upon *Bebbanburh*, now *Bamborow* an ancient Town in *Northumberland*, built by King *Ida* of which we have formerly spoken, which having taken they Plunder, and then directing their course to the Mouth of *Humber*, they waste the Countrey on both sides the River, *Lindsey* and *Yorkshire*, burning all the Houses, killing all the Men, Women and

Simeon Dunelmens. ad An. Dccccxciii.

They return.

Sect. 10.

and Children, and gather together vast Booty. The Countrey Men in an hasty and discomposed manner made opposition, but coming to fight, three of their Leaders, *Frana*, *Frithegist* and *Godwin* being all of them *Danes* by the Father's side, betrayed them, and procured their defeat. At the same time no less treachery was practised at Sea, not upon the account of Consanguinity, but Revenge. It was now thought fit to Man out a Fleet to intercept those Rovers before they could land, the Conduct whereof was committed to *Alfric* the Son of *Elfter*, Duke of *Mercia*; and another Nobleman called *Torold*. This *Alfric*, the King for some offence had formerly Banished, but now recalled, yet the affront had so inflamed him with malice, that being sent from *London* to surprize the *Danes* in some place of disadvantage, over night he gave them Intelligence, and then fled to them, as writes *Florent* of *Worcester*, which his Fleet perceiving pursued him, and took the Ship wherein he fled, yet he by some other convenience escaped from them, but by chance falling upon the East *Angles* they killed and drowned many of them. But *Huntingdon* says, that the *Danes* being forewarned by *Alfric*, not onely all escaped, but afterward with greater number of Ships setting upon the King's Navy killed many of the *Londoners*, and led away in triumph many of their Ships, together with *Alfric* the Consul, as he calls him.

Huntingdon. ad Ann. 13. Regis Edelredi. Florent. Wigorn.

Wasting East *England* and other Parts.

86. By this time was *Swene* King of *Danemark* arrived, who had brought to his Assistence *Anlaf* (or as some call him, *Olaf* the Son of *Thrucco*) King of *Norwey*, and with a Fleet of nine Gallies entred the *Thames*. On the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin they set upon *London*, endeavouring to break into and Burn it when it was scarcely rebuilt, but the Citizens so strenuously behaved themselves that by the assistence of God and the Virgin, as the Monks write, they forced them with great loss to retire from the Siege. Exasperated by this repulse, they invade *Essex* and *Kent*, which they waste with Fire and Sword, especially the Sea-coasts, and then pass into *Sussex* and the Province of *Southampton*, where they burn the Villages, spoil the Fields, and without respect to either Sex, rage with all cruelty against Mankind and inrich themselves with great plunder. At length they horse their Foot, and then through many Countries make their outrageous progress, where they commit the same violence sparing neither Sex nor Age. To put a stop to their march by any force no preparation was made, the sluggish King and his as drowzie Counsellours implore again the aid of money, which by his Embassadours he offers to them to take them off from their furious courses. The summ agreed on was sixteen thousand pounds, in expectation of which they retire to their Ships and pass to *Southampton*, where they winter. This being a time for Complements rather than Action, *Anlaf* the *Norwegian* King received Hostages for his safety, and accepted of *Ethelred*'s invitation to his Court which then was at *Andover*. Being royally entertained and adopted the King's Son at Confirmation (or Baptism) as also nobly presented, he ingaged to depart the Land and molest the Kingdom no more; and accordingly returning to his own Countrey he kept his word.

Swene with *Anlaf* King of *Norway* makes another Invasion.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. Dccccxcii.

Anlaf bought off.

87. This was no ill advice given to *Ethelred*, to take off from *Swene* so powerfull an Assistent. But as Arms signifie little abroad except there be good Council at home, so in cases of Hostility, Invasions especially, Consultations without strokes will not avail to remove a warlike, unfaithfull and pertinacious Enemy. The influence of the late Tribute or Bribe operated but for three years, or scarcely so much, and then the *Danes* that had Wintred at *Southampton* and staid in *England*, fetching a compass about *West Saxony*, entred the Mouth of the River *Severn* where passing they wasted *North Wales*, *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, and burning very many Towns killed multitudes of poor People, which done they fetcht another compass about *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, where having acted the same Hostilities at last they came to *Tavestock* and there Wintred. The next year they sailed to the Mouth of the River *Frome*, and wasted the greatest part of *Dorsetshire*, which done they made many Incursions into the Isle of *Wight*, and thence often returned into *Dorsetshire* so long as they continued in the Island receiving Provisions out of *Sussex* and *Hamshire*. The *English* several times made Head against them, but still as they were going to fight were hindred either by treachery or some other misfortune, and turned tail against their Enemies. The year that followed they had the confidence to come nearer to *London*, passing through the Mouth of *Thames* to the River *Medway*, up which they advance to *Rochester*, and laid Siege to it. The *Kentish* Men took the Alarm and gave them a sharp Encounter, wherein many fell on both sides, but the *Danes* remained Masters of the Field. Now they horsed their Foot, and spoiled in a manner all the Western

Other Hostilities acted by the *Danes*.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. Dccccxcvii. & Dccccxcviii. &c.

Sect. 10.

tern Coast of *Kent*, which things at last rouzed *Ethelred* and his Counsellours, so that they prepared both a Fleet and Land Army consisting most of Foot. But King and Commanders being all alike, they delayed their march from day to day, and oppressed the Countrey where they lodged. Neither the one nor the other Army, did any thing at all tending to the publick good, but burthened the People, wasted the publick Treasure, and by their ridiculous and effeminate carriage more imboldened the Enemy to proceed, who the year following passing over into *Normandy*, upon what account we know not, at their return did more mischief than before,

Idem ad An. M.

88. King *Ethelred* and his Officers dare peep out when there is none left to hurt them, and are grown so valiant, that who is he that dare oppose them. They not onely threaten the absent Enemy, but go to seek some out in *Cumberland*, where and in the Isle of *Man* the *Danes* of the old standing, lived as quietly as did the Natives. These unarmed People they set upon, harass all the Countrey with a Land Army, the Fleet being ordered to sail about and meet them, which hindred by contrary winds, it could not doe but those that were therein shipt, saw there was no danger of Foes in the *Isle of Man*, and therefore landed and overran it. But the *Danes* the next year returning out of *Normandy*, entred the Mouth of the River *Exe*, and presently laid siege to *Exeter*, the wall of which they battered, resolving to storm it; yet did the Inhabitants receive them so warmly, that not liking their entertainment they thought fit to retire, and vent all their malice on the poor Countrey which went sadly to wreck, having none but helpless People to defend it, which were murthered in great multitudes, after the loss of their Goods and Houses. At length those of *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire* assembled themselves together, and made some resistence at a place called *Penho*, but being overpowered in Numbers were repelled with great slaughter. This both incouraged and inraged the insolent Enemy, who now horsing all his men, did greater mischief in *Devonshire* than ever, and so returned to his ships, wherein he passed to the *Isle of Wight*, and sometimes in it, and other whiles in *Hamshire* and *Dorsetshire*, without any resistence followed his ordinary course of Life, doing such Execution by the Sword against Men, and by fire against Villages, that he affrighted every thing called *English*, from medling with him either at Sea or Land. The King good man, was not a little troubled, he and his People bemoaned one another with one Finger in the Eye, and another in the Mouth.

Another invasion of the *Danes*.

89. At length they shake their Pockets, where finding something still rattle, they are again suddenly comforted, and a gay and effeminate Courtier called *Leoff*, by advice of the Nobility with great Vapours, but fitter to eat than fight, except in the Combats of *Venus*, is sent to offer to the *Danes* a bountifull Present from the King who, brave Soul (they must know) did it out of his Munificence not any necessity that he or his had to court them. A third Tribute, for so it must be called is accepted but the summ inhaunc'd to twenty four thousand Pound, which paid down, the *Danes* abstained till the next time from all Hostility. The Messenger *Leoff*, while the business was transacting, basely killed another Nobleman as valiant as himself, one *Easic* one of the King's best Officers, for which he underwent the pains of Banishment. *Ethelred* having done so great a work as to buy off his Enemy, in the strength of Reputation gained thereby, resolves to make a new Alliance. He had formerly had a quarrel with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, the first of that Name about his entertaining and protecting certain dangerous Persons that had fled the Kingdom, and it arose to so high terms, that *Pope John* the Fifth, whose Letter is extant in *Malmesbury*'s History, was fain to interpose and dispatch his Legate into *England*, by whose mediation the King was wrought to send his Commissioners to *Roven*, where a piece was happily concluded. Now though we cannot say, that the falling out of Lovers here, proved the renewing of Love, yet their falling out proved the occasion at length of Love-matters. For after about ten years the Wife of *Ethelred* being dead, he asked and obtained the Daughter of *Richard* in marriage, which having now gallantly freed himself from all solicitudes, he had time and opportunity to solemnize. A great Train of the chief of his Nobles is sent to fetch the Lady, more being found ready to goe upon this errand, than to fight against the *Danes*, and into *England* they bring her with wonderfull magnificence. Her name was *Emma* called by the *English Elgina* a Lady of admirable beauty, whereupon she was styled the *Flower and Pearl of Normandy*. Her Mothers name was *Gunnor*, descended from an eminent *Danish* Family, and therefore did the King enter upon this great Design, out of greater reasons of State. For it was hoped, that her interest might be able to

A third Summ paid to purchase Peace, and the departure of the *Danes*.

An Alliance betwixt *Ethelred* and *Richard* Duke of *Normand.*

to work upon the unreasonable *Danes*, and so save him both blows and money. Sect. 10.

90. Such was the great Plot when he entred at first upon the treaty of marriage, the full advantage yet of which he did not then thoroughly understand. But having fully perceived the strength of his Alliance; he scorned now to buy a peace, he would by his actions command one, and make the Barbarians pay dear for all the Extravagancies they had committed within his Kingdom. One would now think he would rouze up himself, take the Field, provide himself by Land, of stout and experienced Souldiers, by Sea of skilfull Mariners such as knew how and durst effect such gallant Orders as he should send them. The *Danes* had by the Sword done much mischief, and by the Sword indeed he resolved they should be punished, they had broken many Leagues and Treaties, and it was no crime to deceive the Deceiver. But this must be done, not in the Field but at their private Houses, not by a fair Enemy but through surprise, not by a fight, but in a Massacre, Letters being sent into all Countries, commanding all the King's Subjects upon a certain day (the ninth of *July*) to set upon them, and without mercy to destroy them all. The pretence was (as no Massacre but has such kind of excuse) that they had a Design to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life, and to destroy all the Nobility, that so they might bring the whole Island into their own Dominion. The Command was executed, and the *Danes* thereby, who by a League solemnly sworn had been admitted to inhabit quietly amongst the *English*, were most shamefully and barbarously murthered. No Sex or Age escaped. The Women were butchered as well as the men, and the Brains of Children dashed against the walls. At *London*, when execution was to be done, many of them fled into a certain Church of that City, but so sacred a place was no security, for they were all without pity murthered as they stood by, and embraced the Altars. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* informs us, that when he was a Child he heard some very old men who lived at that time, report that the King sent private Letters into every City, wherein Order was given to set on the *Danes* unawares, and either kill them by the Sword, or burn them to death. But they found out other Devices when they perceived themselves Masters of their Game. They were so barbarous in their revenge, that they digged holes in the ground, and therein set the *Danish* Women up to the middle, which done they set fierce Mastives upon them, which cruelly tore off their Breasts.

A bloudy Massacre of the *Danes* here in *England*.

Matth. Westmonast.

Lib. 6. ad An. 1002.

Inhumane Cruelties.

Walsingham in Hypodig. Neustriæ.

91. A Popular fury, especially, when backed by Authority knows no bounds, nor Authority it self, when it has broken the bounds of publick Justice. There were several Persons of great Quality in the Land, received upon the publick Faith as Hostages, to ratifie the Peace lately accorded. Among the rest a Princess called *Gunildis*, the Sister of King *Swane*, and Wife to a Count whose Name was *Paling*. She had several years before this come into *England* with her Family, where she received the Christian Faith. She was a Woman of great prudence and temper, had often interposed to make Peace between the Nations, and now lately had given up her self, her Husband and her onely Son as Hostages to King *Ethelred*. Duke *Edric*, to whose care she was committed, caused her Husband and her Son before her Face to be pierced through with four Lances, and after that her self to be beheaded. She most gallantly and undauntedly took her death, not the least fear or change of colour appearing in her Face, but assured the Murtherer, that her bloud would cost *England* very dear; which she might easily say without gift of Prophecy, scarcely ever any Massacre having happened, which procured not to the Actours much farther trouble. But that day that the Order was executed at *London*, where lay in the Streets vast heaps of dead Bodies, some of our Men of the *Danish* Nation, more swift than their Pursuers seized on a Boat in the *Thames*, with which adventuring to Sea they passed over to *Denmark*, and there related to King *Swane*, the butchery of their Countreymen in *England*. The King hereat conceived such sorrow as was answerable to the matter related, and assembling his Princes together, acquainted them with the Tragical Act, and desired their Advice what was to be done. Inflamed with rage and grief for the loss of their Relations, they resolved that Revenge was to be taken with all the force the Kingdom could make, whereupon they were sent back into their several Countries to make Preparations, and Posts were dispatched to the Neighbouring Nations, to invite all strangers to join with them in the Expedition, wherein they proposed to them great hopes of vast Spoils and rich Possessions. King *Swane*, now resolved to make another sort of War than formerly, not like a Pirate by taking Advantages and flying here and there, but like a just Enemy to push for all, and conquer the Kingdom. And his Provocation being just, he prospered accordingly.

Matth. Westm.

Which are related to *Swane* King of the *Danes*.

Who prepares for an Invasion.

Walsingham ubi suprâ.

92. This

Sect. 10.

The account of the Massacre.

92. This is the Account of the Massacre, as it is given us by the Generality of our Historians, all who charge King *Ethelred* alone with it, affirming, that his heart being puffed up with pride after his second Marriage upon confidence of his Alliance, on slight suspicions he exposed the *Danes* to the Revenge and Fury of the People. But the Monk of *Westminster*, who disagrees in the Account of ten years from the rest, has a story to tell by himself of one *Huna* General of the King's Forces, and his chief Minister, he taking notice of the Insolence of the *Danes*, how insupportably arrogant they were grown after the late Agreement, forcing the Wives and Daughters of the *English* of best Quality, and offering them all the Affronts imaginable, made a grievous complaint hereof to *Ethelred*, who conceiving from his words an implacable Indignation, by advice of the said *Huna*, sent his Letters abovesaid into all the parts of the Kingdom. Whencesoever the Suggestion was receiv'd the thing was done by the King's Command, and so much innocent bloud so perfidiously shed, crying for vengeance, procured him the loss of that which by this means his pretences were for to preserve. The *Danes* lost no time, but assoon as the Spring opened, the frozen Seas with a powerfull Fleet invaded *England*. Some say their first Hostility was acted upon *Yorkshire*, where King *Swane* leaving his Forces to refresh themselves, after their Voyage, sailed into *Normandy*, and there with the Duke made a firm and perpetual League, by virtue whereof, the *Normans* were to have all the Spoils got in the War with *England*, sold to them at reasonable rates, in recompence for which privilege all that were sick or maimed in the *Danish* Army should have as kind entertainment in *Normandy* as if they had been in *Denmark* it self. But our Authours who trace the steps of the *Danes*, make no mention of this Invasion of *Yorkshire*; and though *Ethelred* doubtless contracted great obloquy and reproach from his Neighbours by the late Massacre, yet can we scarcely believe that the *Norman* would join in a League against so near an Ally as the King of *England*.

Matth. Westmon. ad Ann. 1002.

Walsingham. Gemitic. de Duc. Norm.

The *Danes* land, wasting the Countrey in several places.

93. The first Impression they certainly made was upon the South Western Parts, where by the Folly or Treachery of *Hugh* a *Norman* Count indeed, whom Queen *Emma* had preferred to the Government of *Devonshire*, they broke into *Exeter*, and having demolished the City walls from the East to the Western Gate, retired with great plunder to their Ships. After this they wasted *Wiltshire*, where a strong Body of Men, drawn partly out of that Countrey, and partly out of *Hamshire*, advanced to give them Battel. But when the Armies were come within sight of each other, *Alfric* the *English* General, whose Son's Eyes the King had lately put out for his Fathers betraying the Fleet unto the *Danes*, now it seems intending to be revenged upon the King, counterfeited himself sick, and feigned a fit of vomiting, whereat the Army discouraged, instead of fighting every Man shifted for himself, which *Swane* perceiving and laughing in his sleeve at the mad Conduct of the *English* Affairs, went to *Wilton*, which he plundered and burnt, and having dealt in the same manner with *Salisbury*, then returned to his Ships. The year following to the Coasts of *Norfolk* he sailed, where he landing, he plundred and burnt *Norwich*, using such expedition, that he surprised *Ulfketel* the Duke of the East *Angles*, and a very stout Commander, who having no time to leavy an Army, took advice with the Nobility of his Province, and made Peace with him. But this Peace *Swane* perfidiously brake, after a Fortnight or three Weeks time stealing from his Ships to *Thetford*, which he plundred, lodged one Night in it, and the next day set it on fire. *Ulfketel* having notice of his expedition, ordered a Party to go and burn his Ships in the Harbour, which they either durst not attempt or neglected to doe. He in the mean time with what secrecy and speed he could gathered together his Forces, and marched courageously against the Enemy, and as they retreated to their Ships made a fierce onset. But he was inferiour in Numbers, and therefore most of the best Quality among the Eastern *English* lost their Lives. The *Danes* also received very great loss, and with difficulty recovered their Fleet, which they had never done, had all the Force of East *England* been present. They confessed that in the Island they never met with so rough an Ingagement, as this they had with *Ulfketel*.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. M.III. Huntingd. Hoveden.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MIV.

Then followed a Great Famine by Land.

94. The following year happened so great a Famine, that it forced a Cessation, driving *Swane* back into *Denmark*, but supplied, as it were, the Place of his Sword in the Destruction of the poor People of *England*, as many of which are said to have perished by Hunger, as formerly had done in a year by his Cruelties. Most dreadfull was the Estate of *England* at this time, which all sorts of mischiefs contended how to harass. A King it had so stout and warlike, that as if he had been born to sleep, and nothing else, was little moved by any of its Calamities,

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MV.

or

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or if at some time he began to awake and rouz'd himself upon his Elbow, yet either his own drowzinesse or his adverse Fortune pulled him down to slumber again. The guilt of his Brother's Bloud lay heavy upon him. No man can well reckon how many Armies at length he raised, how many Fleets he rigged, how often he gave out orders to his Officers, but all this to no purpose. For these Armies wanting the Authority and Courage of a Prince to give them life, and being rude and undisciplin'd either mouldred away before they came to Action, or else easily were overthrown when they came to it. In War the presence of a General avails much, much his known and approved Valour, but especially Exercise and Discipline, which these Armies wanting procured irreparable mischiefs to the Inhabitants, and afforded matter of scorn and mirth to the Insulting Enemy; a sort of Men most rapacious if not restrained by force, but if vigorously opposed base and cowardly. What the sluggishness and cowardise of the Prince and People effected not, the Winds and Weather procured; for when the Ships lay at Anchor upon the Coasts for their security, suddenly would a Tempest arise and dash them to pieces one against another. And what all these still left unfinished was completed by treachery, folly or fearfulness of Officers. If they met at any time in Council they never agreed in their Opinions, seldom did the Major part concur in any thing that was seasonable and fit to be done, having ever a greater respect to their private animosities than the publick good; but if it chanced at any time that they hit upon a point convenient, their Councils were speedily betrayed to the *Danes*. For besides *Elfric* the Son of *Elfere* who murthered the late King, there was one *Edric* whom the present had made Earl of *Mercia*, the dreggs of Men (so the Monk words it) the *opprobrium* of the *English*, a flagitious Glutton, a crafty Knave who had not been inriched by any thing received from his Ancestours, but by his own prating and boldness. This Fellow being a crafty Dissembler, and an egregious Counterfeit, as a faithfull Councellour would dive into the King's Secrets, and like a base Traitour discover them. Often was he sent to the Enemy to mediate a Peace, and as often stirred them up to prosecute their former course of Hostility. *Ulfketel* or *Ulkil* (as he calls him) was the onely Man that made any considerable resistence. At length that no sort of misery might be wanting, what War had left, that Famine destroyed; and the Enemy so freely and without controll ranged about the Countrey, that from any place within fifty Miles distance from the Sea they fetcht away all they pleased without the least jealousie of any Ambushes, or the least fear of Intercepting.

Malmesb.

Tempests at Sea.

And the Treachery of *Edric*, which ruined the Nation.

95. The year following in *July* an innumerable multitude of *Danish* ships were seen in *Sandwich* Road, whence swarms of Rovers overran *Kent* and *Sussex*, sparing neither Man nor any thing else more than they had done formerly. King *Ethelred* to oppose them raised an Army out of *Mercia* and West *Saxony*, but never could ingage them, for they shifted from place to place, not thinking it fit to hazzard a Battel, and robbed as they could; so that till Winter they consumed the time, and retired then with infinite Booty to the Isle of *Wight*, and there staid till *Christmas*: when understanding that the King was in *Shropshire* (where if he could not kill Enemies he could murther Subjects, procuring by means of *Edric*, as was thought, *Alfhelm* a Duke of great value to be slain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they overran *Hampshire* and *Berkshire* as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*, which they burnt with other places. Thence passed they to *Ashdown*, and coming to the River *Kenet*, found the Inhabitants of the Countrey make head against them, but they ingaged and easily routed them, and thence without molestation, returned to their ships. The King and his Courtiers were sufficiently tired by that Dance the *Danes* had led them: They thought they had done as much as reasonably could be expected from Mortal men; no course remained to be taken with these cowardly pilfering Villains, but to give them more Money, a thing which a generous Soul values not. They sent to them again and offer to buy them off from their Ravenous course, but the price is still increased, it being as easie to obtain more as less of such easie Enemies. The Sum is now six and thirty thousand Pounds, which is raised of the People throughout *England* already ruinated by their Rapines. And if some tell true, whom we are not willing to believe, *Ethelred* in the Agreement of this year MVII, yielded to pay an Annual Tribute of thirty six thousand Pounds to the *Danes*, for a longer continuance of the Peace. We reade indeed that he yielded to the payment, but nowhere do we reade or find that he did pay it and stood to his word. This year it was that *Ethelred* advanced *Edric*, sirnamed *Streone*, to the Dukedom of the *Mercians*;

Another Invasion.

Simeon Dunelm. ad An. MVI.

A fourth Sum offered to purchase their departure.

Idem ad Ann. MVII.

Chronic. Melcosense MS in Biblioth. Cottoniana.

Sect. 10. a Fellow who having raised himself, as we said, to a great Estate by his cunning and a plausible Tongue, proved shortly a mighty Instrument in the ruine of *England*.

96. The next year produced something laudable, which shewed the King to have a little care of his Estate. He enacted, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should set out a Gally, and every nine * Hides find a Corslet and Head piece, and throughout all *England* he commanded ships apace to be built; which being made ready, he Victualled and Manned with choice Souldiers, and appointed their Rendezvous at the Port of *Sandwich*, to secure the Bounds of his Kingdom from the Irruptions of Foreigners. Now a Hide (as the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* and several others tells us) was *so much Land as a man could Till in one year with one Plough*, being the same with *Cassata* and *Carucata* in barbarous Latin. That it was a custome to tax the richer sort by the number of Hides in those days is very evident both from the *Saxon* Laws and the Breviary or Notitia of *England*, called *Doomsday Book*. But as for what *Huntingdon* adds, that there never had been so great a number of ships before in *Britain*, which also the *Saxon* Annals of *Abingdon* do testify, another Notion of Hide we must have to make this agree with their opinion. For if Mr. *Cambden's* Account be good, who out of the ancient Records of that Age casts up the number of Hides not to exceed two hundred forty three thousand and six hundred, the number of ships must have amounted to no more than seven hundred and eighty five according to the Tax; so that this Navy could not have matched that of King *Edgar* by some thousands. Others therefore there are who determine otherwise concerning an *Hide*; and most certain it is as a learned man observes, that it was very various according to the different custome of Countries. Whatever the number of the ships was one would now have imagined that *England* was in a fair way to be protected, when suddenly Dissention the bane of all good Designs, sprung up among the Great Ones. For this very year did *Brithric* the brother of Duke *Edric* as ambitious, proud, and deceitfull almost as himself, falsly accuse *Wulnoth* a great Officer of the South *Saxons* to the King, whereupon he judging it not safe to trust his life in their Hands, who he knew would condemn him right or wrong, got him to Sea with twenty ships and plaid the Pirate upon the Coasts. Upon a report raised that he might be easily taken, *Brithric* with eighty Gallies went in quest of him, but when he had failed for some time, so grievous a Tempest rose that it wrecked all the Vessels and cast them upon the shoar where *Wulnoth* soon after burnt them. This misfortune so disheartened the King and his Nobles, that they fairly returned home, and the Fleet by his command came up to *London*. And so was the People taxed and troubled to no purpose.

A Tax for Shipping.

Simeon Dunelm. ad An. MVIII. Marianus Scotus. Hoveden. Florentius.

* *Alii octo hidas habent ut Huntingdonensis, Math. Westmonast. Math. Paris.*

Selden in mari clauso, lib. 2. c. 11.

Which was rather a burthen than a benefit to the Kingdom.

97. The next year after, which was the MIX of our Lord, *Turkill* a *Danish* Earl arrived with some ships in *England*, and in the Month of *August* was followed by an innumerable company of *Danish* Vessels commanded by *Hemming* and *Eilaf* which landed in the Isle of *Tanet*, and joyned with *Turkill*: To *Sandwich* they pass, where landing they go and indeavour to break into *Canterbury*, the Inhabitants whereof with their Neighbours of the East part of *Kent* purchase their Peace by the payment of three thousand Pounds. The *Danes* then going back to their ships sail to the Isle of *Wight*, whence passing to the Coasts of *Sussex* and *Hamshire*, they exercise themselves in their usual Trades of plundering and burning. *Ethelred* was again so sensible of his Peoples miseries as to leavy Forces throughout the Land, which he bestowed in places near the Sea to restrain their Irruptions, but it was done so unskilfully, at least so unsuccessfully that they came and went securely for all this, and practised their Rapines as before. On a certain time being gone farther than usual from the Sea, the King stept betwixt them and Home, seizing upon the place through which they were to return with many thousand men, and resolved to die or overcome, as was the whole Army. But the Traitorous Duke *Edric* (who now might practise his Treasons more colourably, having married the King's Daughter *Egitha*) by subtile Arguments urged, that as Circumstances now stood, it was their Interest to let the *Danes* repass untouched. He perswaded them, and the *Danes* got back safe to their ships with great Joy, and much contrary to their expectation. After this when *Martinmass* was now past they went to the Coast of *Kent* and resolved to Winter in the *Thames*. They maintained themselves by what they got out of *Essex* and other places, lying on each side of the River. They often also attempted to seize on *London*, were beaten back by the Citizens with very great loss.

Turkill with other *Danes* arrive.

Simeon Dunelm. ad An. MIX.

Who might have been cut off, but for the Treachery of *Edric*.

98. E'er

Sect. 10.

98. E'er Winter was over, in the Month of *January* they left their Ships; and through *Chiltern* Wood passed to *Oxford*, which having burnt they returned by the River *Thames*, and wasted the Countrey on both sides in their Passage. In their return they had Intelligence that a great Army was gathering together at *London* to intercept them, which caused that part of their Army which marched down the North side of the River to pass over at *Stanes*, where joining with the other and loading with extraordinary plunder they passed through *Surry* to their Ships, in repairing of which they spent in *Kent* the *Lent* following. *Easter* being over they departed into East *England*, where near to *Ipswich* they came to a place called *Ringmere*, having heard that *Ulketel* lay there with his Forces. He entertained them very warmly, and a fierce Battel was fought. But the *English* at *Fougth* gave back, a certain * *Danish* Servant, on purpose, so it seems, beginning the flight and lost the Field, though the *Cambridgeshire* Men as long as they could stood to it, and fought very manfully, † which procured them much honour so long as the *English* Kingdom stood. Here fell *Ethelstan* the King's Son-in-Law, *Oswi* a Noble man with his Sons and many other, together with a great number of the ordinary sort. The *Danes* being Masters of the Field now had East *England* at their discretion, which horsing themselves they spared not no more than the most violent Enemy would do, spending three months in plundering, burning and killing all they could meet with. Having done what mischief they could in the Fenns, they burn *Thetford*, and *Grantebrig*, or *Cambridge*; whence (as *Huntingdon* writes) going back over most pleasant Hills of a delightfull place called *Balesham* (now *Gogmagog Hills*) they killed all they could meet in their way tossing Infants on the points of their Spears. But one man (saith he) there was who deserves to be remembred for getting into a Steeple, and there defending himself from the whole Army. After this the Foot by Sea, and the Horse through *Essex*, returned to the *Thames*, where continuing not many days again they quitted their ships and went through into *Oxfordshire*, which first, and then the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford* and *Hertford* they wasted, and having burnt the Towns, and killed Mankind, with all other living Creatures, they returned again to their ships as so many ravenous and noxious Wild Beasts glutted with bloud to their Dens. Yet still about the Feast of St. *Andrew* they burnt *Northampton* with all about it, as far as they pleased; and then passing to the *Thames* went into West *Saxony*, where having wasted that called then *Cuningamerse*, and the greater part of *Wiltshire*, they returned after their accustomed manner to their ships about *Christmass*.

After a Battel the *Danes* become Masters of East *England*.

And waste part of West *Saxony*.

*Turcetil Mirêneheved id est caput formicæ primus fugam incepit & opprobrium meruit sempiternum. Huntingdon.

† Sic Huntingdonensis sed homines Grantebridgscire viriliter obstiterunt, unde dum Angli regnaverunt, laus Grantebrigiensis Provinciæ floruit. lib. 6. Histor. ad Ann. MX

99. They were neither yet so wearied with travel, nor satisfied with wealth, but that the year following they took a larger scope than ever. For on the North side the River, with Fire and Sword they wasted all East *England*, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, the Counties of *Oxford*, *Bedford* and *Cambrigde*, with half of *Huntingdon*, and the greatest Part of that of *Northampton*: on the South side *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, with the Counties of *Southampton*, *Wilts* and *Berks*. After all these Messengers are sent to solicite for Peace, promising more Money to buy them off from these horrid devastations. They give good words and accepted the Tribute, but without any intention to keep their Faith, which they presently break, first by Plundering the County in several Parties, and toward *Michaelmas* by besieging *Canterbury*, which on the twentieth day of the Siege they take by the treachery of *Almere* the Archdeacon, and burn part of it. Here they committed all sorts of villanies against the poor Inhabitants, whereof some they slew with the sword, others they burnt; many they threw down headlong from the Walls, and some they hung up by the Privy Members. The Women they drag by the Hair of their Heads through the Streets, and then cast into the fire. Infants being snatched from the Breasts of their Mother they either stuck upon the points of their Spears, or crushed to pieces by driving Carts over them. *Alsege* the Archbishop they take Prisoner, bind and contumeliously use. *Almar* the Abbat of St. *Austin's* they permitted to depart. *Godwin* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Leofruna* Abbess of the Nunnery of St. *Mildrede*, *Elfrede* the King's Governour, with Monks and Clerks, and a vast number of the Common People were also taken; Christ Church they burn, Monks, Men, Women and Children are decimated, whereof nine are killed, and the tenth reserved to a life worse than death; so that of the whole multitude remained onely four Monks, and eight hundred Men. The People being slain, and the whole City plundred and burnt, the Archbishop is taken out of Prison, driven away bound and wounded to the the Fleet, where he is kept close seven Months together. In the mean time these

After more Devastations another sum is offered.

Canterbury is taken and plundered.

With its Archbishop.

Sect. 10. cruel and more than barbarous Miscreants are visited with a Plague in their Guts, whereof two thousand of them miserably perish. Those that lived were sorely afflicted with the same Disease, and thereupon the Christians take occasion to urge the delivery of the Archbishop, but they still defer it.

100. As soon as Spring appeared, before *Easter* that traitorous *Edrick Streone*, and all the rest of the Nobility of both Orders Assembled at *London*, where they held their Councils and continued so long till the Tribute was paid to the *Danes*, which now amounted to eight and forty thousand Pounds. In the mean time *Alfege* the Archbishop had his Ransome set at three thousand Pounds, which he constantly refusing to pay or procure was at last murthered by them when they were heated with Wine, and farther exasperated by his prohibiting any one to offer any sum of money for his liberty. Being brought out into their full Assembly, they fell upon him with Swords, Stones, Bones, and whatever came to hand, and at length one *Thrum* whom he had Confirmed but the day before, out of an impious sort of Piety brained him with an Hatchet. His Body was the day following conveyed to *London*, and buried in the Church of St *Paul*. Afterward the Tribute being paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oaths on both sides, the *Danish* Fleet was separated, onely five and forty Ships remained with the King for the Defence of *England* against all Foreigners on these terms, to be maintained by him with Victuals and Cloathing. From the Old *Saxon* Laws it appears that for repressing of Pirates, Robbers, or others infesting the Sea, it was resolved that a yearly payment should be made of Money, which from those who usually were the Practisers of this Trade was called *Danegeld*, that is to say, twelve pence upon every Hide through the whole Land, for the Pay of those that should be employed to hinder the Irruption of Pirates. This we are told by several Authours, continued from this or the following for thirty eight or thirty nine years, till it was remitted by *Edward* the Confessour, the Son of King *Ethelred*. The Reader must take notice that there were two sorts of *Danegeld*. The one was, that Tribute or Tax so often mentioned by us, whereby our *English Saxons* were forced to purchase Peace, and remove Hostilities and Rapines upon occasion, the several sums whereof we have expressed in their places. It was not paid yearly, but levied now and then as the necessity of the Kingdom required. The other was this first raised in the Year of our Lord MXII. (the same wherein the eight and forty thousand Pounds were paid) to pay the *Danish* Navy which was now hired to guard the Sea, and defend the Coasts.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MXII.

Who is slain by them.

Vide Simeon. Dunelm. Florent. Wigorn. Hovedenum.

Lambardus de priscis Angl. Legib. f. 128. *Dane-geld h.e. ad Danos nummus spectans. Geldet, Gelt, Belgis & Germanis etiamnum Nummus. Vocabatur alias* Dene-gylt- *sive Nummus Militaris. Lege Ingulphum.*

Danegeld raised to secure the Coasts from Pirates.

101. But both sorts alike contributed to the Ends and Designs for which they were paid. The former took but off the perfidious *Danes* for a small time, who then again without regard to Oath or Promise violated the Peace in expectation of another gratuity to be bestowed upon them. And this other was so far from securing the Coasts by scouring the Seas, that *Turkill* who staid behind as Admiral of this now *English* Fleet seems to have done it to no other purpose (besides the fleaing of the poor Nation of more Money) than to give Intelligence to *Swane* when it would be most seasonable to reinvade the Land. In *July* the year following with a strong Fleet he landed at *Sandwich*, where having staid but a few days, coasting about East *England* he entred the Mouth of *Humber*, whence he passed up into the *Trent* (which together with *Ouse* out of *Yorkshire* falls into *Humber*) and sail'd to *Gainsborough* where he landed and encamped himself. Hither without delay repaired to him Earl *Uthred* with the *Northumbrians*, the Inhabitants of *Lindsey* (that Part of *Lincolnshire* Northward of *Lincoln* wherein *Gainsborough* stands) afterward those of *Fisburgh*, and by degrees all such as inhabited Northward of *Watling* Street (the great Highway crossing the Land from the East to the Western Sea) yielded up themselves to him, and delivering up Hostages swore to him Allegiance. He onely now imposed upon them the furnishing of his Army with Horses and Provisions, and then delivering the Hostages and the Fleet into the Hands of *Canute* his Son, with a choice Party of Auxiliaries taken from amongst the *English*, undertook an Expedition against the Southern *Mercians*. Having passed over *Watling* Street he gave order to his Men to waste the Fields, burn the Villages, rob the Churches, kill all the Males they could meet with, reserve the other Sex for their lust, and doe all other sorts of mischiefs they could devise. This being fully exercised, in the terrour thereof he came to *Oxford*, and became Master of it sooner than he expected, where having received Hostages he hasted to *Winchester*, the Inhabitants of which conque-

Swane and his *Danes* are master'd of greatest part of the Island.

conquered also by the terrour of his Cruelties, without delay made Peace with him, giving up what and how many Hostages he required. Sect. 10.

102 From *Oxford* he bent his course for *London*, and in passing the *Thames* being neither carefull for finding out a Bridge nor a Ford lost many of his Men. He endeavoured both by force and all sorts of devices to take this City, but King *Ethelred*, together with *Turkill* the *Dane* being then here Resident, he was beaten off and went to *Wallingford*, after that to *Bath*, where wasting all in his way he staid some time and refreshed his Army. Thither came to him *Ethelmar* the Earl of *Devonshire* with other Officers of the Western Parts and made Peace with him, giving up their Hostages, which things accomplished according to his desires, and being returned to his Fleet he was by all the Nation of the *English* both stiled and accounted King, if by right one can call him a King (saith our Authour) who acted all things in a manner like a Tyrant. The Citizens of *London* concluded that it was not safe for them to strive against the universal current, and therefore sent also their Hostages and made their Peace, for they fear'd he would be so inraged against them that having spoiled them of all they had he would either command their Eyes to be pulled out, or their Hands or Feet to be chopped off. *Ethelred* now in a manner unkinged thought it most consistent with the straitness of his Fortune to send away *Emma* his Queen, with his Treasure and his two Sons *Edward* and *Elfred* into *Normandy* to her Brother *Richard*, the Second of that Name, Duke of that Province. He himself continued sometime at *Greenwich* with the *Danish* Fleet then lying in the *Thames*, and thence removed to the Isle of *Wight*, where having kept but a sad *Christmass* he followed them into *Normandy*, and at *Rouen* was splendidly entertained all the time of his abode. In the mean while *Swane* the Tyrant at *Gainsborough* laid insupportable Taxes upon the Countrey, besides the contribution for maintenance of his Fleet And *Turkill* at *Greenwich* was not behind hand in his Exactions for inriching of himself and his Followers. So that they were fully agreed in this by their Violence and Rapines to harass and exhaust the poor *English* Nation.

Is as King esteemed.

Ethelred sends his Wife and Children to Normandy.

103. But *Swane* to all his other cruelties and impieties, added one, which in the opinion of our writers, completed his condemnation. He exacted a grievous Tribute from the Town of St. *Edmunds Bury*, or that where the Body of that King and Martyr then rested: Moreover, he would often detract from the worth of the Martyr, and dared to affirm he had no holiness. In case the money were not speedily paid, he often threatned that he would certainly burn the Town over the heads of the Inhabitants, utterly subvert and demolish the Church of the Martyr, and put the very Clerks to various Tortures. Now to tell a story which is so generally told, and was so universally believed, because he would not moderate at all, say they, his wickedness; Divine Vengeance would not suffer the Blasphemer longer to live. At *Gainsborough*, as he held a general Assembly, when it grew toward Evening, being incircled with Armed Men, he cast out these said threats, but he saw presently St. *Edmund* coming Armed upon him, whereupon he cried vehemently out, *Help, help, fellow Souldiers, look here, St.* Edmund *comes to kill me*, which words as he was speaking, he received a mortal wound by the Saint's hands, fell from his Horse, and lying till the dusk of the Evening in great torment, he then died on the * second of *February*, and was carried to *York* and buried. So our writers report from the Legend of St. *Edmund*, which seems to hint this truth to us, that *Swane* was killed by an unknown hand; to be sure here † he ended his days, and by his death ennobled this Town more than by his making it the Seat of his Kingdom or Tyranny, for so it was; here being his chief Residence all the short time of his *English* Royalty; here lay his Ships, hence he made excursions into all Parts.

Swane exacts a tribute from Edmundbury.

Is killed by an unknown hand.

Denique imminente vespera diei qua in generali placito quod apud Gainsburh tenuerat hæc eadem minitans reiteravit, &c. Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. 1014.

* 3. *Nonas.*

† *De Edmundo cognom. Ferreo latere sic Ingulphus: qui fortissimè dimicans contrà Cnutum Danorum Regem qui Swano patri apud Gainsburh mirabiliter & miserabiliter extincto successerat, regnum tandem cum eodem Cnuto æquè partitur.*

104. This Town conveniently seated upon the River *Trent*, which here Ebbs and Flows to a considerable depth, and by the convenience of Navigation and Traffick, hath procured it two famous Marts in a year, each of them of nine days continuance, is both ancient, and was of good account before it became more known by being the Rode of the *Danish* Ships. To omit impertinent Etymologies as

Gainsborough.

Quidam in Etymologico nuper Edito hæc habet: Geneɿ-bupuh, *vel forte antiquius* Geneþþ-bupuh *ab Angl. Sax.* Geneþ *Perfugium Asylum &* Bupuh *Oppidum. q. d. Oppidum perfugii Asylum.*

Sect. 10. as if it had its name from being an *Asylum* or Refuge of I know not who, or from what, it was called *Gainsborough* or *Gainsburh* (in *Latin Gainorum burgus*) as indeed being the cheif Burgh, Borough or Town of the *Gaini* or *Gains*. If it be demanded who these *Gaini* or *Gains* were, I answer, the same with those of which *Ethelfred* the Father-in-law of King *Alfred*, was Earl. *Asserius* writes, that *Alfred* Married *Uxorem de Mercia Nobilem scilicet genere filiam Ethelfredi Gainorum Comitis qui cognominabatur Mucil.* That *Alfred* Married a Wife out of *Mercia*, one of a Noble Stock, *viz.* the Daughter of *Ethelfred*, Earl of the *Gaini* or *Gains*, who was Sirnamed *Mucil* or *Great*. There was then a sort of People called *Gaini* or *Gains*, and these *Gaini* were seated in *Mercia*, to which Kingdom of old *Lindsey* did belong, as is most evident, and not to *Northumberland*, from which it was separated by that River; though some particular Conquests of these Petty Kings of that Tract might cause sometimes some places to be mentioned, as within the Bounds of their Kingdoms, to which for the main they did not belong. The Reader must observe that, besides the common Names of *Jutes*, *Angles* and *Saxons*, when these People Planted in *Britain* certain Select Companies of them had peculiar Names, even as the ancient *Britains* themselves had, which either happened to them from their Principal Leaders or Governours, or were Names they brought from beyond the Seas, or else proceeded from some other accidents. Thus some of the *Northumbrians* were called *Deiri*, others *Bernicii*, the West *Saxons* were called *Gevissi*, and we reade of a People called *Wiccii*, and another *Meanvari* Seated in *Hamshire*, not far from *Portsmouth*, besides the *Girnii*, who as appears from *Ingulphus*, lived not very far from the *Gaini*, and Inhabited the *Fens*, lying in the Counties of *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, *Huntingdon*, and *Cambridge*. Those *Gaini* were such a sort of People, from which this place being their principal Town or Burgh, received its name, as did *Ethelfred* his Title, though he was descended of the Bloud Royal of *Mercia*. The Burgh of the *Gaines* it was, and long after the death of *Swane* gave it not name, yet Habitation to the Noble Barons of Burgh, who by the *Scotch* Earls of *Athol*, and the *Percies* descended from Sr. *William de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, by whose intercession it obtained from King *Edward* the First (after the Conquest) the liberty of having a Fair. This digression is too much not to be practised upon the name of every Town; but so much I ought to this out of gratitude, having received in it a great part of my Education; though born in that of *Nottinghamshire*, which, on the other side of the River, stands over against it.

And *Gaini* where

Cnute chosen King of the *Danes*.

105. *Swane* being dead, his Subjects the *Danes*, chuse *Canute* or *Cnuto* his Son, for his Successour. But the Inclinations of the *English* were toward their own true and natural Prince, whom hoping that he would demean himself more like a King for the time to come, as being disciplin'd sufficiently by adversity, they sent for home out of *Normandy*. *Ethelred*, before he should put himself into their hands, thought fit to send over his Son *Edward* to promise all good deportment, and sound the affections of the Nobility and People, who having found all things correspond with his desires, returned back with confidence to fetch his Father. The King was received with all joy and applause imaginable, and to make a Show, that he had offered violence to his former disposition, and of compliance with their expectations, used all dispatch in leavying an Army against *Cnute*, who lying now at *Gainsborough*, with the Fleet and Hostages was not wanting to himself, but spent his time in raising Men, and getting Horses, threatning to chastise severely the Revolters from his Father's Empire. But *Ethelreds* Forces took him before he was fully prepared, and constrained him to quit the Parts of *Lindsey*, the Inhabitants whereof, for their so readily siding with strangers, as they found them, they put to death. *Cnute* Sailed away with his Fleet, and by the course of the Winds, was driven into *Sandwich Road*, where to revenge himself upon the *English* Nation, he miserably deformed the Hostages he had in his power, cutting off their Ears, Noses, and Hands, and depriving some of their Genitals. This done, he set them on shore, and departed into *Denmark* to recruit his Army. These *Danes* being gone, another Calamity succeeded them; for on the twenty seventh of *September*, the Sea arose to such an height by the impetuosity of Wind and Tide, that it brake the Banks, and overwhelmed many Villages, drowning a great multitude of surprized People. However the Nation was hereby impoverished, yet necessity urging a Tribute of thirty thousand pounds, was levied for paying the *Danish* Fleet, which lay at *Greenwich*.

Malmesb. Matth. West. Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. 104.

Ethelred recovers his Kingdom.

Driving *Cnute* out of *Lindsey*, and those Parts.

An Inundation.

106. The year following, being the MXV. of our Lord, a great Assembly of the Estates was held at *Oxford*, as well of *Danes* as *English*, where by advice of *Edric*

Edric Streone, the King caused several *Danish* Noblemen to be put to death under pretence of a Conspiracy against his Person. *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of one *Earngrun*, of a place called *Seanenburg* in *Northumberland*, *Edric* drew by good words into his own Lodging, and there secretly murthered them. Their Servants and Dependants thereupon arose, and endeavoured to revenge their death, but were beaten back by the King's Forces, and so closely pursued, that they were constrained to betake themselves into the Tower of St. *Frideswith*'s Church, where Fire being set to the Steeple, they were burnt to Ashes. The King seized upon the Estates of the murthered Earls, and commanded *Algitha* the Wife of *Sigeferth*, to be conveyed to the Town of *Maidulf* (or *Malmesbury*) and there to be kept in Custody as a Lady of great Nobility and Interest. But not long after, *Edmund* the King's Son coming thither, fell in love with her, and without his Father's knowledge, married her, after which, he took her along with him into *Northumberland*, and there seized on the Estates both of *Sigeferth* and *Morcar* his Brother. At the same time Arrived King *Cnute* from *Denmark*, together, as some write, with two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, and *Olan* of *Norway*, and made for the Port of *Sandwich*, where it's said that *Turkil* joyned with him, and gave the *English* a notable defeat. To be sure *Cnute*, Coasting about *Kent*, entred the mouth of the River *Frome*, and by it passed up into the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset* and *Wilts*, where he committed all sorts of Hostilities. King *Ethelred* at this time lay sick at *Cosham*, a Town in *Wiltshire*, but had his place very well supplied by his Son *Edmund*, whose onely infelicity it was, that the false and traitorous *Streone* was joyned with him in command, which not onely hindred his present success, but brought him into great danger of Life. For *Edric* made a faction in the Army, and plotted how to have him slain, which being timely discovered, the Prince was forced for his security to depart from the place where he lay. Now whether this discovery made him desperate, or for that he was before prepared, and resolved so to doe, for other reasons, he openly revolted; carrying away to *Cnute* forty of the *Danish* Ships which served the King, to whom he submitted as his Leige Lord. The West *Saxons* awed by his Inrodes, did the same: gave up Hostages, and made provision of Horses for his Army.

Sect. 10.

Compara Matth. West. cum. Sim. Dunelm.

Edric revolts, swearing obedience to *Cnute*.

107. *Cnute* being thus strengthened beyond expectation, in the following year, which was the MXVI. of our Lord, with *Edric* the Traytour, passed over the *Thames* at *Greeklade*, about *Christmass* Holydays, and Invaded *Mercia*, where in *Warwickshire* especially, he burnt all the Towns, and killed all Persons he could meet with. *Edmund* the King's Son, upon the Report, gathered together what Forces he could, but when they were to march, the *Mercians* refused to ingage against the *Danes* and West *Saxons*, except King *Ethelred* and the *Londoners* would joyn with them, and thereupon the Army disbanded it self. But *Christmass* being over, *Edmund* raised more Forces, and sent to *London* to his Father to come to him with all the preparations he could make, *Ethelred* complied with him, and they joyned their Forces together, but by the craft of the Enemy, a Rumour was spread abroad, that if the King did not carefully look to himself, he would speedily be betrayed. This struck such a fear into this pusillanimous Prince, that he disbands his Army, and retires back to *London*, which done, his Son hastes into *Northumberland*, as was imagined to raise a greater Army against *Canute*. But in this they seemed well agreed, that whereas on one side *Canute* and *Edric* wasted the Countrey, on the other, he and *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*, did the like, this being the onely difference that one Party harassed the poor People, because they would not revolt, and the others pretended to punish them for their neutrality; for, first *Staffordshire*, and then *Shropshire* and *Leicestershire*, they miserably wasted because they refused to fight against the *Danes*. In the mean time *Canute* and *Edric Streone*, committed all acts of cruelty in the Counties of *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntingdon*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln* and *Nottingham*, and at last peirced into *Northumberland*.

Sim. Dunelm. ad Ann. MXVI.

The Countrey wasted on all hands.

108. This approach of theirs obliged *Edmund Clito*, as our Writers call him, to leave off his Trade of pillaging, and to betake himself to *London*. *Uthred* hereupon hasted into *Northumberland*, where shortly after he was constrained to submit himself to *Cnute*, to give up his Countrey, and deliver Hostages into his Hands, which notwithstanding either by Command or Permission of *Cnute*, he was killed by one *Turebrand* a *Danish* Nobleman, and with him one *Turketel*, the Son of *Navene*. This done, *Cnute* preferred one *Eric* to be Earl of *Northumberland*, and hasted Southward by another way to his Fleet; with which

Sect. 10.

Ethelred dies.

which he joyned his Army before *Easter*. About the same time *Ethelred* died at *London* on the two and twentieth of *April*, after a tedious and ill management of affairs for seven and thirty years, and was buried in the Church of St. *Paul*. *Edmund* his Son by the Nobility at *London* was chosen his Successour, not his Son by *Emma* his Queen; but as *Matthew* of *Westminster* says by an ignoble Mother, though others affirm her the Daughter of an Earl called *Thored*, and *Ethelred*'s former Wife. *Matthew* writes, that though his Mother was base he illustrated the Ignobility of her Descent by the Ingenuity of his Mind, and the Activity of his Body, and indeed such was his Courage and indefatigable Industry, that he obtained thence the sirname of *Ironside*. He having obtained the Title hasted into West *Saxony*, where he was received and owned by the People of those parts, while a far greater Number with many Bishops, Abbats, and others of the Nobility obeyed *Canute* as their Sovereign, whom being assembled they had chosen for their King, admitted at *Southampton* to that Dignity and sworn to him Allegiance, having abjured the Race of *Ethelred*, and received an Oath from him of good Government in all, as well Religious as secular Affairs.

De ea sic Malm. Erat iste Edmundus non ex Emma natus sed ex quadam alia quam fama obscura recondit. De gestis Regum Angl. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Is succeeded by *Edmund* in West *Saxony*.

The rest obeying *Cnute*.

109. *Canute* much animated by so powerfull a party hasted to *London* with his Fleet about Rogation week, where being arrived on *Surry* side, he caused a great Ditch to be made, and drew up his ships Westward of the Bridge. The City he begirt with a deep and broad Trench, and with armed men, and often attempted by force to take it. But the Citizens so manfully demeaned themselves, that perceiving he lost but time, and that the Defendants were to be starved out, he left a guard for his ships, and hasted into the West to attack *Edmund* e'er he could be provided, who indeed was provided ill enough, but as he was with the Company he had got together, he ventured to give him Battel at a place then called *Peonum* (or *Pen*) near *Gillingaham* in *Dorsetshire* with such success, that he forced his Enemy to retreat. Encouraged herewith he made greater preparations, and Midsummer being now past resolved to fight *Cnute* the second time, whom meeting near a Town called *Swarstan*, he gave him Battel but could onely defend himself, though he performed all the Offices both of a stout Souldier, and an expert General, because *Edric* the Traitour together with *Almar* and *Algar*, the chief of the Nobility, having command of the *Hampshire* or *Wiltshire* Men, sided with the *Danes*. It was a drawn Battel, this day the Armies being parted by the darkness of the Night. The next Morning they renewed the Fight, and King *Edmund* had wone the Garland, but for the cunning device of that perfidious *Edric*, who perceiving Victory inclined to his side, cut off the Head of one *Osmear*, a Man that in the face very much resembled the King, and lifting it up on high, called to the *English* bidding them behold the Head of their Party, and if they respected their own Lives, be gone as fast as their Heels could carry them. This very much startled and discomposed them, till *Edmund* sensible of the cheat from an Hill made known himself to his Souldiers, and tossed a Javelin against *Edric*, whom yet it had the fortune to miss. They continued the Fight till it grew dark, and then parted as they had done the Night before.

Several Battels 'twixt *Edmund* and *Cnute*.

Sim. Dunelm. Malmesb.

110. *Canute* seeing what little advantage he was like to receive from a pitcht Battel discamped in the dead time of the Night, and making towards *London* where he had left his Ships, again besieged the City. *Edmund* when he knew he was gone, with speed marched into *Westsex* to recruit his Forces, and now the perfidious *Edric*, having sufficient experience both of his Valour and Conduct, thought the onely way was to be reconciled to him, that he might reveal his Councils, and by his treacherous Insinuations give a Check to the current of his good Fortune. He made application to him, owning him for his natural Prince, swore for the time to come to be faithfull to him, and obtained Pardon for what was past. Being sufficiently recruited, he hasted to *London*, and raised the Siege, beating off the *Danes* to their ships. After two days he passed the *Thames* at *Brentford*, where many of his Men were lost in the Water, yet coming upon the backs of his Enemies, he put them to the rout. By his loss sustained in passing the River, and the several Ingagements, the Number of his men was so diminished, that he found himself obliged to return into *Westsex*, to fill up his troops, which the *Danes* perceiving returned and laid close siege to *London*, which they attacqued by all means possible. Yet did the Industry and Courage of the Inhabitants, still frustrate all his Attempts, so that despairing he drew off his Men, and with his Fleet, entred a River then called *Arenne*, where landing in *Mercia*, he burnt the Villages, killed the Countrey People, and made havock of all things at his pleasure. The Foot he caused on ships to pass to *Medway*, and

Cnute besieges *London*.

Florentio Wigornensi Arenne.

and the Horse by Land with the Captives and Cattel. In the mean time *Edmund Ironside* was not idle, but the fourth time having levied a strong Power of Men out of all *England* crossed the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and marched into *Kent*, where at a place called *Otford*, he found and ingaged the *Danes*, who not able to sustain his violence fled such of them as were horsed into the *Isle of Shepey*. All he could take he put to the Sword, and had his Prudence aswell as his Courage stood by him, he had obtained a complete Victory. But he was so blind as not to perceive the Treachery of *Edric*, who by specious allegations procured him to stop his persuit at *Englesford*. Sect. 10

111. *Edmund* finding the *Westsaxons* most firm and true to him, after this Success for Recruits returned into that Countrey, the opportunity of whose absence *Canute* took to vent his malice and revenge upon a naked People, for going into *Essex* he thence invaded *Mercia*, where he shewed more Cruelty than ever; commanding his Men to omit no Act which could be committed against Enemies. *Edmund Ironside* with an Army gathered out of all Countries overtook, and ingaged them in their Retreat at a place called then *Assandune* (or * the *Hill of an Ass*) now corruptly *Ashdown* in *Essex*. The Battel was fought with great resolution and vehemence on both sides, and *Edmund* had great hopes of gaining the Victory, which the wretched *Edric Streone* perceiving as he had ingaged formerly to *Cnute* (having coming over for such a purpose) with the Troops he commanded fled over to him, and so leaving the *English* overmatcht, whom by casting out † words again of the King's death he had laboured to discourage, by his Treachery procured their Defeat and Ruine, for they never received a greater blow, almost all their Nobility here falling, particularly *Alfric*, *Godwin*, *Ulfketel* and *Ethelward* all Dukes: *Eadnoth* also the Bishop of *Lincoln* (of *Dorchester* rather) and *Wolf* an Abbat who came to the place to pray for the Army, amongst the rest lost their lives, yet did not this disaster, so far discourage *Edmund*, but that e'er long he was in case to make another Trial of his Fortune in the Field, of which *Edric* and those of his Faction fearing the Issue, again circumvented him by their wiles, perswading him for quietness and security sake to divide the Kingdom with *Cnute*. After much reluctancy he was drawn to consent, and after many messengers to and fro, and Hostages received, an Interview of the two Kings was appointed at *Deorkirst* in *Glocestershire*, a place situate somewhat low upon the Bank of *Severn*, *Edmund* with his men taking the *Western*, and *Canute* with his *Danes*, the Eastern parts side, both the Kings from their Armies wafted over into a small Island called then *Olanege*, now the *Eight*, where by oath a Fraternity and firm Peace they established, and divided the Kingdom, which concluded they interchanged their Arm, and the Habits they wore, and having setled the Pay which should be allotted to the Fleet, each repassed to his Followers.

A bloudy Battel at *Assandune*.

Upon which a Division of the Kingdom ensued.

* *In monte qui Assandun, id est Mons Asini nominatur, abeuntes est consecutus. Sim. Dunelm.*

† *Clamavit Anglorum genti, Flet Engle, Flet Engle, de dis Edmund, quod interpretatur Fugite Angli, fugite, mortuus est Edmundus. Huntingd. Hist. lib. 6.*

112. Such is the Account which the History that goes under the name of *Simeon* of *Durham*, gives us of this matter: others do otherwise relate it. *Malmesbury* having said what the Issue of the Battel was at *Assandune*, tells how *Edmund* sirnamed *Ironside* betook himself with very little Company to *Glocester*, there to gather new Forces, and set upon his Enemies who he thought would be secure after the late Victory, as he saw convenient. *Cnute* was aware of him, and so industrious as to attend and watch his courses. They were coming to a fresh ingagement when *Edmund* demanded a single Combat, that for the ambition of but two men, the bloud of many innocent Persons might not be shed, and they two without any inconvenience to their Subjects, might decide the controversie in their own Persons, and hereby obtain for the care of their People, great renown in future Ages. But *Canute* was deaf on this Ear, affirming he had Courage enough but not strength sufficient to encounter a Man of so vast a size, and for an expedient propounded, that each of them should enjoy what their Fathers had held, from whom they had both received just Titles. The proposal was well received by the Armies as very equitable, and which would give some breathing to the poor *English* Nation, so miserably spent by these perpetual Hostilities; and *Edmund* by this universal approbation was overcome and silenc'd, the Accord being that he as his Hereditary Kingdom should hold the West *Saxons* with the Southern, and *Canute Mercia* with the Northern Parts. Thus one of our Authours speaks of an Accord without so much as the mention of a Combat, another hints that mention was made of a Combat but it took no effect; but another there is who writes both of the Proposal, and the Fighting of the Duel.

A farther account of the Battel and Accord betwixt *Edmund* and *Cnute*.

Sect. 10.

Another Relation of it.

113. *Henry* the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* speaking how after the Battel at *Esesdune* (as he calls it) the Armies in *Glocestershire* the seventh time faced each other, adds, that the Noblemen on one side dreading the courage of *Edmund*, on the other of *Cnute*, began to mutter among themselves what Fools they were so often to venture their Lives, and how they should let them fight alone, who designed alone to Reign. This saying pleased well enough the Kings, for *Cnute* was a King of no small honesty. The Kings therefore fought a Duel. Their Darts and Lances on both sides being broken, they fell to it with their Swords upon each others most incomparable Armour, the noise of which struck the ears of the Lookers on with terrour, as their eyes were dazled with the fire which was struck from the Swords upon such admirable Metal. At length the incomparable vigour of *Edmund* prevailed, whom *Cnute* very strenuously resisted, yet fearing the success, with fair Language instead of foul Blows thus accosted his Adversary. *Young man, of all others the most valiant, what necessity is there that either thou or I should die by the Sword, out of desire of Reigning. Let us be Adoptive Brethren and divide the Kingdom, let me have a share in thine, and do thou command in mine Affairs.* Denmark *also shall be at thy disposal.* With these words the generous mind of the young King was mollified, and a kiss of Peace was given on either part; after which their Followers came together, and weeping for joy, *Edmund* had the Kingdom of *Westsex*, and *Cnute* that of *Mercia*, who thereupon returned to *London*. Thus much *Huntingdon*, with whom agrees *Matthew* of *Westminster* as to the Duel, mentioning *Edric* as the man who first moved it amongst the Nobility. But both *Hoveden* and *Florent* of *Worcester* agree with the first Relation of *Simeon*.

114. The *Danes* retiring to *London* after the agreement (which was certainly made, whatever might be the Circumstances of the manner) were received by the Inhabitants, and permitted to take up their Winter Quarters in the City, where, about the Feast of St. *Andrew* died King *Edmund Ironside* unexpectedly, and was buried with his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Glastenbury*. Concerning his death our Authours write variously. The History of *Simeon*, *Florent* of *Worcester*, and *Roger de Hoveden*, tell us onely that he died, without mentioning the cause. *Malmesbury* confesses it was uncertain of what Disease or Casualty he died, but adds, that Fame charged *Edric* with hiring two of his Chamberlains, to whose Fidelity he committed himself, to murther him which they effected by thrusting a sharp Iron into his Body as he sate at Stool. *Huntingdon* will have it done at *Oxford* by one of the Sons of *Edric* as the King sate in an House of Office, with whom accords *Matthew* of *Westminster*; *Radulphus de Diceto* names neither place nor a certain person, but says it was done by an Iron Spit at *Edric*'s procurement. *Edmund* thus in the same year both began and ended his Reign, leaving two Sons behind him, *Edwi* some call him, some *Edmund*, and *Edward*. By his own Mother he had a Brother called *Edwin*, and by *Emma* his Step-Mother two more, *viz.* *Elfred* and *Edward*. These Relations he left, but *Canute* resolved none of them should succeed him but to Reign himself alone. " He summoned all the Bishops and Nobility to meet at *London*, and cunningly demanded of such as had been present " at the agreement betwixt him and *Edmund*, what provision was made by that " agreement for the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund*, and whether in case he died " before *Canute*, any of them was to succeed in the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*? " *They overcome with fear answered*, That to their knowledge *Edmund* neither li- " ving nor dying had made any provision for his Relations, but designed him the " Protectour or Guardian of his Sons, till they should come to Age. For this their false Testimony they hoped for great Rewards, and some of them indeed he afterwards rewarded with an Halter or some Instrument of such like Desert. But *Canute* taking the advantage it afforded him, exacted Oaths of Fidelity from all the Nobility, who readily chose him for their King, and abjured all the *English* Line, which was disposed of as we shall see hereafter, and set aside for a certain time.

Edmund dies.

Leaving Issue.

Who are outed by *Cnute*.

SECT. XI.

SECT. XI.

The Monarchy of the Danes *in* Britain, *from the beginning of that of* Canute *or* Cnute, *to the Death of* Hardecnute, *and the Restitution of the* English *Line in* Edward the Confessour.

The space of Twenty six Years.

Cnute King.

1. CAnute thus obtained the Kingdom of the *English*, of which his Father rather had a prospect than firm possession, about two hundred and twenty seven years after the first arrival of his *Danish* Nation, two years after his Father's death, in the one and fortieth year of *Basilius Junior* Emperour of the East, the seventeenth of *Henricus Junior* the *German* Emperour, in the Reign of *Robert* the Son and Successour of *Hugh Capet* King of the *Franks*. *A. D.* MXVII. Sect. 11.

Is sole Monarch.

2. The *Danes* had formerly in some parts of the Land, as East *England* and *Northumberland* set up their petty Kingdoms, but now obtained the setled Monarchy of all *England*. Formerly they had been Strangers, now come to be the principal Inhabitants, not in Numbers but in Reputation. Before time they were fierce invaders, cruel and Savage Enemies, as bloudy, as Ravenous, and base as ever any Invader had ever been, but now were turned Proprietours, and one of them Lord of the whole; sweetned and civiliz'd not so much by Christianity and good Education, as by self-seeking and worldly interest, for the late Inrodes made by *Cnute* were accompanied with as great Cruelties and Devastations, as those of his Predecessours. Baseness and fear made the *English* Nobility servilely to truckle, so that there was no need of any thing more to work his Will but his bare Commands. Nay they would prevent his Commands by doing those things, to which they knew he was but inclined. For *Edwi* or *Edwin* the Brother of *Edmund*, a young Prince of excellent Endowments, and exceeding great hopes, they immediately voted to Banishment, which Resolution as soon as *Canute* perceived so full of flattery and injustice, he went much pleased into his Chamber, and calling to him the perfidious Duke *Edric* asked him by what means he might trepan young *Edwin* to his death. The Traitour answered, that he knew one *Ethelward* who could easily doe it if he would speak with and promise him a great Reward. *Cnute* sent for the man, and telling him what the Duke had said of him, not onely promised him all that his Ancestours had injoyed, but to hold him more dear than a Brother in case he would doe him that Service. He promised to use his utmost indeavour, but as yet had no such intention, and said it onely to put him off; for he was descended of the most Noble stock of the *English* Nation.

Edwin the Son of *Edmund* being banished.

He divides the Kingdom.

3. *Cnute* being setled in his new Power and Soverignty over all *England*, divided his Kingdom into four parts, whereof one he committed to the Government of *Edric*, *viz. Mercia*, it not being as yet seasonable to lay him aside. East *England* he assigned to Earl *Turkill*, *Northumberland* to *Ire* or *Eric*, and reserved West *Saxony* as that which being the ancient Possession of the *English* Line had most reason to bear respect to it, to his own Care and Vigilance. Then the first thing he did was to punish such as had an hand in the death of *Edmund*, whom having discovered their wickedness in hope of Reward he kept close up, and now in a great Assembly of the People caused to be put to death, as those whom their own mouths condemned. Having thus sweetned his way, a Covenant with all the Nobles and the whole People now he made, which was confirmed by Oath and an Amnesty decreed for whatsoever had formerly past betwixt the Nations. But this could not put him out of his fears so long as *Edwi Etheling* lived, who was commonly called

Punisheth the Murtherers of his Predecessour.

Sect. II. led King of the Countreymen. Banishment would not serve his turn, but after a seeming Reconciliation to ensnare him by his earnest Solicitations, he procured him to be made away by those whom he had most trusted. *Edric* now that his hand was in, advised him to put to death also the young Sons of *Edmund*, the *Clitunculi*, as *Simeon* calls them, *viz. Edmund* and *Edward*; but it being esteemed a thing very odious, and which would much incense the People to have them murthered in *England*, within a while they were sent to the King of the *Swedes* there to be made away, who notwithstanding the League and kindness betwixt him and *Cnute*, abhorred the fact, and by all his Intreaties could not be brought to commit it, but conveyed them to *Solomon* King of the *Hungarians*, by him to be carefully brought up. *Edmund* in process of time in that retirement ended his life; but *Edward* Married *Agatha* the Daughter of *Henry* the *German* Emperour, by which Lady he had *Margaret* Queen of the *Scots*, *Christina* that turned Nun, and *Edgar Etheling* hereafter to be spoken of. This is the Account given by the general Assent of Historians, although there be a Passage amongst the Laws of *Edward the Confessour*, which hints, that this *Edward* out of fear of *Cnute*, fled to one *Malesclot* King of the *Rugians*, who both received him with honour, and bestowed on him in Marriage a Lady of that Countrey.

He Marries. 4. *Cnute* having rid himself of all his Competitours, for the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma* were escaped into *Normandy*, and all others of the Bloud Royal he had banished, thought he should much farther establish his interest by Marrying with *Emma*, which he effected in *July* following, concluding that it would win him the hearts of the People, and take off the thoughts of her Brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, from the Sons she had had by *Ethelred*, and he approved of the Match sending over in *July* his Sister into *England*. Being now arrived at the top of his Expectations, he thought fit to remove the Ladder by which he mounted, lest it should serve the end of some other Pretender. What use he had all along made of the Treachery of Duke *Edric* has been sufficiently discovered. Now instead of loving he abominated the man not so much in hatred to his Vallany as for his own preservation, imagining that he who had betrayed those who had so well deserved of him, would not stick to doe the same by him a Foreigner, when there should but a sufficient temptation or opportunity present it self. The former Treason serving his own ends, he loved, but hated the Traytour, because in his destruction he doubted not but he would be ready to serve the ends of others, and therefore resolved to make him away. It's reported, that after he had procured King *Edmund* to be slain in the manner before related, he came to *Cnute*, and bade *God save him now the onely King*, to whom when he had told all the Story, the King answered, that for so great a piece of Service he would make him higher than all the *English* Nobility. Remembring therefore that Promise, he caused him in the time of *Christmas* to be Beheaded, and his Head to be set upon a Pole on the highest Tower in *London*. *Ingulphus* the Abbat of *Croyland*, who lived in or near those very days, writes, that unsatisfi'd it seems with what had been done for him, he upbraided *Cnute* with his great services in betraying the two King *Ethelred* and *Edmund*, and by his own Mouth being convicted of Treason, was as a Traytour hanged and thrown into the *Thames*. Later Authours in compliance with this Relation, say, that suspecting the King's intentions of depriving him of the *Mercian* Dukedom, and upbraiding him with his Services, *Cnute* said to him with an angry Countenance, Traytour to God and to me, thou shalt die, thine own mouth accuses thee to have slain thy Master, my Confederate Brother, and the Lord's Anointed, and thereupon caused him to be Strangled in the Room, and thrown out of the Window over the Wall of the City into the *Thames*, where his Trunk lay unburied, his Head being fixed on a Pole and set on the highest Tower, which as some say, *Eric* at the King's command struck off. Upon this occasion either for that they were familiar with *Edric*, or upon some other jealous grounds, as his Complices he put to death several other Noblemen, as *Norman* the Son of Duke *Leofwin*, and the Brother of *Leofric*, *Ethelward* the Son of Duke *Aglemar*, and *Brihtric* the Son of *Elfege* who governed *Devonshire*, all reputed Innocent Persons. For all this he thought himself not yet secure except he kept on foot an Army, for the maintenance of which, the following year, he squeezed out of all *England* seventy (some say eighty) two thousand Pounds, besides fifteen thousand out of the City of *London*. But no less than these severities could be expected from an Usurper and a Foreigner. After some years he sent back his Army at the Importunity of the Nobility, having by a severe Law made against killing any *Danes*, taken security for the safety of his Nation.

Henr. Huntingd. lib. 6.

Causes *Edric* and others of the Nobility to be executed.

Vide infra.

5. These

Sect. 11.

5. These things were done in the South, while in the Northern Parts a Quarrel arose between *Malcolm* Son of *Cyneth* King of the *Scots*, and *Uthred* the Son of *Waldelf* Earl of *Northumberland*, or rather his Successour *Eric*, for *Uthred* was (as we have heard) slain by *Cnute* two years before. The Rupture proceeded to a great War (as our Authour terms it) wherein on the part of the *Scots*, *Eugenius Calvus* King of the *Lutinenses* or *Lothians* was ingaged; but what the effects of so great a controversie were, he doth not tell us. *Cnute* having united the *English* and *Danes* in one Government, though the best Cement would be to frame their minds to the same Laws and Customs, for which purpose he called a Convention to *Oxford*, where both Parties agreed to observe the Laws of King *Edgar*. Now he thought he had so well setled his matters here, that he might without any danger give a Visit to his ancient and Native Kingdom of *Denmark*, whither he sailed the year following, being the third of his Reign, and continued there the whole Winter. The *Archdeacon* writes, that he led thither an Army of *English* and *Danes* against the *Wandals*, by which he must mean no other than *Swedes*. That incamping near his Enemies with intention not to fight till the next day, *Godwin* the *English* General (*Consul* he terms him) without his knowledge by Night set upon them at unawares, killed many and put the rest to flight. When it was day the King imagining that the *English* were either run away or had revolted to his Enemy, set his *Danes* in order of Battel, and marched toward the *Swedish* Camp, but here he found nothing but Bloud, Carkasses, and Plunder, which thing caused him exceedingly to prize the *English*, (who by their valour procured their Captain an Earldom and renown to themselves) and hold them in no less esteem than the *Danes* themselves. In Spring he returned into *England*, and in *Easter* Holydays held a great Council at *Circester*, in which he banished Duke *Ethelward* or *Edward* as others call him. This same year in the place of the Battel fought at *Essandune*, which won him the Kingdom, he was present at the Dedication of a Church which there he had caused to be built as others in other places of the Fights he had been in. In this building he was assisted by *Turkil* the Earl, whom the year following, suspecting it seems his power, he banished out of *England* with his Wife *Egitha*. With *Turkil* others joyn *Eric* or *Iric* the Duke of *Northumberland*, a *Dane* also by descent. As soon as they set foot in *Denmark*, *Matthew* writes, that *Turkil* (who had been the procurer of the death of St. *Elphege*, and had first perswaded *Swane* to invade *England*) was killed by the Noblemen of the Countrey. But whether it was that those he banished and sent home, stirred up the People against him, or that being absent his Authority was despised. *Huntingdon* writes, that in his ninth year he carried over another Army into *Denmark* against *Ulf* and *Eilaf*, who had got a great multitude together against him both by Sea and Land, and now gave him such a Defeat, that of both Nations *English* and *Danes* very many were lost. But others make this the same expedition with the former.

He sails into *Denmark*.

And beats the *Swedes*.

Incubuere igitur viribus Angli & victoriam Consummantes Comitatum Duci, sibi laudem paravérunt. Malmesb. ubi supra.

At his return banisheth *Turkil* and other Nobles.

Math. Westm.

6. And indeed had his matters been so much imbroiled now in *Denmark* he would not have cast his thoughts so soon upon *Norway*, whence having intelligence that the People despised their King *Olaus* for his plainness and religious simplicity, he sent great sums of Money to make way for him, that rejecting their true and natural Lord they should revolt and chuse him for their King. His Gold had such effect upon them, that not able to withstand the Operations thereof, they promised him a good reception whensoever he would come, which the following year and the MXXVIII of our Lord he did, sailing into *Norway* with fifty ships. The King *Olaus* he drove out of the Countrey, and then easily subdued it to his own Command, whither *Olaus* the year after returning to try the minds of the Revolters was slain by them with all his Followers. The year after his Conquest he returned into *England*, but not till the Feast of St. *Martin* was past, where being arrived under a pretence of an Embassy, he sent into Banishment *Harum* a *Danish* Count, who had Married *Gunilda* his Neice by his Sister and the King of the *Winidi*. This man was grown so powerfull and popular, that he stood in fear of being killed or deposed by him, and thereupon he drove him to such straits, that within Twelve months he either perished on the Sea, or else was killed in the Isle of *Orkney*. Such were his fears, such were the means he used to prevent what he feared, sparing neither fair nor foul, sticking at nothing how unjust soever, for fixing the Diadem on his Head. Now he had no occasion nor temptation to be bad, and therefore resolved to be very good, and eminently religious, as such who have arrived at great wealth by griping and sordid Practices, many times think to make Heaven satisfaction by dedicating some of their ill gotten Goods to Religious

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MXXVII, &c.

Subdues *Norway*.

ous

Sect. 11.

Journey to *Rome*.

ous Uses. To *Rome* he will go to visit the Tombs of the Holy Apostles, a Pilgrimage which would obliterate all Crimes whatsoever. On St. *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, he confers very great gifts of Gold and Silver, with other pretious things. He procures from Pope *John* a Relaxation of all Tribute and Toll to the *English* School there, both in his way thither and in his return gives large Alms to the Poor, buys off several Tolls and Impositions laid upon Travellers; and at the Sepulchre of the Apostles, vows to God an amendment of his Life and Manners. So much are we told by that of *Simeon* and other Histories.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MXXXI.

His Epistle Written from thence.

7. In the History of the Monk of *Malmesbury* is extant an Epistle which from *Rome* it's said he wrote to *Ailnoth* or *Egelnoth*, the Metropolitan, to *Alfric* of *Tork* with all the Bishops and Primates, and the whole *English* Nation aswell Noblemen as Plebeians. " Herein he gives an account of his Journey, both the reason of " his undertaking it, how he was received at *Rome*, what he had negotiated for " the benefit of his Subjects, and then gives directions and command to his " Officers to doe all justice and right to the People in his absence. The thing he " decreed he says long before, but never could till now accomplish what he " had designed for the pardon of his Sins, and the safety of all his Subjects. He " signifies that he was received by all the Princes who at that time were with Pope " *John* solemnizing the Feast of *Easter* with extraordinary respect and honour, " but especially by *Conrade* the *German* Emperour. That he had dealt with them " all about the concernments of all his People both *English* and *Danes*, that their " passage toward *Rome* might be more free and open; and had obtained that as- " well Merchants as others should with all safety pass and repass without any Toll " or Imposition. He complained to the Pope that his Archbishops paid vast " summs of Money before they could obtain their Palls, which grievance by " Decree was taken off. All these Immunities procured from the Pope, the Emperour, King *Rodulphus* and all other Princes * through whose Territories he Travells were confirmed by Oath under the Testimony of four Archbishops, and twenty Bishops, with an innumerable multitude of Dukes and other Noblemen that were present. " Then follows a Thanksgiving to Almighty God, that what " ever he had designed in his Journey had prospered. After this he desires it " may be published to all the World that having devoted his Life to Righteous- " ness, and resolved to Govern the People subject to him in all Piety and justice " with a respect to Equity in all particulars, in case any thing had slipped in his " Youth which might justly be taxed with Intemperance or Negligence, with " the help of God he was ready to make for all such Extravagancies full amends. " Therefore all his Officers whatsoever, Sheriffs or others, he charges that nei- " ther for fear of himself, nor out of favour to any other Person they pervert " Justice, not in respect to himself because there was no necessity that by any un- " just exaction there should be any Collection of Money. At last after a great " asseveration how much he studied the profit and convenience of his People, he " adjures all his Officers before he should arrive in *England* they would procure " all Debts to be paid due according to the Ancient custome, as Almes for the " Plough, the Tithes of all Cattle brought forth in the same year, Peterpence, " in *August* the Tithes of Corn, and at Martinmas the first Fruits of the same " called *Curescot*, or rather *Circescot* because given to the Church. In case this " were not paid before his Return he threatens to animadvert upon every one " according to the Laws.

Cnute Rex totius Angliæ & Danamarchiæ & Norwergiæ & partis Suavorum Ailnotho Metropolitano, & Alfrico Eboracensi, omnibusque Episcopis & Primatibus, & toti genti Anglorum tam Nobilibus quam Plebeis salutem.

* *A monte Gargaro usque ad istud proximum mare.*

8. It's not much that a Foreigner and Usurper should mention the Laws; for such having, though by lawless courses, obtained the secure Possession of what they aimed at to gain the People, usually both observe the Laws of their Predecessours so far as they contradict not their Ends and make themselves very good ones. There be but two courses, *viz.* absolute Conquest, and force with Sword and Halter; or else such as may win and cajoll the People. The former is dangerous, and must have a standing Army, and the Conquered must be turned out of their Estates, which are to be distributed amongst the Officers and Souldiers; the other more practicable and suitable to such as have a mind to live at ease. Especially the Laws of King *Ethelred* he commanded under a Penalty to be kept, the latest and most fitting the present case and temper of the Nation, but whereas the Monk adds *in all Ages or Times*, he understood not that positive Laws or Statutes must be changeable according to the mutability of the state and condition of a People. Besides the reinforcing of these former Laws, others he published in his own Name, as we shall see in another place. From *Rome* he went to *Danemark*, and thence at this time (as some would have it) passed into *Norway* and expelled *Olaus* the King,

Omnes enim Leges ab antiquis Regibus & maximè ab Antecessore suo Ethelredo latas sub interminatione regiæ multæ perpetuis temporibus observari præcepit. *Malmes.*

King, but better Computers place this Action four years before. At his return he spent his time in building and repairing Monasteries and Churches, which with the Monks the Writers of those times hath so far repaired his Fame and Esteem, that notwithstanding all his violence and injustice, nay notwithstanding he was the Depriver of one of their Saints, King *Olaus*, aud the Procurer of his Death, (if not immediately by sending Assassinates to murther him, as some have Written, yet mediately by procuring the Rebellion, and reducing him into the hatred of his People) they dismiss him with a very fair character. Nay some tell us, that for his Piety he was rewarded with another Kingdom, *viz.* that of *Scotland*, which, as appears from *Matthew* of *Westminster*, at this time depended on this of *England*, for he writes that the *Scots* now Rebelled, and that upon that occasion he led his Army thither where he easily Conquered *Malcolm* the King, with two other *Reguli* which *Huntingdon* mentions by the Names of *Melbeathe* and *Jermare*. From some passages in the Ecclesiastical Affairs of these times it also appears that *Wales* was subject to him as it had been formerly to his Predecessours, although one *Ritherech* was styled King of all *Wales*, by which this onely was meant that there were several other Petty Kings which ackowledged his Superiority. But if the *Kingdom* of *Scotland* was given him for his Piety, that of Heaven followed not long after, for within two years he Died on the twelfth of *November* at *Shaftsbury*, and was Buried at *Winchester* in the Old Monastery, after he had Reigned twenty years. It cannot be denied but that he was a Magnificent Prince, bountifull both to Religious Men and the Poor, even of other Nations. His fault was that he could never have been so Magnificent or Bountifull, but that he came to that greatness by Indirect means. His method and means were bad; but few that have obtained Crowns so unjustly have managed their Power once obtained with so much Justice and Humanity; so that well may he bear away the Title generally given him of *Canutus* the Great.

Sect. 11.

Adds *Scotland* to his Dominions.

Godwinus in London. Episcop.

Dies.

His Character.

9. And this he may the better deserve if that Story be true which is commonly told of his sensibleness of his own Meanness as a Man and his ascribing absolute Greatness onely to him in comparison of whom Kings themselves, though in respect to one another they may be styled Great, yet are to be accounted *little greater than Nothing*. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* having told us that before him there was never a King of *England* so Mighty, as being Lord of all *Danemark*, *Scotland*, adds that besides his many Wars he waged, he was eminent for three things especially. The first was his marrying his Daughter to the Emperour with unspeakable Riches. The second was the diminishing or abating to one half all the Exactions or Impositions upon Travellers between *France* and *Rome*. The third was this: when the Tide came in he set his Chair on the Sea Shoar, and as the Sea grew to be high he spake to it in these terms: *Thou art under my Dominion, and the Land where I sit is mine; neither is there any, who without due punishment shall resist my commands. I command thee therefore that thou rise not so high as where I sit, neither presume to wet the Cloaths nor the Limbs of thy Lord.* But the Sea according to the custome without any Reverence, flowing up, first to the Feet and then to the Legs of the King, wet as he was he leaped back and said. *Let all Inhabitants of the World know that vain and frivolous is the Power of Kings; neither is there any one worthy that Title but he alone whose Command by force of Eternal Laws the Heaven, the Earth and the Sea obey.* He adds, that after this he never set his Golden Crown upon his head, but placed it upon a Crucifix. Some sillily blame his carriage as Superstitious, others say such a Demonstration of Almighty God's Prerogative was needless. But the passage was seasonable enough to convince and reprove such as were apt to be dazled with the worldly glory of those who have so small command over the Sea, that at land it self the Power of the greatest of them extends it self scarcely one intire Mile from the place where they stand, either upward, or below; the surface, so long as he pleases too, they can onely call their own.

10. *Cnute* by *Algiva* of *Northampton* his Concubine the Daughter of Earl *Alfelm* had two Sons, whereof one was called *Swane*, and the other *Harold*, as the current opinion went, though some speak doubtfully, as if to conceal her Barrenness, the former she had procured from a Priest's Wife (or a Woman Servant) and the latter from the Wife of a Shoomaker. By *Emma* the Relict of King *Ethelrede* which he seems to have Married in the life-time of *Algiva*, though others call *Algiva* Queen, he had a Son Named *Hardecnute*, and a Daughter of great Beauty called *Gundhilda*, married by her Brother afterward to *Henry* the Emperour

Malmesb. Matt. Westm. Huntingdon. Hoveden. alii.

Sect. 11. Emperour of *Germany*. Before his Death it's said that he appointed *Swane* to be King of *Norway*, *Hardecnute* King of *Danemark*, and to *Harold* assigned the Kingdom of *England*. But this seems no ways probable that he would separate the Son of his dearly beloved Wife so far from her, especially if that be true, which some have written, that he formerly promised to leave the Crown of *England* to such Issue as he should have by her. However *Harold* by means of the *Danes* and the Citizens of *London* (whom *Malmesbury* writes to have been almost by this time degenerated into Barbarians by their continual intercourse with them) and afterward by injustice obtained the *English* Crown, but not till after much contention. For each Pretender endeavoured to strengthen himself with Friends and Forces: as Earl *Leofric* with the *Danes* and *Londoners* stood for *Harold*; so most of the *English* contended for *Edward* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and some for *Hardecnute* the Son of *Cnute* by Queen *Emma*. No expectation was there but of a great War to follow, which caused multitudes of People (who had not yet forgot the dreadfull wastes made by the *Danish* Inrodes) to quit their Habitations, and betake themselves into watrish and fenny places where they thought the Enemy either could not or would not pursue them, particularly to the Monastery of *Croyland*, where they caused such a disturbance that the Religious of the Place could neither meet in the Church, nor in their Refectory. All seemed now to tend to a slaughter, when by the Interposition of some of the more sober sort Advice was given to the Heads of all the Factions to meet and hold a Consultation to prevent the effusion of Christian Bloud. The place appointed was *Oxford*, where when they sufficiently debated the matter by the Major part it was at last concluded, that the Kingdom should be divided betwixt *Harold* and *Hardecnute*, so that *Harold* should have all the Countries lying Northward from the *Thames*, together with the City of *London*; and *Hardecnute* enjoy all the Southern Provinces.

Sim. Dunelm.

Elegerunt eum Dani & Londoniæ cives qui jam pæne in Barbarorum mores propter frequentem convictum transierant. De Gestis Regum Anglor. lib. 2. ch. 12. Ingulphus. Malmesb.

A contest about the Succession.

Which is ended.

11. *Hardecnute*'s disadvantage was that at the time of his Father's Death he was in *Danemark*, whither he was sent to order matters, and by his entercourse to gain the affections of the People, and indeed he seems to have been designed by his Father both to the Succession of the one Kingdom and the other. *Harold* took his opportunity to gain Friends, and some think that at first he was chosen King alone by a prevalent Party, but *Hardecnute* arriving e'er he had confirmed his Possession, this Agreement was made betwixt them for dividing the Kingdom, which setled, *Hardecnute*'s Affairs called him back into *Danemark*, and then again *Harold* taking an advantage at his Absence, being already in Possession of the greatest part, seized upon all. But whether in this juncture of Affairs *Hardecnute* returned into *England* or was absent all the while, *Harold* got to be sole King by assistence of the *Danes*, the *Londoners*, and now at length of *Godwin* created for his former Services in *Danemark*, Earl of *Kent*, who being a Man made up of ambition and cunning, at the beginning of the Contest had professed himself a stout Champion of *Emma* and her Children, but now upon the turning of the tide resolved to swim with the stream, or was wrought upon by the promises of *Harold*, who made as if he would Marry one of his Daughters. Yet did the Clergy stick close to the Children of *Emma*, and though the Nobility sided with *Harold*, so much contended for them, that *Egelnoth* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* refused the Office of Crowning him, professing that as long as any of the said Children lived he would never give his Assent or Benediction to any other, and affirming (as some write) that *Cnute* on his Death-bed had commended them to his care and fidelity. The Ensigns of Royalty he laid upon the Altar, denouncing a Curse against his Brethren the Bishops in case any of them should deliver them to *Harold*, and inhibiting him from medling with such things, and by his private Authority taking them away which he had commended to God and that Holy Place. Yet for all this was he Crowned, for we cannot but believe * *Ingulphus*, that he bestowed on their Monastery the Robe of his Coronation. That this Archbishop notwithstanding all this adoe overcome either by his threats or promises, performed the Ceremony, though one of his Successours writes, yet we dare not affirm. † Others will have him Elected King without the Royal Ornaments, but herein they are not to be credited.

Harold outing his Brother, sets up for himself.

* *Ipse dedit Monasterio nostro Chlamydem coronationis suæ de serico aureisque floribus intextam, quam postea Secretarius commutavit in cappam, &c.*

† *Parker in Antiq. Brit.*

12. *Harold* having secured now, as he thought, his Royal Estate, so far as the People were concerned (which if *Simeon* tell true, he had by means of *Godwin* and others so far cajolled, that from being King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, together with the Nobility, they chose him to Reign through all *England*, abjuring *Hardecnute*, who it was pretended, though sent for, would not return out of *Danemark*)

Denmark) cast in his mind, as the custome is, how to entrap and obviate his Emulatours and Rivals. *Emma* or *Algina*, as some call her, his Stepmother, he had already deprived of the greatest part of the treasure which his Father had left her, so the less reason he had to fear her effectual tampering with any for her Sons, having nothing present wherewith to allure them, and it being accounted but a spare diet to fede merely upon hopes. But her two Sons, *Alfred* and *Edward*, hearing in *Normandy* how matters passed, could not forbear looking on, if they could not be the principal Actours in these Revolutions: into *England* they come with a splendid attendance of *Normans*, and haste to their Mother then lying at *Winchester*. But passing through *Kent*, the Charge and Residence of Earl *Godwin*, *Alfred* falls into his hands, and then pretending (at least) to be going to *London* to the King who had sent for him, is stopped and put into close Custody: *Godwin* affirming it was dangerous under pretence of Kindred, to bring so many strangers, and those of a crafty Nation into the Land, of his followers, some he put into Chains, of some he put out the Eyes, of others he cut off the Hands and Feet, and many he caused to be sold, some he tortured by pulling their Skins over their Ears, of others he caused the Guts to be bound about a stake, and then their Bodies to be turned round the stake till all the Entrals were drawn out, and in conclusion, by various and miserable deaths, six hundred Men he murthered at *Guilford*; some write, that he onely spared one in ten, and after that was done, thinking that too many *Normans* still survived, he decimated them over again, and amongst the rest thus murthered were twelve persons of great Nobility. *Emma* having notice of this Massacre, sent away her Son *Edward* into *Normandy*, to be out of harms way. And well did she ground her fears; for while the one Brother thus shifted for himself, the other that was entrapped by command of Earl *Godwin* and others, was sent away to the Isle of *Ely*, where he was scarcely Landed, when most cruelly his Eyes were pulled out of his Head, which done, he was led to the Monastery, and there delivered to the Monks to be safely kept. But he troubled them not long, presently after his sight ending his days, and in the Southern Porch of the Western End of the Church, was decently buried.

Sect. 10.

Simeon Dunelm, ad Ann. 1636.

A Massacre of the *Normans*.

Apud Gillingeham ut scribit Malmesb.

Among whom *Alfred* is kill'd by the Treachery of *Harold*.

13. Thus cruelly was poor *Alfred* dealt with, but still greater was the cruelty, if it was procured and ushered in by the treachery and forgery of *Harold*, who as the Encomium of *Emma* (the Authour whereof seems to have lived about those times) gives us the Relation, on purpose to get those young Princes into his Hands, counterfeited a Letter as written by their Mother. "Herein personating "her, she chides them gently for their delay in looking after their own concern- "ments, seeing they could not but know, that it procured the dayly confirming "of the Usurper in his Power, who omitted no Arts whatsoever to gain the chief "Nobility to his Party. He assures them yet that the *English* Nation had much "rather that one of them should be their King, and in conclusion, desires they would "come as speedily and privately as they could to consult with her what course "was to be taken. The Letter was conveyed by a suborned Messenger, who by presents sent as from their Mother, and by his insinuations plaid his part so well, that the truth of the Message was not doubted of. Now some Historians say, that the better to conceal themselves, they came into *England* several ways. Others say, that *Alfred* onely Arrived, and that *Edward* with forty Sail of well manned Ships came to *Southampton*, where he found the Coast guarded with Souldiers to prevent his Landing. He adventured to fight, and that with good success; but finding himself too slenderly provided to march up into the Countrey, and Conquer the Kingdom, with much Booty he Sailed back into *Normandy*. Indeed, considering that *Alfred* onely was taken, these Relations seem nearer to truth, and that *Alfred* with a few Ships, and not many Men Landing in *Kent*, fell into the Snares laid for him by Earl *Godwin*. The Children being thus disposed of, the Mother he thought fit not to suffer here to remain, but presently after banished her the Kingdom, though Winter was begun, she retired not into *Normandy*, because, as some alledge, Duke *William*, the base Son of her Nephew *Robert*, was then brought up in the *French* Court, and some add what may be more improbable, that her Son *Edward* was then gone into *Hungary* to consult with his Cousin *Edward*, Sirnamed the *Outlaw*, whom as we said, *Cnute* had banished thither. She went streight for *Flanders*, where she was courteously received by Earl *Baldwin*, who pitying the Case of a distressed Lady and Queen, assigned her *Bruges* to dwell at, and munificently provided for her all the time she there staid.

Walsingham. in Hypodigm. Neustriæ, lib. 6. c. 4.

He banisheth *Emma*.

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14. After two years ſhe was viſited by her Son *Hardecnute* out of *Denmark*, and they comforted themſelves as well as they could with hopes of better Fortune, that either the Hearts of the *Engliſh* would relent, or that the Uſurper would by ſome other means end either his days or his Reign, in which they were not much beguiled. *Harold* on this ſide the water, as much incouraged himſelf in his hopes ſtrengthened by preſent and actual poſſeſſion, the main point in the caſe, and reſolved to omit nothing, which now they were gone, might ſerve to keep them out. For this purpoſe he provided himſelf of a Fleet, the onely Bullwark of the Iſland, for the furniſhing of which to ſixteen ſhips every Port pay'd Eight Marks of Silver, as had been done in his Father's days, as writes *Henry* the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*. Hereby he incenſed the minds of the *Engliſh* againſt him, which the *Welſh* it ſeems perceiving, or for ſome other reaſon, began to be ſo unruly that ſome ſtirs happened thereupon, wherein many of the *Engliſh* Nobility were ſlain, by name *Edwin* Brother to Earl *Leofric*, *Turkil* and *Algeat* the Sons of *Eſſi*, both of them great men, and many others. But theſe things could not accompliſh the hopes of the baniſhed, which was left to be done by death, *Harold* dying ſhortly after when he had reigned four years, and as many Months. Some ſay he died at *London*, ſome at *Oxford*; but he was to be ſure buried at *Weſtminſter*. *Henry Knighton* ſtrangely writes, that he had a Body like an Hare, he means ſurely hairy like that Creature, and thence was called *Harefoot*, which ſirname others derive from his ſwiftneſs of foot. *Brompton* the Abbat of *Jornal* gives him this Character, that in all regards he degenerated from the worth of his Father *Canute* (but others ſuſpected him not to have been his Son) for he was altogether careleſs both as to matters of War and Peace, onely he would purſue his own Will, and what was misbeſeeming his Royal Eſtate, choſe rather to goe on foot than ride, whence for the lightneſs and ſwiftneſs of his Feet he was called *Harold Harefoot*. He being dead, the Nobility with which now the *Londoners* joined, ſent meſſengers to *Hardecnute* ſtill at *Bruges*, with his Mother, intreating him to come, and receive the Crown as his Right. Hereupon he haſted into *Denmark*, there to ſettle his matters, which done with ſixty ſhips, and many Soldiers he came over in *Auguſt*, and landing at *Sandwich* was chearfully received, and both by *Engliſh* and *Danes* admitted as King.

Harold dies.

Iſte Haroldus habuit Corpus ad modum leporis, & ideo dicebatur Harefot. De eventibus Angliæ lib. 1. c. 6. Et contra ſuam Regiam Celſitudinem pede libentiùs incedebat quam Equo equitabat, inde propter levitatem pedum & curſus Haraldus Harefot, communiter extitit appellatus.

Hardecnute ſucceeds.

15. *Hardecnute* began his Reign over *England*, in the ſixth year of *Michael* the Fourth, the *Paphlagonian* Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, the ſecond of *Henry* ſirnamed the *Black*, Emperour of *Germany*, in the Reign of *Henry* King of the *Franks*, *A. D.* 1040. Having obtained the Kingdom he did little worthy of his condition, or the place he bare, but made them advantages onely to gratify his exorbitant Paſſions. The firſt thing was to be revenged on *Harold*, for the Injuries offered to himſelf and his mother, whoſe Body he cauſed to be digged up by *Alfric* Archbiſhop of *York*, Earl *Godwin* and others, the Head to be cut off, and both it and the Trunk to be caſt firſt into a Ditch or Privy, and then into the *Thames*, where being caught in a Fiſhermans Net, it was by ſome of his Relations conveyed to land and buried in a burying place of the *Danes*, which conſtant Tradition affirms to be this Church and Church-yard of St. *Clement* without *Temple-Bar*, in which Pariſh we reſide at the writing hereof. Following on this Courſe of Revenge (which ſome ſtyle piety to his Kindred) he deſervedly deprived *Living* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who had an hand in the Murther of his Brother *Alfred*, but then again within a year, was bought off with money and reſtored him. *Godwin* that cunning Earl was glad to buy his Peace with a Gally excellently rigged, having a guilded Stemm, furniſhed with all all conveniencies both for War and Pleaſure, and manned with Eighty choice Souldiers, every of which had upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing ſixteen Ounces, with Helmet and Corſlet gilt as was the Hilt of the Sword with which he was girt, a *Daniſh* Scimiter adorned with Silver and Gold hung on his left Shoulder, in his left hand he held a ſhield, the Boſs and Nails of which were alſo gilded, and in his right a Lance, which in the Language of the *Engliſh* was called *A Tegar*. But this would not ſerve his turn except he alſo took an Oath, that Prince *Alfred* had not his Eyes put out by his advice or deſire, but therein he merely obeyed *Harold*, at that time his Lord and Maſter, together with moſt of the Nobility of the Land.

Who puniſheth the Murtherers of his Brother *Alfred*.

Alfruum Eboracenſem Archiep. Godwinum Comitem, Styr majorem Domus, Edricum diſpenſatorem, Troubd ſuum carnificem & alios magnæ dignitatis viros Londoniam miſit & ipſius Haroldi corpus effodere & in gronam projicere juſſit, &c. Sim. Dunelm. ad An. MXL.

Lays a great Tax upon the Countrey.

16. At the ſame time he thus animadverted upon ſuch as had been cruel to his Relations, he incurred the high diſpleaſure of the People by a Tax he laid upon them, for the payment of eight Marks to every Rower in his Navy, and twelve to every Officer, a burthen that ſcarcely any could bear, which cauſed

theſe

Sect. 11.

these who had procured his Advancement sorely to repent them. However he exacted the Tax with all rigour, imploying his *House Carles* as they were called, or his Houshold Servants, in gathering the Subsidy throughout the Land, whereof the *Worcestershire* Men slew two called *Feadar* and *Turstan*, having fled into a Tower belonging to a Monastery of that City. *Hardecnute* exceedingly incensed at their death, sent to revenge it *Leofric* Duke of the *Mercians*, *Godwin* of the West *Saxons*, *Siward* of the *Northumbrians*, and others with great Forces, and orders to kill all the men, to plunder and burn the City and waste the Countrey round about. On the Evening preceding the thirteenth of *November* they began their injoyned work, and continued wasting and spoiling both City and Countrey for four days together. But few of the Inhabitants themselves they could lay hands on, the Countreymen shifting for themselves every way as they could, and the Citizens betaking themselves to a little Island in the *Severn* called *Beverege*, which they fortified, and stoutly stood upon their Guard till their Opposers tired out made Peace with them, and suffered them to return home in Peace, which yet was not done till on the fifth day the City being burnt, the Army retreated loaded with Plunder. After this Act of severity, *Hardecnute* (as if he had spent his Gall and evacuated his ill humours) began to be good natur'd. For shortly after he gave kind entertainment to *Edward* his Brother, the Son of *Ethelred* and *Emma*, who now returned after a tedious exile in *Normandy*. To his farther commendation he took good care of his Sister *Gunhilda* or *Gunildis* preferring her to be the Wife of *Henry* the *German* Emperour. She was a Lady of admirable beauty, and in her Father's time had in vain been courted by several Lovers. Her Brother set her forth with all the pomp imaginable, the Nobility both accompanying her to the Ship, and contributing to the Expences as much as every one could bear, besides what the King's Exchequer could furnish. But Covetousness was not his crime in extravagant Expences, especially in Feasting he much delighted. Four Meals a day he allowed in his Court, which *Huntingdon* attributes to his bounty, rather, he saith, desiring that Meat should be taken away untouched from such as were invited, than that such as were not invited should complain for want of Victuals; whereas the custome of our time is, either out of Covetousness, or (as they pretend) because they cannot eat, for great men to allow their Followers but one Meal a day. As *Hardecnute* lived so he died in his beloved trade of feasting, at *Lambeth* at a Wedding, which with great pomp and Luxury was solemnized betwixt *Tovy* sirnamed *Prudan*, a *Danish* Nobleman, and *Githa* the Daughter of *Osgod Clapa* a great Lord also of that Nation. As he was very jolly and merry, Carousing it with the Bride and some of the Company, he fell down speechless, and died on the eighth of *June* in the flower of his Age, when he had reigned but two years.

Suos huscarlas misit per omnes Regni sui Provincias ad exigendum quod indixerat tributum. Sim. ad Ann. 1041.

Wastes *Worcestershire.*

But is kind to *Edward* and *Gunhilda* his Sister.

Then dies at a Feast.

17. Such was the end of this dissolute young man by that Vice which was but too familiar to the *Danish* Nation, to the cruelty of which before they got possession of the Land, when they were once secure and at their ease, Gormandizing and Drunkenness succeeded. But as he exceeded all of them in this kind, so though he was born in *England*, and upon that Account might have been addicted to the Inhabitants and Customs of this Countrey, yet out of Sympathy with their humour did he bear most affection to them; nay, suffered them most insolently to domineer over the *English*. "In case a *Dane* met an *English* man "upon a Bridge, the *English* man durst not stir a foot till the *Dane* was pas-"sed over. If an *English* man when a *Dane* passed by did not bow the Head in "an humble manner, his head should be broken, or for his Clownishness he "should be soundly Bastinado'd. If *Henry de Knyghton* the Canon of *Leicester* may be credited, this *Hardecnute* so far increased this Insolence, that upon every *English* Family he imposed a *Dane* as their Lord and Governour, whence some have believed that the word *Lordane* came, which signifies a *Lubberly Idle Fellow*. These *Danes* received into their Houses, ravished their Wives, deflowred their Daughters and their Maids without controll; and many other Villanies they committed to put Affronts and disgrace upon the *English* Nation. The same Crimes, *viz.* Luxury and Effeminateness, of which the *English* formerly were guilty, and which procured their Rule and Domination over them, were now come to an height in the *Danes*, and as in all great changes of Kingdoms and States procured their Ruine here, and made way for another Revolution. Not that the *English* were grown vertuous and good, for they were still sick of such Distempers, as within a few years procured the utter destruction of their Empire, as we shall see hereafter; but Despair and Necessity are powerfull Motives, such as

The *Danes* domineer over the *English*.

Chronic. Joh. Brompton. c. 934.

Editionis Beesianæ colum. 2326.

as will make even the Lame man to find his Legs, and the Coward to grow valiant. Not able to bear the continual Indignities and burthen put upon them, they took this opportunity to shake off the yoak, reassumed some Courage and gathered together (saith mine Authour) a great Army, which was called *Howneher*, from one *Howne* who first gave the Advice and was their Captain in the Enterprize. Many *Danes* they slew, and the rest they banished out of *England*, (that is, such as they had most cause to be angry with, for that Multitudes had imbodied themselves with the *English* Nation and still continued, especially in the Eastern and Northern parts is evident enough) whither they never afterwards returned, when they had here tyrannized by times for above two hundred and fifty years, and of these been possessed of the Supreme Power or Royalty, twenty six.

But at length were most of them banished.

SECT. XII.

The Monarchy of the English Saxons *restored in* Britain. *From the Promotion of* Edward *the Son of* Ethelred, (*afterward sirnamed* the Confessour) *to the Death of* Harold *the last King of the* English *Race, the final Period of the English* Saxon *Empire, and the Conquest of* England *by Duke* William *the* Norman.

The space of Two and twenty Years, Six Months, and odd Days.

Sect. 12. 1. THE *English* being rid of the *Danes*, resolved to have no King but of their own Native Race, and having so good an opportunity to discharge their Resolution, by reason that *Hardicnute* died Childless, agreed to pitch upon one of the Posterity of their late King *Ethelred*. The generality of Historians concur as to *Edward* his Son by *Emma*, that their eyes were fixed upon him, yet *Henry* of *Huntingdon* tells a Story of *Alfred* his Brother, as if he were still alive in *Normandy*, and was now sent for by the Nobility, whom the concurrent Testimony of others affirms to have been before this blinded and imprisoned in the Isle of *Ely*. Most of our Writers will have *Edward* preferred by the means and procurement of Earl *Godwin* especially, yet some others tell a Tale, that *Godwin* for fear of life, as Conscious of what he was guilty of in reference to the Relations of *Edward* was fled into *Denmark* and returned not till he was owned as King, and held a Parliament in the City of *London*, by Mediation whereof he obtained pardon. But in this case we have best reason to trust to the * Testimony of *Ingulphus*, who himself lived in this *Edward*'s days, and writes expresly that his Promotion happened by the Advice and Perswasion of Earl *Godwin*. † *William* of *Malmesbury* after him, the Authour of most credit, gives us the Relation in this manner. *Hardicnute* being dead, *Edward* was at a great loss in himself, not knowing what way to turn him, or what course to take, but at last resolved to cast himself upon the Counsel and Fidelity of Earl *Godwin*, who being sent to for a friendly Conference for some time fluctuated in his thoughts whether he should own him or not, but at length was content to speak with him. " *Edward* getting Access, was about to fall at his feet, which when he would not suffer, he told him the sad Story of his Brother *Hardicnute*'s death, and with great Promises craves his assistence for his safe return into *Normandy*. *Godwin* gives him

Edward made King by the assistance of Earl *Godwin*.

Vide Chronicon Joh. Bromton.

* *Post ejus obitum omnium Electione in Edwardum Concordatur, maximè cohortante Godwino comite, &c.*

† *De Gestis Regum Anglorum. lib. 2. c. 13.*

" him this unexpected answer, that he had better live gloriously a King in *Eng-* Sect. 12.
" *land*, than dye ignominiously in Exile; that the Crown did of right belong to
" him, as the Son of *Ethelred* and Nephew of *Edgar*, one who was of ripe Age,
" inured to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order publick Af-
" fairs with Justice, and had been taught by his own late afflictions how to re-
" move and prevent the miseries of his People. To bring this about there would be no obstacle, for if he would but trust him, he should find that his Interest was very great in the Land. He told him that Fortune would be favourable to his Inclinations, which way soever they tended, and if he took it upon him he was sure there would be none to contradict. On condition he would establish a fast Friendship with him and his House, prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, he should shortly see himself a King, who now as one Shipwrackt in his Fortunes, and a Man Banished from all Expectations, implored the help of another Person.

2. *Edward's* Case at this time was such, as not to reject so fair Proposals, but agree to every thing, and comply with the state and condition of the times, whatsoever he required he promised by Oath. *Godwin* was a Man fitted by Nature for managing such a Business, having a very smooth and pleasant Tongue, so copious and eloquent, that he could work upon the affections of the People, insinuate whatsoever he desired, and draw them with ease to any thing, which he could but design. He procures a Council to be summoned to *Gillingham*, (some Copies have it *London*) and there some he perswades by his own Authority, some by promises, and others inclined before to favour *Edward's* Cause, he fully brings over to his Party, the rest that made opposition, were overpowered at present, disgraced, and afterward hurried out of the Land. On *Easter* day, which this year fell on the third of *April*, he was Crowned at *Winchester* by the two Archbishops, *Edsi* of *Canterbury*, and *Alfric* of *York*, assisted with other Prelates, of whom, *Living* Bishop of *Worcester*, contributed very much to the bringing about this design. Thus was the Empire of the *English* restored to the *English* Royal Bloud, and the People so unexpectedly delivered from the *Danish* Tiranny, were exceedingly satisfied, yet still making a way for another Revolution, which they little imagined to be so near. Betwixt the Death of *Hardicnute* and the Coronation of *Edward*, intervened about ten Months, the one happening in *June*, and the other in *April* following, so that this alteration required some considerable time, and probably found as considerable opposition, notwithstanding the great power of Earl *Godwin*. This Promotion of *Edward*, if we reckon no *Interregnum*, and begin his Reign where *Hardicnute's* ended, fell out in the first year of *Constantinus Monomachus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, the fourth of *Henricus Niger* the *German* Emperour, in the year of our Lord, MXLII. But if we reckon from his Coronation, his beginning is to be fetcht from the year next following.

Who is Crowned at *Winchester*.

3. *Edward* the creature of *Godwin*, after his Advancement, conformed himself wholly to his Dictates and Advice. The first thing he did, was to seize on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*, then at *Winchester*. The Cause pretended was, that she had been harsh to him in the time of his banishment and necessities; and indeed, she is thought to have born no great affection, either to *Ethelred* or his Children; but *Godwin* however seems to have been the Instiller of this Indignation into the King's mind, bearing her malice for concerning her self about the cruelty exercised toward her Son *Alfred*. *Simeon* writes expresly, that *Edward* did it by advice of *Leofric*, *Godwin* and *Gimard*, who accompanied him from *Glawom* or *Glocester* to *Winchester*, where coming on her at unawares, he took away from her whatsoever Gold, Silver or Jewels she had then about her; to which Relation, *Matthew* of *Westminster* adds, that he yet commanded that she should be supplied with Necessaries, and be free from all farther disturbance, which how far it was observed, we shall see anon. But whatever his Actions were towards his Mother, *Godwin* would take care he should deal fairly with him, in the marriage of his Daughter *Editha* or *Egitha*, which about this time he procured to be Solemnized. The Lady indeed for her perfections, both inward and outward, deserved a Crown, so that this was not the particular wherein this Earl imposed on him. Herein we may give credit to *Ingulphus* the Abbot, who knew her very well, and testifies that she was most beautifull, most chaste and vertuous, especially humble, and very well seen in humane Learning, savouring nothing of the rudeness either of her Father or Brothers, but mild, modest, faithfull and honest, never doing any ill Offices, so that it became a Proverb, *that as a Thorn produces*

He seizes on his Mothers Treasure.

And marries *Godwin's* Daughter.

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duces a Rose, so Godwin *begat* Egitha. When he was a School-boy, and came to see his Father, then living at Court he saith he met her very often, and she would often oppose him of his Lesson, both in Grammar and Logick, wherein she was very expert, and when by her subtile arguing she had non-plus'd him, she would order her Maid to give him money, and not dismiss him till he had also filled his Belly with good chear, thus she obliged him: but though she did this to him when a Boy he wrote not the story till he was Abbat and an Aged Man.

Sicut spina resam. genuit Godwinus Egitham.

He banishes many of the *Danish* Nobility.

4. *Edward* thus setled in the Throne, yet thought not himself secure as long as any eminent Persons of the *Danish* Bloud continued in the Land. He banished *Gunhilda*, the Daughter of *Wortgern* (King of the *Vandals* say some) and the Sister of King *Cnute*, married first to *Hacun*, and then to *Harold* both Earls, but now a Widow, and with her her two Sons *Hemmung* and *Turkill* were also sent away. They first went to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, and thence afterward proceeded into *Denmark*. But while he thus as he thought prevented storms at home, a Tempest had like to have fallen upon him from the North, where *Magnus* King of *Norway*, the Son of Holy King *Olane* to revenge, it seems, the Injury done here to his Father in the Days of *Cnute*, prepared to invade *England*. *Edward* to secure himself provided a strong Fleet which lay expecting *Magnus* in *Sandwich* Rode, but *Swane* King of *Denmark*, though he had no reason to befriend the *English* who had so lately expelled his Countreymen, yet to hinder the growth of his next Neighbour, diverted him by making an Inrode into his Kingdom. This procured such feuds betwixt these two Northern Kings, that *Magnus* in revenge the year following entred *Denmark*, whence he quite expelled King *Swane*, and made himself Lord of the Countrey. Now *Swane* sent his Ambassadours to King *Edward*, hoping he would return such a kindness as he had received from him when he was in danger. *Godwin* was for supplying him with a Fleet of fifty Vessels both to requite *Swane*, and to give a check to the Success and Ambition of *Magnus*, and the thing had been done but for the opposition of Earl *Leofric* and others, who thought it safer the King should sit still and be a looker on than perhaps disoblige the Conquerour, and bring danger upon himself. And whereas *Swane* had formerly indeed by the Inrode he made into *Denmark*, done that which tended much to the repose of *England*, yet seeing he took his measures from his own Interest not that of *Edward*, he could not take it amiss, that *Edward* also should steer his course by the same compass.

Simeon ad An. 1044. Alii.

Simeon ad An. 1045.

5. And their Counsel had this effect, that as *Magnus* during his Life (all which he enjoyed the Kingdom of *Denmark*) offered no more to attempt any thing upon *England*, so *Harold Harvager* his Uncle and Successour, assoon as he came to the Crown sent Ambassadours to *Edward*, and made a League and Alliance with him. Thus above ground there was nothing but quiet and serenity, when within the Earth happened on *Mayday* being *Sunday* a great motion and concussion, at *Worcester*, *Derby* and many other places. A great mortality of Men, and a Murrain amongst Cattel followed, and Fires in the Air, or those Meteors which being kindled are called *Ignes fatui*, in *Derbyshire* and other Countries burnt many Villages and much Standing-corn. But while *Edward* was free from Wars at Home, he was ingaged by the Emperour *Henry* the following year against *Baldwin* the Earl of *Flanders*, with whom he had a quarrel about a Palace of his Countrey, which the Earl had fired. *Pope Leo* and *Swane* the King of the *Danes* he had to assist him by Land; and lest *Baldwin* should escape by Sea he procured the King of *England* to secure the Coasts, which he did, lying so long with his Fleet before the Port of *Sandwich*, till he had an intelligence that an Agreement was made betwixt them. In the mean time *Swane* the Son of Earl *Godwin*, and whom some make Earl of *Berkshire*, *Oxfordshire* and *Glocestershire*, having formerly been banished, or at least left the Land, for having deflowred *Edgida* the Abbess of *Chester* whom he would have married, came back from *Denmark* with eight ships, pretending a great desire to be reconciled to the King. *Beorn* an Earl, and his Cousin German the Son of *Ulf* a *Dane* undertook to make his Peace. The War being at an end betwixt the Emperour and Earl *Baldwin*, this *Beorn* and *Godwin* who commanded the Fleet with forty two ships, by the King's leave were removed to *Pevensey*, the rest of the Navy, except what the King kept with him, being dismissed. To *Pevensey* *Swane* comes and solicits his Cousin *Beorn*, according to his promise, to carry him to the King, then lying at *Sandwich* and obtain his pardon; *Beorn* mistrusting nothing because of their Consanguinity readily went with him attended onely by three Servants, but he having brought him

Engages with *Henry* the Emperour against *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*.

Simeon ad An. 1049. Florent. Wigton.

him to *Bosenham* where his ships lay at Anchour, and having carried him aboard caused him first to be bound fast, and keeping him till he came to *Dertmouth*, there he murthered him, which done he cast his Body into a deep Ditch, and covered it with abundance of Earth. Six of *Swane*'s ships the Inhabitants of *Hastings* took, and killing all the Men they found aboard them, carried them to *Sandwich* to the King. With the other two he fled into *Flanders*, where he continued till such time as *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* brought him back and reconciled him, for all this, to the gentle King. Sect. 12.

6. Crimes of this nature were at this time but too common and too little punished, such was the wickedness of the *English* Nation which now fell again into security, though the late dreadfull Rod was but just removed from their backs. Nay it was at this very time again as it were shaken over them. For *Osgod Clapa* being it seems banished with his Wife as well as other *Danes*, had got together nine and twenty ships, with six of which taking his Wife from *Bruges* he sailed into *Denmark*, the rest went to the Coasts of *Essex*, where doing very much harm in their return they were seized with a mighty Tempest, and lost but two, which being driven into foreign parts were seized, and the men put to the Sword. But not onely were they put in mind hereby of the *Danish* Cruelties more lately practised, but by something then happened on the other side of the Island of the old Devastations made upon these parts by the *Irish Scots*, but here was the difference, that whereas formerly the *Britains* were sufferers, now they were become Actours with them. For, as *Florent* of *Worcester* writes, this same year in the Month of *August*, certain Pirates from *Ireland* with thirty six ships entring the Mouth of the River *Severn*, landed at a place called *Wilesceaxen*, where joyning with *Griffin* King of *Southwales*, they foraged the Countrey and did some mischief. Then he at the head of them passed the River *Weage*, they burnt *Dunedham*, and slew all the People they could find, the Alarm being now taken by the adjoyning Parts, *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* with some *Glocester* and *Herefordshire* men hasted against them, but certain *Welsh* men that they had with them sent privately to *Griffin*, and gave him notice when he might most conveniently fall upon the *English*, and he taking the opportunity together with the *Irish* Pirates fell accordingly upon them early in the Morning and killed many, the rest making their escape. The next year that followed but one, King *Edward* to comfort and relieve his People, sorely vexed with a Famine of which many thousands died, took off the Tax of Eighty thousand Pound, formerly imposed by his Father, and called *Danegeld*, which had lain heavy on them for eight and thirty years. But as this effect of his good nature to them, tended much to their ease and convenience, so other Acts of his kindness to Strangers this very year, proved of ill consequence unto the whole Nation.

The Sea-coast is infested by Pirates.

The Tax of *Danegeld* remitted by him.

Ingulphus.

7. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloign* Father to *Godfrey* and *Baldwin* who were afterward Kings of *Jerusalem*, and King *Edward*'s Brother-in-Law by a Marriage with his Sister *Goda*, from *Whitsand* sailed over to *Dover*, and having had conference with the King about some affair of consequence, and returning back in the month of *September*, one of his Harbingers at *Canterbury* was so rude with a Townsman in seeking for Lodgings, that he provoked him to kill him in heat of Anger. *Eustace* inraged hereat with all his Company, hasted to revenge his Servants death, and killed him that had slain him with other eighteen of his Company; but thereupon the Citizens rising fell upon him and his men, whereof one and twenty they slew, and wounded many others, he himself hardly escaping with one Follower from the Tumult. To Court he posts with great Clamour, and assisted by some of his own Party, greatly incenses the King against those of *Canterbury*. Earl *Godwin* is sent for and commanded with all speed to march with an Army and punish the Offenders. He on the contrary affirms, that no man is to be condemned before he be heard, and frets that the King should favour all Strangers more than his own Subjects, for many of them he had preferred to great places, and trust in the *English* Church and State; one *Robert* a *Norman* lately Bishop of *London* he had made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and another of that Countrey called *William*, he had promoted to the See of *London*, which thing exasperated the *English* against the *Normans*. Being backed by some others that loved their Countrey, he urged that the chief Actours in the late disorders were first to be sent for and fairly tried; in case they were found innocent to be dismissed, but if culpable to be fined, or undergoe some corporal Punishment for the breach of the King's Peace, and the Violence and Affront they had offered to the Earl. He farther put him in mind, that it was his part to protect his People, and not condemn them

He is kind to Strangers.

Vide Malmesb. ubi suprâ cap. 13. Simeon. Dunelm. ad Ann. MLI.

Sect. 12. them without due process. In conclusion, the thing he refused to doe, not esteeming the King's Anger which he thought would be but a fit; but *Edward* displeased with his refusal, and farther egged on to revenge called an Assembly of all the Nobility at *Glocester*, that the matter might be therein debated. All the Nobility was present or few excepted, onely *Godwin* and his Sons appeared not, suspecting that the Nobility were too much of the King's humour, but Armed themselves, *Godwin* raising Forces out of his Earldom, containing (as *Simeon* writes) *Kent*, *Southsex* and *Westsex*; his Eldest Son *Swane* out of his, which comprised *Oxfordshire*, *Glocestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Berkshire*; and *Harold* his Youngest Son out of his County, wherein *Essex*, East *England*, the Shires of *Huntingdon* and *Cambridge* were included.

Godwin and his Sons take up Arms.

Quocirca totius Regni proceres jussi Glocestriam convenire.

Haroldus de suo comitatu, viz. de East Saxonia East Anglia Huntindunensi & Grantabrigiensi provinciis, &c.

8. They took up their Quarters at *Beverstan*, and gave out that they Armed against the *Welsh* who designing mischief against the King had fortified a place in *Herefordshire*, where *Swane* the Son of *Godwin* then lay Incamped under that pretence. But the *Welsh* having some notice of the Device prevented it by clearing themselves at Court, where *Godwin* and his Sons were rendred so odious, that the King's Army was expected to March against them. And *Edward* had sent to *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, and *Syward* of *Northumberland* to come and succour him in his extremity with all the Power they could raise. They at first came but with a few; but sending afterwards throughout their several Commands, got together in a little time great Forces, with which *Rodulph* the King's Nephew by his Sister *Goda*, and her former Husband *Walter de Maunt* joyned himself though with small expectation, for being Earl of *Hereford* but a very Coward, he had turned (as we shall see) his back of the *Welsh* Men, and left his County with the City and the Bishop in it to their Sword and Fire, and they had done greater mischief if *Harold* had not by his industry and valour timely prevented it. *Godwin* and his Sons in the mean time proceed into *Glocestershire*, and Incamped themselves at a place then called *Langtreo*, whence they send to the King then lying at *Glocester*, and demand Earl *Eustace* and his Company, together with such *Normans* and *Bulloignois* as held the Castle at *Canterbury* to be given up into their hands, upon refusal denouncing War. The King was very much discomposed at the Message, not knowing what course to take; but when he understood that the Forces of *Leofric*, *Syward* and *Rodulph* were on their March, he flatly refused to give them up, and with that Answer sent back the Messenger. They were scarce gone when the Armies came to *Glocester* so inraged that the King had much adoe to keep them from going out immediately to engage *Godwin*. Now *Leofric* and others of the wiser sort seriously considering the sad consequences of a Civil War perswaded the King to come to a Treaty, of which there was the more hopes because *Godwin* had given order to his Sons not to fall on first, but defend themselves in case they were attacked by the King's Forces. They brought the Parties to this Accord, that Hostages should be given on both sides, and the whole matter referred to a farther Debate to be held at *London*.

9. The King hereupon encreases his Army by Leavies in *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and up to *London* he comes; *Godwin* also having done the like in *Westsex* comes up to *Southwark*. " Here his Son *Swane* to appease the King's anger " is commanded to be gone, *Godwin* and *Harold* to appear before the Council " unarmed and accompanied onely with twelve Attendants, and to give up all " their Forces into the Hands of the King. They pleaded they could not give " up themselves into the Hands of their Adversaries without sufficient caution " and security, otherwise they were ready to surrender their Forces, and doe all " things else the King Commanded which were consistent with their Honour and " Safety; but to come unarmed was to hazard their Lives, and but with twelve " Followers their Reputation. The King by this Answer was farther exasperated, and thereupon an Edict was published by consent of the Council and Army that they should quit the Land in five days. His Souldiers it seems fearing the Issue began to drop away from him and his numbers to lessen, as concluding it was safest to give way to the times, he departed with his Wife *Gytha*, and his three Sons *Swane*, *Gyrth* and *Tosti* into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whose Daughter *Judith* his Son *Tosti* had Married; with as much Treasure as the Ship could carry. *Harold* and *Leofwin* his other Sons went to *Bristol*, where taking a Ship that their Brother *Swane* had provided for himself they sailed into *Ireland*. *Harold's* Earldom was conferred on *Elgar* the Son of *Leofric* an Industrious Man, who as willingly afterward surrendred it to him again as now he received it.

Rex in suo concilio & omnis exercitus unanimi consensu illum & quinque filios ejus exules fore decreverunt. Simeon ibid.

Who at length depart for *Flanders*.

And

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And the King still pursuing his Indignation deprived *Edgytha* his Wife of all her Jewels and Treasure, and putting her away sent her with one onely attendant to *Wakewell* or *Warewell* to be there kept in custody by the Abbess his Sister. The Enemy thus gone, *William* the Earl (as they call him) or Duke of *Normandy* with many of his *Normans* comes over into *England*, where he and his are liberally Feasted, all other ways nobly entertained, being after some time as richly presented they return home, after they had been most imprudently led up and down to Castles and Forts, and shewed the whole strength of the Nation and what else, after some little time was to be their own. Although, as the Abbat *Ingulphus* writes, there was no hope as yet of Succession in the Kingdom, at least no mention made of it betwixt the King and the Duke.

William Duke of *Normandy* visits *Edward*.

Wakewella Malmesb. at Warewella Simeoni. Quem Rex honorificè suscipiens, & aliquandiu solum retinens ad civitates & Castella regia circumduxit, & condignam humanitatem exhibens, tandem multis donatum muneribus ad propria dimisit. De successione autem Regni spes adhuc aut mentio nulla facta inter eos fuit.

10. The year following * *Emma* the King's Mother Died, and was Buried at *Winchester*; we have said before how ill she was treated by her Son, who under pretence of her harshness to him in his Adversity took away from her all her Treasure. She had several Enemies which incensed him against her, but especially *Robert* the *Norman* whom he had first made Bishop of *London*, and then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who accused her of being too familiar with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*: Hereupon she was sent to the Abby of *Werewell* having first all she had taken from her; and the Bishop was committed to Prison, *Robert* crying out that such villany was not to go unpunished, lest it should be an encouragement to others to doe the like. She being kept not very strictly wrote to all the Bishops of *England* whom she knew to be her Friends, professing that she was more troubled at the disgrace offered to the Bishop than at her own infamy, and that she was ready to clear his innocency by passing, after the manner of *Ordeale*, over red hot Iron. The Bishops hereupon met, and had easily brought the King to put up the business but that *Robert* opposed them. He demanded of his Brethren how they durst take upon them to defend that Wild Beast and not a Woman which had defamed the King her Son, and that had called her unconstant Lover, The Anointed of the Lord. " But loe (said he) this Woman will " purge the Bishop, but who shall purge her that consented to the Death of her " Son *Alfred*, and prepared Poyson for his Brother *Edward*? But be it so that " she may prevail above the condition of her Sex, If so be she will pass bare-" foot over nine red hot Plowshares, four stedy paces for her self, and five for the " Bishop, let her pass for Innocent. The day for Tryal is appointed, which come, the King and all the Bishops, *Robert* excepted, are present: she having the night before earnestly invoked the Assistence of St. *Swithin* at his Tomb, when the time came, passed unhurt over the Plowshares to the great joy of her self and all the Beholders, as also of the King that she had so purged herself, though to his great sorrow that he had been so credulous as to admit those Calumnies against his own Mother, whose pardon he begged, as also that of the Bishop, and received Penance from them on his bare Back, as some interpret it. But *Emma* for so great a deliverance gave to St. *Swithin* nine Manors, and as many gave the Bishop, the Innocence of them both being hereby cleared: moreover the King is said to have bestowed on the Church of *Winchester* the Isle of *Portland* and other Possessions. The substance of this Story is delivered both by *John Bromton* and *Henry de Knighton*, and *Harpsfield* hath enlarged it with some circumstances. But Ancienter Authours, as *Malmesbury* and others, say nothing of it; and that which follows spoils all, *viz.* that *Robert* (whom some will have Bishop, and others Archbishop, at this time) fled out of the Land, whereas he continued in the Kingdom longer, as we shall see, and fled out of *England* upon another occasion.

Emma the King's Mother Dies.

The manner of Tryal by *Ordeale*.

** Simeoni Elgiva Emma. In charta inter Evidentias Ecclesiæ Christi Cantuar. legitur. Elfgyna Ymma & Elnena Ymma. Emma autem suis, Saxonibus vel Danis Elfgiva.*

11. This same year wherein *Emma* Died, *Griffin* the *Welsh* King made an Inrode into *Herefordshire*, and wasted a great part of the Countrey, against whom the Inhabitants arose, and the *Normans* that held the Castle of *Hereford* issued out and gave him Battel, but were defeated, and he returned home with great Booty. Not long after *Harold* and *Leofwin* the Sons of Earl *Godwin* returning out of *Ireland* passed with many Vessels up the River *Severn*, and landing in the Counties of *Somerset* and *Dorset* there they spoiled many Villages, and when out of *Devonshire* and *Somerset* many went out against them they routed them, and having slain thirty principal Officers, besides many of the ordinary sort, returned with much Booty to their Ships. King *Edward* alarmed with the noise, and expecting Earl *Godwin* was not far off, dispatched away forty Ships very well furnished into *Sandwich* Road to prevent his landing, but for all that he made a shift to come ashore undiscovered in *Kent*, whence he sent Messengers

Godwin and his Sons returning.

Sect. 12. round about, and drew into his Party first the Inhabitants of *Canterbury* who owned him as a Sufferer for their sakes, then those of *Sussex*, *Essex*, *Surry*, all the Mariners or Boat-men (*Buthsecarlas Simeon* calls them) of *Hastings*, and others of these Maritime Parts, who promised to live and dye with him. The Fleet having notice of his landing some were sent to pursue him, but he still concealed himself; they returned to *Sandwich*, whence they shortly after came up to *London*. *Godwin* then went to the Isle of *Wight*, and coasted about till he met with his Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* who joyned their Ships with his, which done they yet forbore all Hostilities, onely made bold with Victuals and other necessaries. On the Coasts and elsewhere by fair means they drew as many Men to them as they could, especially Seamen, and so made for *Sandwich* Road, where no sooner they were arrived but the News thereof flew to *London*, and so startled them at Court, that command went out from the King to all his loving Subjects to haste and help him in a time of so great necessity.

12. Yet they delayed so long that *Godwin* had leisure enough to pass up the *Thames* as far as *Southwark*, where lying for a Tide he spent the time in conferring with the *Londoners*, whom he procured to doe whatsoever he designed. It being High Water he advanced farther, and no opposition being made upon the Bridge, rowed up by the Southern Bank till such time as he met with his Land Army, which he formed into a Battalia terrible for those on the other side to look on; and his Navy now he directed toward the King's Gallies, shipping his Men and making all things ready to follow. *Edward* by this time on *Middlesex* side had got together a competent Force, and all lookers on expected an Ingagement, but the Souldiers on both sides agreed in this, that they were unwilling to fight *English* against *English*, which gave the wiser sort an opportunity of mediating a Peace, by virtue of which the two Armies were speedily Disbanded. The conditions of it were, that *Godwin*, his Wife and Sons were restored to their former honours and Estates, all except *Swane*, who as a Penance for murthering his Cousin *Beorn* had undertaken a Pilgrimage bare-foot and bare-leg from *Flanders* to *Jerusalem*, and in his return Died of a Cold he had got in *Lycia*. The King receives *Editha* his Wife the Earl's Daughter to her former Dignity; Right and Justice is now promised to all Men, and such *Normans* as had abused his Authority, and given him ill Council against his good Subjects are Banished the Land. Some few, as *Robert* the Deacon, and *Richard* the Son of *Scrob* his Son-in-law, *Alverede* the King's Groom, *Axfrid* sirnamed *Cookesfot*, and some others whom the King much favoured, and who had done no ill Offices, were permitted to stay. But *Robert* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William* the Bishop of *London*, and *Ulf* the Bishop of *Lincoln* with their Followers hardly escaped and got over Sea. Yet afterwards *William* being a good natur'd Man was permitted to return. *Osbirne* sirnamed *Pentecost*, and his Fellow *Hugh* surrender'd their Castles, and by leave of Earl *Leofric* passing through his Government into *Scotland* were there entertained by King *Mackbeth*. This same year on St. *Thomas*'s Night happened so great a Tempest, that it overturned many Churches and Houses, and broke and tore up by the Roots an innumerable quantity of Trees.

Are restored to their Estates and Honours.

Some of the *Normans* Banished.

A great Tempest.

13. The next year being the M. LIII of our Lord, *Res* the Brother of *Griffin* King of South *Wales* being taken Prisoner, as a Publick Enemy, for the many Insolencies he had committed, was by command of *Edward* put to death in a place called *Bulendum*, and his Head sent to the King then lying at *Glocester*. This ministred matter of discourse, but as little Noises are suppreſt by the greater, this was presently quashed by the Rumour and Talk about the death of Earl *Godwin*, which happened this same year at *Easter*. King *Edward* celebrating this Feast at *Winchester*, and *Godwin*, as his custome was, sitting at Table with him, was suddenly seized with so great a Distemper as struck him speechless, and made him sinck down from the Seat on which he sate. His three Sons, *Harold*, *Tosti* and *Gyrth* being present removed him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a Fit, and that he would speedily recover, but he lay in that languishing condition four days and dyed on the fifth, being the fifteenth of *April*, and was buried in the old Monastery. This is the account of his death, to which the *Normans*, and such as write in favour of them, add a Circumstance which much shews either his guilt or their malice. It chanced at Table, that mention was made of *Alfred* the Brother of the King, who thereupon looked very sowerly upon *Godwin*. He to vindicate himself, told *Edward*, that he perceived how upon every mentioning of that Prince he look'd with a frowning Countenance upon him, *But* (saith he) *let not God suffer me to swallow this Morsel, if I be guilty of any thing done, either toward*

Simeon. Mat. Westm.

Godwin Dies.

Wintoniæ scribit Simeon, at Huntindonensis ait Edwardum nunc prandisse apud Windlas (nunc Windsor) ubi plurimum manere solebat. Ad. An. Edwardi. 12.

toward the taking away of his life, or against thine Interest. After which words streight choakt with the Bit he had swallowed, he sunk immediately down, and never recovered. A man of an active and turbulent Spirit, not tender Conscienced in getting or keeping, and not to be excused for his so much medling and forcing his Sovereign to what he listed. But had he not been so great a lover of his Countrey and an enemy to Stranger, those that wrote in the *Norman* times, and durst not but write what would please their Masters, would have dismissed him without this Story, and with a fairer Character than usually they give him. His first Wife was the Sister of *Canute*, which brought him a Son, who in his Infancy mounting an Horse given him by his Grandfather, was carried into the *Thames* and there drowned. The Mother was killed by Thunder, a Judgment which it was believed fell upon her for her Cruelty, for she made a great Trade of selling handsome Boys and Girls into *Denmark*. After her death he Married another Wife, and by her had six Sons, *viz. Harold*, *Swane*, *Wined*, *Tosti*, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*. His Earldom, some say his Dukedom, of *Westsex* was given to his Son *Harold*, and the Earldom of *Harold*, *viz. Essex*, and the rest was conferred on *Algar* the Son of *Leofrid* the Earl of *Leicester*.

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De eo sic Ingulphus Willielmi Normanni pæne dixerim mancipium. Anno Domini 1053. Cum Godwinus comes in mensa Regis de nece sui fratris impeteretur, ille post multa sacramenta tandem per buccellam deglutiendam abjuravit; & buccella gustata continuò suffocatus interiit.

Earl *Siward* seizes on *Scotland*, setting up *Malcolm* for King thereof.

14. The next year, which was the M LIV of our Lord, was *Siward* that valiant Earl of *Northumberland* sent with a great Body of Horse, and a strong Fleet into *Scotland*, where he fought a Battel with *Macbeth* King of that Countrey, whom he defeated, having slain many of his *Scots*, and such *Normans* as we mentioned to have gone over to him, and driving him quite away, made King in his stead *Malcolm* the Son of the King of *Cumberland*, according to the orders he had received from King *Edward*. But this Victory cost him dear, the lives of many both *English* and *Danes*, besides that of his own Son, of whose death when he heard he demanded whether he had received his Wound before or behind, and when it was answered before, he said he was glad, and otherwise should not have thought him, though his own Son, worthy of Burial. King *Edward* having sent him into the North to fight, much about the same time sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* with great Presents, to treat with the Emperour of *Germany* about sending for out of *Hungary* his Cousin *Edward*, the Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, and remitting him into *England*; for having no Issue of his own to succeed him and the Sons of *Godwin*, being very powerfull, he took care for his nearest Kinsman, to whom the Crown of Right should belong. But *Siward* the Duke of *Northumberland* survived his Victory, and his Son not long, dying the year following at *York*, where he was buried in the Monastery of St. *Mary* without the Walls, built by himself, as writes *Ingulphus*, though *Simeon* talks of his being Interred at a Monastery called *Galmanho* of his own Erection. The Archdeacon of *Huntingdon*, who gives him the Epithete of *Consul Rigidissimus*, tells us his Disease was a Dysentery, and that he was much grieved he should end is days in such a manner. Perceiving his death to approach, he said, " *How ashamed am I that I should not die in* " *so many Battels, but thus to be reserved to the Ignominious Death of Cowes. Put* " *upon me my impenetrable Corslet, gird me with my Sword, and set my Helmet up-* " *on my Head; give me in my left hand my Buckler, in my right my guilded Sci-* " *miter, that being a most valiant Souldier, like a Souldier I may die.* So he said, and as he said he died in that honourable posture he desired. His Son *Walteof* being very young his Government was bestowed on *Tosti* the Son of *Godwin*.

Siward Duke of *Northumberland* dies.

15. This same year King *Edward* in an Assembly held at *London*, banished Earl *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*, without any cause saith *Simeon*, but *Huntingdon* writes, that he was in the Council convict of Treason. Whether guilty or not, he thought himself so aggrieved that he went over into *Ireland*, and there getting together a Fleet of eighteen Piratical Vessels, he therewith sailed to *Griffin* King of the *Welsh*, and desired his Assistence against King *Edward*. *Griffin* ready to serve him in this particular, raised speedily great Forces, and joining with *Algar* invaded *Herefordshire*, against whom made Head as we formerly hinted *Rodulph* the Sister's Son of *Edward*, one who desired rather to Eat than Fight, and meeting them some two Miles from *Hereford* on the four and twentieth of *October*, horsed all the *English* contrary to their custome who were wont ever to fight on foot. But the Gentleman e'er the Fight was well begun, with his *French* and *Normans* first began to run, which the *English* seeing thought it was no shame to follow their Leader, but in their flight four or five hundred of them were slain, and many wounded. *Griffin* and *Algar* encouraged by this success entred *Hereford*, where they slew seven Canons which would have maintained the great Door of the Principal

Sect. 12. Church against them, which done they burnt the Monastery with all its Ornaments and Relicks, killed some of their Townsmen, took Prisoners more, and having plundred and burnt the City went their ways inriched with great spoil. *Edward* soundly alarmed with the noise hereof, commanded Forces to be raised throughout *England*, which meeting together at *Glocester* he committed the Conduct of them to Earl *Harold*, who Marching speedily into *Wales* incamped himself beyond *Straddale* where *Griffin* and *Algar* durst not look him in the Face, but knowing him to be a Man both of skill and metal fairly betook themselves into South *Wales*. He perceiving they were not to be reached, left there the greater part of his Men with orders to engage the Enemy if they could come at him, and with the rest returned to *Hereford*, which he fortified all ways possible; during which employment of his the two Captains thinking it best to obtain Peace, send their Messengers and procure a meeting at a place called *Byligesleage*, where a firm Peace and Friendship was concluded, in pursuance whereof *Algar* sent his Ships to *Chester* till he could pay them off, and he himself went up to the King from whom he received his former Command. But *Griffin* the year after broke the Peace on his part by setting upon *Leofgar* Bishop of *Hereford* at a place called *Glastbyrig*, whom he there slew, together with his Clerks, *Agelnoth* the vice Earl of the County, and many others.

16. The next year being the MLVII. of Our Lord, *Edward* the Son of *Edmund Ironside* at the desire of his Uncle came into *England* out of *Hungary*, being destined by him his Successour; but he Died not long after at *London*, and was Buried in St. *Paul's* Church, leaving behind him *Edgar Etheling*, and two Daughters *Margaret* and *Christina*. Not long after he was followed to a better life by Earl *Leofric*, who Died in his own Village of *Bromleage*, and was Buried in a Monastery of his own Founding at *Coventry*, a Pious Charitable Man, and the *Nestor* of his Age, to his Councils all the Kings he served, and the whole Realm of *England* being beholden. In his Earldom succeeded his Son *Algar*, but quickly found a miss of him, being Banished the second time not a year after his Father's Death. Yet by the assistence of *Griffin*, the *Welsh* King, who would not desert him, and a Fleet of *Norway* Men, which by chance came in to his help, he is said shortly after by force to have recovered his Government. The following year, *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, came and gave a visit to Kind *Edward*, and contracted so great a Friendship with his Neighbour, *Tosti* the Earl of *Northumberland*, who brought him on his way, that they became sworn Brethren, though to what effect, the event shewed within two years; for *Tosti* being gone to *Rome* with *Aldrid* the Archbishop of *York*, to fetch his Pall from Pope *Nicholas*, his sworn Brother fell in upon the places under his Government, which he cruelly wasted, and brake the Peace of St. *Cuthbert*, in the Island of *Lindisfarne*, as *Simeon* complains. While *Malcolm* thus disturbed the Northern Parts, *Griffin* the King of the *Welsh*, ceased not by his frequent Inrodes and Depredations, both by Land and Sea, to hurry the Western, which gave so great discontent to King *Edward*, that sensible how much he was concerned in honour, he dispatch'd from *Glocester*, where he then lay, after *Christmass* Holy-days, *Harold* against him with a Party of Horse, if possible, to surprize him. Yet got he notice of his coming, and made a shift to escape; but left behind him most of his Ships, which he commanded to be burnt, and so returned. But about *Rogation* week, having got a Fleet in readiness, from *Bristol* he set Sail, and compassing the greatest Part of *Wales*, joyning himself to the Horse, with which his Brother *Tosti*, by the King's Order, met him, and did such mischief in the Countrey, that the *Britains* yielded themselves up to him, delivered up Hostages, consented to pay Tribute, and renounced quite their King *Griffin*. At present *Griffin* escaped, but the following year, he was taken by *Griffin* the King of North *Wales*, and slain, his Head, with the Head of his Ship, being sent as a present to *Harold*. He sent them to King *Edward*, who was so kind as to bestow the Dominions of *Griffin*, upon his two Brethren, *Blechgent* and *Rithwalan*, who in *Harold's* presence, swore Allegiance to him, to obey him, both by Land and Sea, and ingaged to pay without fail, what had been paid out of the Countrey to former Kings.

The *Scots* infest the North of *England*.

And the *Welsh* the Western Parts.

Sim. ad Ann. 1063.

Who are subdued, and *Griffin* their King slain.

17. *Griffin* left behind him a Son named *Caradoc*, who could not digest his Inheritance, thus made over to his Uncles. *Harold*, as a curb to the Countrey, and for his own (or the King's as he pretended) convenience for hunting, caused in the *British* Countrey, at a place called *Portascith* (now *Potskewoth* in *Monmouthshire*, upon the *Severn* Sea near to *Wymouth*) a great House to be erected, and furnished with all conveniences for eating and drinking. *Caradoc* having notice

tice of it, out of disdain and revenge, on St. *Bartholomew's* day, the year following his Father's death came down upon a sudden, slew all the Artificers that there were at work, and took away all the good chear that was provided. Thus was *Harold* robbed of his good chear, in those Parts; and within a little after, his Brother *Tosti* was in danger of being bereaved of his Life, by a Conspiracy raised against him in his own Government, upon these occasions. There was one *Gospatrick*, an Officer in *Northumberland*, with whom he having a quarrel, his Sister, Queen *Egitha*, caused him to be slain at Court, the *Christmas* before. The quarrel being taken up by the Friends and Companions of *Gospatrick*, two of them, *viz. Ganiel* the Son of *Orne*, and *Ulf* the Son of *Dolphin*, he himself having treacherously drawn them in, had also killed in his own Chamber. Besides he had laid intolerable impositions upon the People, which so incensed them, that three or four of the principal Men, *viz. Ganiolbarn*, *Dimstan*, the Son of *Agelnoth*, and *Gloineorn* the Son of *Heardulf*, with four hundred Men in Arms, entred *Tork* a little after *Michaelmas*, and first slew two of his houshold Servants, (his *Huscarles*) *Amund* and *Ravensheart*, having reached them, though they were fled out of the City, and the day following, above two hundred more of his Attendants, on the North side of the River *Humber*. They broke open his Treasury, and having rifled all they could find, then went their ways. *Tosti* hereupon made a loud complaint to the King, and at his desire, was appointed *Harold* his Brother and others to take up the Business. But as they were going down into the North for this purpose, the whole Countrey in a manner met them at *Northampton*, where, and afterward on St. *Simon* and *Jude's* day at *Oxford*, they vehemently opposed the Resolution of *Tosti*, and by no means would admit of Reconciliation; and so vehement they were and resolute, that after the Feast of all Saints, they procured him and his Ministers to be banished. He went over with his Wife to *Baldwin* the Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-law, and *Morkar*, the Son of *Algar*, was made Earl of *Northumberland* in his room.

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Tosti one of *Godwin's* Sons banished.

18. Such was the occasion of *Tosti's* banishment, as most probable, though the Archdeacon of *Huntingdon* (who lived in the time of the *Normans* their Rule over *England*, and heard many tales of the hated Earl *Godwin*, and his Sons) tells us another story. On a day, as the King sate at Dinner at *Windsor*, he was served with the Cup by Earl *Harold*. *Tosti* being present, and not able to endure that his younger Brother should be more favoured than himself in the King's presence, flew in his Face, and caught him by the hair. The scuffle being parted, the King foretold that their destruction was nigh, and that the wrath of God no longer would be deferred. For they were come to that height of barbarism and cruelty, that if they but liked the House or Possessions of any one, they would by night procure the owner to be murthered, with all his Off-spring, to get his Estate: And those were the Justitiaries of the Kingdom. *Tosti* in great rage leaving the Court, went to *Hereford*, where at that time his Brother *Harold* had made vast preparations for Entertainment of the King. There he made a most terrible havock of his Servants, into each of the Vessels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, putting either a Man's Leg, or an Arme, or an Head, sending word to the King, that he should take no care for pickled Meats, as for other sorts he might carry them down with him to his Farm. For this so horrid a villany, the King commanded him to be banished, which the *Northumbrians* understanding, for the many murthers he had there committed, they drove him thence with all his Family, as well *English* as *Danes*, and seized on his Treasure and Magazine in *Tork*. Into his Place they preferred *Marger* (so he calls him) the Son of Earl *Algar*, who with them, and multitudes out of *Lincolnshire*, *Derbyshire*, and *Notinghamshire*, went as far as *Hamton*. Against him marched *Edwin* his Brother, with Men under his Command, and many *Britains*, and at last came up Earl *Harold*, whom the *Northumbrians* procured to goe to the King, to get leave that *Marcher* might be their Governour, which he granted, sending back *Harold* to them to *Hamton*. They in the mean time burnt and pillaged the Countrey, killing many of the Inhabitants, and when their request was granted, many thousands they took along with them, doing that part of the Kingdom so much mischief as it could not recover many years after. Such is the account which *Huntingdon* gives us, strange as to the manner of the behaviour of the *Northumbrians*. And had *Tosti* been guilty of such a rash Act toward his Brother in the King's presence, the King would never have interceded with those of *Yorkshire*, for his keeping his Place as it appears from *Simeon* that he did. Nay, *Malmesbury* tells us plainly, he had it from those that knew that another was put into *Tosti's* place by the

Ad An. Edw. 24.

For his cruel murthers and other Villanies.

Sect. 12. the indeavour of *Harold*, quite contrary to the inclinations of the King, who bore a great love to *Tosti*, but being spent with his Disease and Age, he now began to be slighted by all, and could not succour whom he affected, but thence fell into such trouble of mind, that his Distemper being thereby increased, he died not long after.

19. But if the King upon this or some other occasion, predicted the Ruine of the Sons of *Godwin* (who doubtless were enough to blame) to be near at hand, he was so much in the right, that their ill Stars about this very time began to operate; for if *Tosti* was banished by the King, *Harold* was also driven from *England* by the very Winds and Weather. About the time that his Brother went into *Flanders*, he being for his recreation at his house at *Boseham* in *Sussex*, upon the Sea side; for his farther Pleasure, he took a Fishers Boat, meaning to plye up and down, but going farther off to Sea than he was aware, a Tempest rose and carried him cross the Chanel to the *French* Coast, where glad to be safe any where, he was forc't to Land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*. The men of the place (according to their custome and that barbarous practice which is on foot in most places, to make a prey of distressed and shipwreck'd Persons) presently fall to work. Armed they seize upon the naked, a multitude upon a few, on their hands they put Manacles, and Fetters on their Feet. *Harold* considering what was to be done, hired a Messenger to goe to *William*, by whom he acquaints him how he "was sent by the King, by his word and presence, to confirm what other little "Messengers had but whisper'd, but was kept Prisoner, and hindered from the "discharge of his Message by *Gwido* Earl of *Ponthieu*. It appeared they had a "barbarous and extravagant custome in that Countrey, that such as escaped drown-"ing, should on Land it self be endangered, that it would suit well with a man "of so great repute as he was, not to suffer such villany to goe unpunished, ha-"ving detracted from his Authority, by daring to cast bonds upon one that had "appealed to his Justice; If with money his Liberty was to be redeemed, he would "willingly pay the price to Earl *William*, but not to such an half Man as *Gwido* "was. By command of *William* he is quickly set at liberty, and by *Gwido* conducted to his Court, where being honourably treated in all respects, he is also invited to an expedition into *Little Britain*, where at that time the *Norman* had War. By his Wit and Valour he so approved himself to the Duke, that he was very much taken with him, to whom, that he might the more indear himself, he promised by Oath, that in case King *Edward* died, he would deliver up to him the Castle of *Dover*, which belonged to him, and procure him to succeed in the Kingdom of *England*. This said, the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was betrothed to him, and he was sent home with great gifts.

Harold another Son of *Godwin* Shipwreckt.

20. Some said he was sent over on purpose by *Edward*, who finding himself decay, had in his thoughts pitched upon his Kinsman *William* for his Successour, but *Malmesbury* approves of the other report, that he was driven by Tempest. However, by this promise of his, he intangled himself and incurred the indignation of *William* by his breach of it, which procured him his end, so that he had reason to curse the time of his knowing *Boseham*, which because it was wrongfully and deceitfully got from the right owner, seemed indeed to draw down a curse upon him the second Possessour of it, and it is not amiss here to insert the story, the more to discover the humour of his Father Earl *Godwin*, who as by this and other passages, it appears, so he but got, cared not by what means he came at it. This *Boseham* (or *Bosenham*, as anciently it was called) lying underneath *Chichester*, in the confines of *Hantshire* and *Sussex*, environed round about with Woods, and the Sea together, was formerly before *Bede's* time, onely famous for a small Cell, which one *Dicul* a *Scotch* Monk had in it, where he lived with five or six other Religious Persons, very poorly in the Service of God: Afterwards it came into the hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Godwin* upon sight of it had an itching desire after it, and therefore with a great Train of Gallants, comes smiling and jesting to the Archbishop, with these words. *My Lord, I pray you give me* Boseham. The Archbishop much marvelled what he meant, but at length, whether he thought he alluded to *Basium* a *Busse*, as now we term it, which in times past was used in doing Homage, or was unwilling to displease him, answered; *I give you* Boseham. He hereupon, immediately with his Followers, falls down at his Feet, as was beforehand ordered, and kissing them, with many thanks went back to *Boseham*, of which as Lord, he kept possession by strong hand, and having the slender Testimony of his Friends and Followers to back him, praised much the Archbishop to the King, as his Benefactour, and so held it

Boseham how obtained by *Godwin*.

Walterus Mapæus de Nugis Curialium.

it peaceably till he left it, as it seems, to his Son *Harold*, whose passage hence into *Normandy*, procured the Shipwreck, though not at present, both of his Person, of his Fortunes, and indeed of his Father's Family. Sect. 12.

21. But as to the Message carried over to Duke *William*, there are still more opinions. *Ingulphus* obliged by the Duke, and therefore a favourer of him, writes, that King *Edward*, not long before his Death, perceiving his Kinsman *Edgar Etheling*, the Son of *Edward Clito*, lately deceased, both in respect of his body and Mind, unfit for Government (of which temper his Father is also reputed to have been) and that the evil Off-spring of Earl *Godwin*, daily increased, and got more strength and interest, fixed his thoughts upon Earl *William* of *Normandy*, his Kinsman, and fully resolved to have him succeed him in the Kingdom of *England*, for he was then become famous in War, had triumphed over the *French* King, in the Exercise of Arms, was invincible, a most just Judge in deciding of Causes, as well as most Religious and devout at Divine Service. Hereupon he dispatched to him *Robert*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint him that both in respect to his Kindred and Merit, he had designed him his Successour. Besides this, *Harold* the *Major domo* of the King's Palace, going into *Normandy*, swore not onely to keep the Crown for him, after the decease of King *Edward*; but to marry also his Daughter, which things having passed, he returned magnificently rewarded. This is the account we have from *Ingulphus*, but such as will not hold in reference to the Messenger, for *Robert* the Archbishop, was driven out of the Land before, and therefore King *Edward* could not send him from his side, or presence, as the Abbat words it. *Simeon* has another Story, which sends *Harold* into *Normandy*, but upon another occasion quite different. When *Godwin*, he tells us, was reconciled to the King, he was constrained to give up Hostages for *Edward*'s security, which were *Wulnoth* his own Son, and *Hacun* his Grandson, by his Son *Swane*, and were sent into *Normandy* to *William* the Bastard Son of *Rodbert*, who was Son to *Richard* the King's Mothers Brother. In process of time, when *Godwin* was dead, *Harold* asked leave of the King to goe and fetch home his Brother and Nephew, to whom he answered, that he would not be Authour of his Journey, but that he should not say that he hindered him, he might goe whither he pleased, and try what he could doe; onely he foresaw his Journey would tend to the detriment of the whole Kingdom of *England*, and his own disgrace. For he was assured the Earl was not such a Fool as to dismiss them, without he knew it would redound to his own convenience. But *Harold* ventures to take Ship, and by a great Tempest, is cast upon the Coast of *Ponthieu*, into the mouth of a River called *Maia*, where his Vessel is seized on, as a wreck by the Lord of that Countrey. Hereupon he procures one to goe to *William*, to let him know in what a condition he was, who immediately sends to the Lord of *Ponthieu*, to discharge him, and upon refusal, a second time, threatning else to fetch him away by force. Being now set at Liberty, he goes to *William*, who, very courteously receives him, on purpose to draw him over to his design.

Ad Ann. 1065.

Several accounts of *Harold*'s passage into *Normandy*.

Hinc Rex Edwardus Robertum Archiepiscopum Cantuariæ legatum à latere suo direxit.

22. When he thought him fitly prepared he broke his mind, acquainting him how when his Cousin *Edward* lived there with him in exile, he seriously ingaged to him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would transfer the Inheritance of the Kingdom upon him. He added, that if he would oblige himself to assist him in this matter, keep the Castle of *Dover* with the Well of Water for his service, would send his Sister to him in time convenient to be married to one of his Noblemen, and promise to take his Daughter for his Wife he should now receive his Nephew, and assoon as he came to be King of *England* his Brother should be set at liberty, and when he was once setled in the Throne by his assistence he should have every thing else he could reasonably desire. *Harold* was sensible of the case he was in, and saw there was no remedy but promise whatsoever he required. But *William* with his bare promise would not be satisfied, but bringing forth the Relicks of Saints, made him open their sacred Bodies to swear really to perform whatsoever they had now agreed, which done *Harold* took his Nephew, and with him returned into *England*. When upon the King's Demand he had given him an account of what had passed, he said, *Did not I tell thee that* William *was no fool, and that many mischiefs might happen to this Kingdom by that thy Journey? I foresee great Calamities coming upon this Nation of ours by that thine Act, which I pray God may not happen in my days.* And his Prayer was granted, for King *Edward* shortly after died, and *Harold* as before his death he had ordained succeeded him in his Kingdom. So writes *Simeon*, with whom agrees *Eadmerus* as to the occasion of his Journey. Though *Matthew Paris* believes him driven

The Ingagement betwixt *Harold* and Duke *William*.

Sect. 12. driven thither by force of Tempest, but when he came to get his liberty to have told another Tale quite contrary to the meaning of his Heart, and to have entred with him into that secret confederacy out of Necessity. Of this opinion also as we said is *Malmesbury*, and it seems the more probable.

23. Whatever the occasion of his Promise and Ingagement was, the time was at hand, that he should be put to the Trial. For now approached that year, that dreadfull year to him and his *English Saxon* Nation signalized by a Comet, which portended as *Ingulphus* is of opinion that great change of Government, that Slaughter of the People, and that great misery which came shortly upon the Land. King *Edward* grew every day more sickly, yet kept his *Christmas* at *Westminster*, and assisted at the Dedication of St. *Peter's* Church there, which he had re-edified with all magnificence; but on the Eve of the Epiphany or Twelftide he died, and the day following was buried in his late dedicated Church with Royal rites, to the great sorrow of the miserable People. The general opinion is that he was a simple, honest, harmless Man, and much devoted to Religious Exercises, exceedingly hampered by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, who were but too sensible that he received his Preferment from their Family, and upon that ground were too confident and imposing, as often it happens in such cases. It was the Misfortune of the Nation aswell as of himself, that he was driven into banishment, and living in another Countrey was molded into the humour, fashions and customs of it, and out of good nature constrained to be gratefull to such as had well deserved of him in his Necessities, more than the Temper if not the Interest of his own Subjects could bear or brook. Most of them yet were in compliance and conformity with him so transformed into foreign shapes, as foretold their Subjection in a short time to those the manners and usages of whom they had already taken up, so that the Conquerours needed but to come to master their Bodies, their minds and affections were theirs already, their humour was already run out of *England*, so that the *Normans* needed not herein to play any after-Game.

King *Edward* dies.

Anno autem Domini 1066. *Cometa in cœlo apparuit, quod Regni mutationem magnam populi stragem & multam terræ miseriam portendit: unde dicitur illud metricum:*

Anno Milleno Sexagena quoque Sexo.
Anglorum metæ Crinem sensere Cometæ.

Ut enim Philosophi dicunt quo dirigit, Crinem, illuc dirigit & discrimen. Sic Ingulphus.

24. *Ingulphus* an Eye-witness is our informer, who writes that *Edward* being born in *England* but bred in *Normandy*, through his long continuance in that Countrey was almost changed into a *Frenchman*, and brought very many over with him whom he promoted to various Dignities, and greatly exalted under the King and other *Normans*; thus introduced all the Land began to leave off their *English* Customs, and to imitate the manners of the *French*. All the Noblemen in their Houses spake the *French* Tongue as mighty gentile, made their Charters and Writings after the *French* fashion, and grew to be ashamed of their own usages, both in these and other matters: and this humour more and more increased, till to those they admired, at length they became Slaves and Vassals. But so King *Edward* died, or as *Malmesbury* words it, being full of years and glory yielded up his simple (that is his innocent well-meaning) Spirit to the Heavenly Kingdom, after he had reigned, saith *Simeon*, three and twenty years, six Months and seven and twenty days, which must be reckoned then from the death of *Hardecnute*, and not from his own Preferment, which was as we said in the year following. He is said to have been so chast that though he was married, yet he never as an Husband enjoyed his Wife, which some attribute to the Aversion he had to her for her Father's sake, but if that was the Cause of his Abstinence, his self denial, and in this respect his suffering, he could not in this deserve the Name of a Confessour (given to those that suffer for Christ though not unto death) which yet in respect of this or other parts of his Conflicts against flesh and bloud he obtained, and came to be known by the Name of St. *Edward*. But in him the Royal Regnant-Line of the West *Saxon* Kings, which from *Cerdic* according to the Calculation of *Malmesbury* had in *Britain*, Dominion for five hundred and seventy one years, and from *Egbert* two hundred and sixty one years, received its Period.

Is mightily Frenchified.

Rex autem Edwardus natus in Anglia sed nutritus in Normannia & diutissimè immoratus pænè in Gallicum transierat, &c. Cœpit ergo tota terra sub Rege & sub aliis Normannis introductis Anglicos ritus dimittere, &c. Vide ad Annum 1043. *Ita ævi plenus & gloriæ simplicem spiritum cœlesti Regno exhibuit.*

25. To the Glory and Happiness of this West *Saxon* Family, it did belong not by its ending to put an end to the *English* Empire, and in its own Ruine involve the Catastrophe of the whole Nation: this was reserved to a baser House, out of which an Upstart should arise to pull down the whole Fabrick, and bury himself in the Ruines thereof, *Edward* being dead there were three that laid claim to the Crown. The first, whose undoubted Right it was, was *Edgar Etheling* the Son of *Edward*, the Outlaw lately mentioned, the Grandson of *Edmund Ironside*, the Elder Brother of him who had the last Possession, though according to the Right of Primogeniture not the best Title. The next was *William* of *Normandy*, the Kinsman of the late King by his Mother being her Brothers Grandson, one who in bloud could

A dispute about the Succession.

could find no pretext; but upon the kindness and pretended promise of his Kinsman. The last was *Harold* the Son of *Godwin*, who could not produce any shew of Right by Descent, but alledged the late King's Designment, and thought he could plead more merit than them both. *Edgar* was a Stranger, had had neither time, nor ability in Estate or mind to make any more Interest than what mere Conscience had wrought in the minds of men, which is usually very infirm upon such Occasions. *William* indeed was a considerable Prince, and as such acknowledged, but betwixt him and *England* there was a deep Ditch, not easily got over as was imagined, and Dangers at a Distance are not so much regarded. *Harold* was Noble, a goodly Man, the greatest Minister of the deceased King, one of much Valour and excellent Conduct, a Person civil and obliging, of such Qualifications as fitted him for a Crown; and what was more than all, had all the Court and Grandees at his beck, whom by kindness he had either won, or by awe had conquered and brought over to his Party. He took the advantage and knowing delays to be dangerous, the same day that *Edward* was buried he assumed the Title and was crowned King, being chosen, as *Simeon* saith, by the Princes of all *England*. Sect. 12.

Harold is chosen King.

26. Being King he streight took those Courses, which most of those who are conscious to themselves of their bad or weak Titles are wont, and all other Princes ought to take. All unjust Laws he antiquated, made better in their stead, became a Patron of Churches and Monasteries, seemed not onely to respect but even reverence Bishops, Abbats, Monks, and even all the Clergy; to all good men he shewed himself pious, humble and affable, and to all that was bad he manifested an Aversion, commanding all his Officers in general to lay in wait for all Thieves, Robbers and Disturbers of the Peace; in conclusion, he made it his Business to defend his Countrey both by Sea and Land. But both his own Fate, and that of the Nation was too urgent to suffer him long to continue these practices. On the twenty fourth of *April* a dreadfull Comet appears, seen, as was reported, throughout the world with great Lustre for seven days together. The first mischief portended thereby, was from *Harold*'s own Brother *Tosti*, who having been banished chiefly by his procurement to be out of the way, and not able to digest his preferment to the Regal Dignity, was moved with so much Envy and Indignation as to endeavour all ways possible to unking him, for which purpose he came out of *Flanders* with some Ships to the Isle of *Wight*, whence after he had forced Money from the Inhabitants, he departed and plaid the Pirate upon all the Coasts till he came to *Sandwich* Haven. *Harold* being then at *London*, upon notice thereof got in readiness both a strong fleet and a good Party of Horse, with which he resolved in Person to go to *Sandwich*, which *Tosti* understanding took along with him all the Seamen he could find, and went to the Coast of *Lindsey*, where he burnt many Villages, and killed many Men; but *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Merkar* Earl of *Northumberland*, hasted into those Parts with an Army, and soon forced him to quit the Countrey. Thence he sailed into *Scotland* to King *Malcolm*, and with him continued the whole Summer.

Takes good Courses at first.

His Brother *Tosti* infests the Land from *Flanders*.

De eo sic Malmesb. Perstitit incepto Haroldus (post mortem Regis intellige) ut fratrem exlagaret. De Willielmo primo, lib. 3. p. 104.

27. *Harold* lying at *Sandwich* in expectation of his Brother when he perceived he had taken another course sailed to the Isle of *Wight*, and about those Coasts he plied all Summer and Autumn, having a land Army bestowed in all places he saw convenient at the Sea side. For another Guest he looked for who required greater Preparations for his Reception than his Brother *Tosti*, *viz. William* the Duke of *Normandy*, who had before this sent to him to *put him in mind of his Promise and Oath, and to require a performance of what had been agreed betwixt them.* "This *Harold* thought was very unreasonable to require of one who was already in Possession of a Kingdom, and was come to it by the unanimous consent of the Nobility and People. He answered, that what he then promised was in Captivity at a time when he was not his own Man, and that could not be called his own Act which Constraint and Necessity forced from him. But had he voluntarily done what he was so far from intending, it could not have been valid, forasmuch as he could not take an Outlandish Woman to Wife, being King, without the Assent of the Estates, much less could he Swear away the Succession and Right to the Crown without their knowledge, consent and allowance. To these reasons which he looked upon as very good when backed with a better Sword it's said that he added contempt, because as he thought he was out of danger, sending away the Ambassadours on lame Horses. That on which he chiefly insisted was, that *William*'s Daughter was Dead, the Marriage with whom was the foundation of all that had passed be-

But Duke *William* is expected.

Sect. 12. " twixt them, and this was the ground of his confidence, that he looked upon " his Rival as having his Hands full from the Neighbouring Princes in his own " Countrey. The Duke hereupon resolved to attempt by War what by Words he could not compass, but to proceed gravely and with due preparations, considering the greatness of the Enterprize; for he knew his Adversary to be a stout and resolute Man, and made no other account but that he was to grapple with the strength of a whole Nation.

28. Therefore with all diligence did he set himself to the work he had in hand. All his own Souldiers he kept in pay the whole year, and though to his great charge hired others from adjacent places. He used great discretion in the choice of his Men; listing such as were tall and of strong constitution. His Captains and Officers were both practised in Warlike matters, and of mature Age to govern both themselves and others; not heady rash Young Men, who usually by their heat and indiscretion ruine an Army. And indeed he was exceedingly well served at this time, his Prelates striving who should excell one another in Acts of Religion, and his Nobles in Deeds of Magnanimity and Liberality, so that the Monk of *Malmesbury* admires how within the term of sixty years they should become so degenerate, not considering the luxurious effects of wealth and prosperity, great Possessions and Affluence of all things in a new Conquered Countrey. But as *William* made all as sure as he could at home, so abroad he sought for Reputation to his cause, by sending to the Pope, and making his Pretences as plausible as he could, which *Harold* omitted, thinking himself strong enough without the help of a verbal or Paper Assistence. Pope *Alexander* in token of his Approbation sends him a Consecrated Banner, well satisfied with his bare affirmation that King *Edward* himself, besides what *Harold* had engaged, by the Advice of Earl *Siward*, Earl *Godwin*, and *Stigand* the Archbishop, had chosen him for his Successour, and had as Pledges or Hostages sent over to him both the Son and the Nephew of *Godwin*. Having received the Banner as a good Omen, he assembled his Nobility and Officers at *Lillibone*, where laying open the whole matter to them, they promised to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, which resolution he cherished by great promises of Reward, and according to their several Abilities appointed what every one was to contribute towards a Fleet. This done he dismissed them till the Month of *August*, and then they all met again at St *Valerie* a Port Town, where they staid many days for a Wind, which stay made the Common Souldiers mutter, blaming him for attempting to get another Man's Countrey, and alledging, that his Father having such a Design had miscarried, and that it was fatal to the Family to be crossed by God Almighty in their endeavours after things too high for them.

Vid. Malmesb. lib. 3. in Willielmo primo.

Who with a Consecrated Banner is ready to set Sail.

29. The Duke was sensible whither these Discourses tended, and how much his whole Affair was thereby indangered. Taking Council then with his Officers, he caused the Relicks of St. *Valerick* (one of the Disciples of *Columbanus* who by King *Clothair* was made Abbat of a Monastery in this place, in the Territories of *Amiens* on the Mouth of the River *Some*, and imparted his Name unto it) to be brought forth and exposed for the obtaining of a fair Wind, which without delay followed upon the Ceremony. Then very chearfully did they call one upon another to get out to Sea, the Earl himself being the first that went on shipboard, by his example to draw on the rest. Following close the Admiral Gally they had a fair Passage, and after they had refreshed themselves arrived at a place called *Pevensey*, as some write, or *Bulverhith* three miles distant, as others most in the right, or at *Hastings* as some also deliver, following herein the custome of the Ancients to ascribe a Battel or any memorable Accident to the next place of Note in that Countrey wherein the thing fell out. *As* William *was going ashore his Feet slipped, and down he fell on his Hands*, which a Souldier observing told him a-loud, *That he had already taken Possession of* England. His Army he forbad to Plunder or at all to indamage the Countrey which was shortly to be theirs, which saying being by Ancient Historians related of former Conquerours, the Monks apply to him, but with no good reason, for when after the overthrow of King *Harold* they had better reason to think the Countrey would be theirs, he laid no such Injunctions upon them, but permitted them to burn and kill at their pleasure. But so he landed, and for fifteen days he kept himself quiet, not to refresh his Army, but either to consider better what he was to doe, or to build a Fort to have recourse to in case of Danger, for his Ships he burnt that his Men might think of no mean betwixt Death and Conquest.

The Wind serving,

He and his followers land.

30. His

Sect. 12.

30. His whole Fleet is said to have consisted of nine hundred Sail, but others increase the number to above a thousand, which are not then to be understood of such Ships as ours now-a-days, but flat bottom'd Boats, or Hulkes, such as were fit for transporting Men and Horses. Hereof as an *Anonymus* Writer, about the Reign of his Son *Henry*, wrote, *William* his Sewer the Son of *Osbern* supplied him with sixty Vessels. *Hugh* his Nephew, afterward Earl of *Chester*, with so many; *Hugh de Mumfort* with fifty Ships, and sixty Souldiers; *Romus* the Elemosynary of *Tescan*, afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*, with one Ship and twenty Men. *Nicolas* the Abbat of St. *Audoen* with fifteen Ships and an hundred Men. *Robert* Earl of *Angus* with sixty Ships. *Gerold* the Sewer with as many. *William* Count of *Deurons* with eighty Ships. *Roger* of *Montgumeri* with sixty. *Roger de Bunmont* with sixty. *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux* with an hundred. *Robert de Mortimer* with an hundred and twenty. And *Water Giffard* thirty Vessels with an hundred Men. Besides these which by the Authour's computation make a thousand, from others of his Dependants he had many other Ships from every one according to his Ability. His Wife *Matildis* for honour of the Expedition caused a Ship to be made Named *Mora* wherein he himself crossed the Sea, having on the Prow a Child of Gold with the right Hand pointing to *England*, and with the left holding an Ivory Whistle at his Mouth; for which out of requital Duke *William* her Husband assigned her the County of *Kent*, when he had got full Possession of that Province.

With a great Fleet.

31. *William*'s Arrival was accompanied with some of those lucky hits, circumstances or accidents which ever attend upon Conquests. *Harold* was now out of the way. He had expected him all the Summer, till about the middle of *September*, when judging he would give him no trouble that year, and Provisions failing, both the Fleet and Army quitted the Posts he had assigned them at the Sea side. As if *Tosti* had been hired by the *Normans* on purpose to divert his Brother from the Maritime Parts, to weaken his Force, nay to break in pieces his whole Power, Helpes and Assistences, he applies himself to *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, whom he knew to bear a Months mind to the Kingdom of *England*, and agrees in Conjunction with him to make an Invasion. Having united their Fleets they sailed up into the River *Humber*; and from it into *Ouse*, and landed at a place called *Rickale*, whence they marched to *Tork*, and took it after a fierce Assault. *Harold* upon notice having made due preparation hastes into the North, but before him the two Earls, and Brothers, *Edwin* and *Morkar*, with considerable Forces had marched against them, and upon St. *Matthew*'s Eve on the Northern bank of *Ouse* at *Fulford*, ingaged them with good Success at the beginning, for fighting very valiantly they did great Execution. But the *English* after a long fight, not able to sustain the violence and Numbers of the *Norwegians*, turned their backs after many of them were slain, and more were drowned in the adjoyning River. This done, the *Norwegians* received from those of *Tork* five Hundred Hostages, and leaving there an hundred and fifty of their own, returned to their ships; and on the fifth day after, being the five and twentieth of *September*, King *Harold* with a great Army comes to the City. Thence marching to a place called *Stanfordbridge* (afterward from this occasion *Battelbridge*, upon the River *Darwent* in the *East Riding* of *Torkshire*) he gave them Battel, wherein after terrible resistence made, were slain both *Harold Harvager* and *Tosti*, and the Victory remained with him. *Olane* the Son of *Harold*, with the Earl of *Orcada* called *Paul* who were left with the Army to keep the ships he suffered to depart with twenty Vessels, and the remainder of their Forces, having first received their Oaths and Hostages to attempt nothing against him for the time to come. But here we are to take notice what *Malmesbury* tells us of a certain *Norway* Man, who alone by himself for some time retarded the Victory of the *English*, though methinks we can hardly believe it. This Man standing upon the entrance of the Bridge, having killed not one, or two, or three, but many of his Enemies, hindred the whole Army from passing. Being spoke to to yield himself, and bid be assured that a Man of such strength and metal would find good usage; he derided them, and with a grim countenance reviled them for pitifull Men that could not master him alone. At length none would come to him thinking it madness to Encounter with a Man so desperate, but one at a distance shot him with a Dart, while like a Braggadocio he behaved himself negligently; and so he falling the *English* got passage, and obtained the Victory in the manner aforesaid. The Body of *Tosti* being known by a Wart between his Shoulders, was carried to *Tork* and there Buried. In the Plunder of the Field if we may believe *Adam Bremensis*, so

Tosti and the King of *Norway* invade the North of *England*.

Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann. MLXVI.

But are both killed and their Armies.

Sect. 12. so great a quantity of Gold was found, that twelve lusty young men were scarcely able to bear it on their Backs.

Harold disobliges his Souldiers by taking all the Spoyl to himself.

32. *Harold* having obtained the Victory and so much Treasure, became *Penny wise*, as the Proverb is, and *Pound foolish*. He thought it behoved him to play the Good Husband, not to be lavish of his Money, but fill his Coffers, and lay up for future and distant Events. He little imagined that this great Gamester was landed, and that he must now speedily push for all. In the two last Battels he had lost the flower of his Army, most of his best Souldiers were slain; and those that remained he so disobliged by taking all the Plunder to himself, and defrauding them as they alledged of the price of their bloud, that they renounced his Interest, repented of what they had done already for him, and resolved, in case he should have the like occasion, to suffer him to fight for himself. This errour was no sooner committed, but as he sate feasting for joy at *York* he had the News of the *Norman* Duke his Arrival with very numerous and Disciplin'd Forces. And now he being to be ruined, his Fate hurried him to Resolutions and Actions quite contrary to those of him who was to raise himself out of his misfortune. As he had disobliged these men who were to fight against Souldiers that loved and had been obliged by their Captain, so, whereas his Adversary went soberly and judiciously to work, in making preparation for the main Encounter, he did nothing less. He neither took any care in gathering together his Souldiers, nor any time for Consultation about so weighty an Affair, but all bloudy as he was, and with but a slender Company hastes towards the place where the *Normans* lay, as if the fortune of *Cæsar, onely to come to see, and then overcome, were devolved upon him*, because of his late Northern success. Coming to *London* all in an Heat, he would not tarry for such Supplies as were on their way toward him, but hurries into *Sussex*, and would needs find out the Enemy and ingage e'er one third part of his Army could be put in order. Yet he sent some Spies before to survey the number and strength of the *Normans*, whom being discovered (as *Malmesbury* writes) *William* caused to be led about the Camp, and after they had eat and drank plentifully to be sent back to their Master. Being demanded how matters stood, they spake much of the Magnificence and Confidence of the Duke, and seriously professed they believed, that well nigh all that were with him were Priests, because they were shaven, not onely Face, but both the Lips; for at this time the *English* wore large *Mustachoes* on the upper lip, a custome which *Julius Cæsar* takes notice to have been amongst the Ancient *Britains*. The King laughed and said they were not Priests, but stout and couragious Souldiers, knowing well enough the Qualities of the *Normans*, with whom he himself had been but lately conversant. His Brother *Gyrth* a Youth of Courage and Knowledge above his years, at his extolling the valour of the *Normans*, took occasion to tell him that he thought it was Indiscretion for him to fight with them, forasmuch as he could not deny but that either willingly or against his mind he had given *William* his Oath. He advised him to withdraw himself, and suffer him and the rest to try their Fortune, who were never obnoxious by any Oath, and might justly fight in defence of their Countrey. If he should fight it was to be feared he must either die or flie; but in case they did the same, he might either succour and unite them flying or revenge their death.

Simeon. Malmesb. Alii.

Then hears of the Duke's Landing.

But acts without consideration.

Prævolat igitur universos, exercet stimulos, nec de toto exercitu præter paucissimos eum aliquis Concomitatur. Ingulph. Perveniens citius Hastingas, Collectaque illic aliquali popularium turba, confectaque ex iis acie adhuc rudi nimis & tenera, exercitum non expectat, sed fatis urgentibus contra Comitem in crastino dimicat & fortissime tota die usque ad vesperum invictus perdurans ac sæpius more gregarii militis manu ad manum congrediens cum adversariis robustissime digladians à dextris & à sinistris, corruit tandem in diei crepusculo, in quodam ubi suos collegerat, monticulo eminus sagittatus. Idem.

33. *Harold* by no means would hearken to his Advice, as that which tended to his dishonour, and by objection of Cowardise would blemish the Actions of all his Life. And in as great heat and haste he rejected the Monk who brought him three Proposals from the Duke, "Either to resign the Kingdom to him, according "to what had formerly passed betwixt them: or to hold it of him: or to decide "the Controversie with him before the two Armies in a single Combat, to prevent "the Effusion of Christian Bloud. His Answer was, that God should be Judge betwixt them; or as others write, that the Swords of the Nations should decide it. No hopes then of any Accommodation appearing, each according to the custome of his Countrey prepared to fight the next Morning. The *English* are said to have spent all the Night in Singing and Drinking, the *Normans* in Confession of their Sins, and in the Morning to have Communicated. The Fatal day being come, which was the two and twentieth of *October*, the *English* were drawn up into a close Body armed with Battel-Axes and Shields, and by the Standard stood the King on foot with his Brothers, that the danger being common, none might think of running away. The forefront of the *Normans* consisted of Foot, being most Archers, and flancked with a Wing of Horse on each hand, wherein consisted the great strength of their Army. The Duke himself chearfully and audibly affirmed his Cause

Rejects all good advice, and the Proposals of Duke *William*.

They prepare for Battel.

Cause was just, and that God would accordingly respect it, and called for his Armour, which being brought to him in an hurry, his Corslet was put on the wrong way, which errour he corrected by this pleasant Conceit, that *He perceived his Dukedom was changed into a Kingdom.* At the Head of his Army he put them in mind of the Valour and Renown of their Ancestours, and especially of *Rollo*, how they had beaten the *French* King in the very Heart of his Kingdom; and compelled him to give them as large a part of his Countrey as they would accept. How since that they had taken another *French* King Prisoner at *Rouen*, and compelled him to restore *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* when a Child, and last of all he brought to their Memories what memorable things they had done under his own Conduct, and concluded with confidence of Victory both from the guilt of *Harold* who had wilfully Perjured himself, and of the whole Nation, upon which he cast the cruel and traitorous Murther of his Kinsman and their own Prince *Alfred.* Sect. 12.

34. The *Normans* then beginning the Song of *Rowland* by the Martial Example of that Heroe, as they accounted him, to excite themselves to imitation, and imploring Divine Assistence went against the *English*, who were as ready to meet them, though the ground they stood on was strait and inconvenient for fight; which as *Simeon* writes, caused many of them to take the opportunity of slipping away. Those that staid to be sure fought very valiantly, and neither by the showers of Arrows nor any other means could their Impenetrable Body be broken, till *William* bethought him of this Strategem, to cause his Men to retire back as if they fled, which by a desire of Pursuit drew them out of their order; this done, they faced about and fell upon them, who by this means had half routed themselves. Yet in their flight did they often rally and make Head against the Pursuers, selling their Lives at very dear Rates, and part of them having got an Hill, when the *Normans* all in a heat climbed up after them, having the advantage of the ground they tumbled them down, and by casting down Stones quite overpowered them. In another place by their knowledge of the Countrey, being more dextrous in passing a Ditch, they made very great slaughter of their Enemies, and filled it up with their dead Carkasses. Thus remained the success doubtfull, sometimes seeming to incline to the one side and sometimes to the other, from nine of the Clock in the Morning, till it grew dark, and then *Harold* after he had discharged all the Parts both of a skilfull Commander and a valiant Souldier was shot into the Head and died. He being gone, about whom the Controversie was, though their Countrey was as much concerned, the *English* Souldiers began to loose their Courage and take the advantage of the Night to flie. With him fell his two Brothers *Gyrth* and *Leofwin* and the greatest part of the *English* Nobility. *William* hereby remained Victour, who by his Courage and Activity deserved the Garland, having so bestirred himself all the day, and ventur'd his person, that three choice Horses one after another were killed under him. Toward his dead Enemy he shewed himself generous, freely and without Ransome giving up his Body to his Mother, though she offered much Money for it; and, before that, when, as it lay in the Field, a certain Souldier by way of Contempt and Revenge gave it a cut in the Thigh, he was so displeased with the man, that he instantly casheir'd him the Army, for doing so pitysfull and Cowardly a Deed.

Wherein *Harold* is slain, and his Army routed.

35. *Harold* by his Mothers care was buried at *Waltham* in a Church of Canons founded and endowed by himself. When the News of his Defeat was spread abroad, the two Earles *Edwin* and *Morgan* who had upon discontent withdrawn themselves from him came to *London*, and sending away their Sister *Algitha* the Queen to *Chester*, they tampered with the Citizens to make one of them King, but found them very cool in the business, for as in duty they were concern'd, their Inclinations were toward *Edgar Etheling*, and with them joyned *Aldred* the Archbishop of *York* and many of the Nobility. Hereupon the two Earls went away in discontent into *Northumberland*, where they thought Duke *William* would not come, not caring what became of the Cause of *Edgar* or of their own Countrey, because their ambitious purposes were not gratified. The Conquerour having setled his matters about *Hastings*, made not first to *London*, and afterwards went back into *Kent* (as *Spot* the Abbat of St. *Augustin's* in *Canterbury*, and others following him, have erroneously written, and thereupon told a Tale of the *Kentish* men their meeting him with Boughs, and procuring from him a Confirmation of their Privileges) but took his Journey toward *Dover* Castle, which he and many others long time after esteemed as the very Key of *England.* In his passage by

Romney

Sect. 12. *Romney Marsh* he avenged himself of some Savage kind of People dwelling thereabout, who had killed some of his men that by mistake had landed at that place. To the Castle Multitudes of People had betaken themselves because it was held impregnable, yet affrighted at his presence they streight way surrendred it, in the fortifying whereof he spent eight days, and then proceeding Northward at a place not far distant the *Kentish* men of their own Accord came in to him, sware fealty to him and gave up their Hostages for performance. Continuing then his March he understood what canvasing there was at *London* betwixt the two Earls and those that stood for *Edgar Etheling*, whereupon he made toward them and sate down not far from the City. Thence certain Companies issued out against him, but with five hundred Horse he easily repelled them, killing divers in the Chace, and here began the misery of poor *England*. The Duke seem'd resolv'd before this to carry himself with all gentleness (at least some so believe) and bring over the *English* by kind usage, but seeing they made head against him, and put him to farther trouble and danger, he changed his purpose resolving to make an absolute Conquest of the Land. For upon this Sally all the Buildings South of the *Thames* he commanded or permitted to be fired.

Guil. Pictavensis Guil. Ducis Cappellanus in ejus Gestis & Ordericus Vitalis. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3.

Then *Dover* is surrendred to the Conquerour.

And the *Kentish* men submit.

36. Passing the *Thames* he removed to *Wallingford*, whither *Stigand* the Archbishop, and others of the *English* Nobility, confounded in their Designs, and not knowing what other course to take, came to him deserting young *Edgar*; as also did the *Londoners*, who giving up themselves into his Power, delivered such and so many Hostages as he thought convenient. Thence by degrees he came to *London*, permitting his men all the while to doe as in an Enemies Countrey with Fire and Sword, and on *Christmas* day was Crowned King at *Westminster* by *Aldred* the Archbishop of *Tork*, for against *Stigand* of *Canterbury* objection was made, that he did not legally hold that Place, nor had rightly taken his Pall. Before the Crown was set on his Head, he gave his Oath at the Altar, in presence of the Nobility and all the People, to protect the Church in its Rights and Liberties, to govern the People according to Law and Justice, to maintain them in their Rights, and protect them from Spoil and Rapine. Here is our Period. For having set him on the Throne, the Discourse of his Life, and how by Particulars he either governed according or contrary to his Oath, whether he that had made such a noise with the Perjury of *Harold*, had not ever a special care not to be guilty of that horrid Crime, belongs to a Treatise of the New Dynasty of the *Normans*. Yet shall we, though we have no full prospect, admit the Reader to look as it were through the Curtain, and see a little how he acted his Part of King over his new Subjects, by the assistence of *Ingulphus*, who was himself a prime Spectatour, if not a sort of Actour, being preferred to be Abbat of *Croyland*, and otherwise much favoured by him. Having instanced in several Noblemen, whom either he had Imprisoned or Banished, he adds, That the *Earldoms, Baronies, Bishopricks, and the Preferments of all the Land he distributed to his* Normans, *and scarce admitted any* Englishman *to any State of Honour or Power*. Nay, *they so abominated the* English, *that how deserving soever they were, they were outed of all Preferments: And Strangers less fit by far, of any Nation under Heaven, were admitted* gratis *into their places*. How they abominated and altered their Language and Customs, it's not convenient here to insist. Almost all the *Kentish* Lands he seized, as well as those of other Provinces; Church Lands were every where devoured, and all things belonging to the *English* became Prey and Booty.

Then the *Londoners*.

Duke *William* Crowned King at *Westminster*.

Coronationis autem Officium noluit ab Archiep. Stigando percipere (cujus dignitati solebat illud Officium ex debito pertinere) eo quod ab Apostolico Papa illum Calumniatum audierat suum palleum non sumpsisse Canonicé. Ingulph.

But neglects his Coronation Oath.

Deinceps ergo Comitatus & Baronias, Episcopatus, & Prælatias totius terræ suis Normannis Rex distribuit & vix aliquem Anglicum ad honoris statum vel alicujus dominii principatum ascendere permisit. ——Tantum tunc Anglicos abominati sunt ut quantocunque merito pollerent, de dignitatibus pellerentur; & multo minus habiles alienigenæ de quacunque alia Natione quæ sub cœlo est, extitissent, gratanter assumerentur. Gervasius Dorobern.

Several miscarriages of *Harold* and the *English*.

37. But here it may justly be said, that the *English* were the forgers of their own Fortune; all these mischiefs having come upon them through their own Egregious folly and neglect. So they behaved themselves as if they had a desire to be inslaved by those whom they did so much admire, but onely imitated in what was worst; and being so set for their own destruction, destiny put to her helping hand. For how strangely, how like an harebrain'd Man did *Harold* in this business behave himself; how contrary to his former wisedom and conduct? He being really a Man for all accomplishments, very well worthy of a Crown. He could not

not but know that *William* would invade him the next year, if he came not this, and yet he must disoblige his Souldiers, and that by a dirty action of taking all the Booty to himself, a folly of which at another time he could scarcely have been guilty. Then doth he amend one errour by another, hurries away against the Enemy, that he knew must be both resolved and desperate; that must be fully bent either to conquer, or dye, being penned in by a deep Ditch, the Bridge over which he himself had broken down. Without staying but a day or two for supplies, he hastes away as one who had designed first to fight with a disobliged Army, and then with no Army at all, alone, and in his own Person. The Battel shewed it was not Courage but Conduct, that the *English* wanted, if so few stood it out, and that upon even terms with the *Normans*, till their Captain fell, how easie would the Victory have been, had he used any moderate care in his management? Then after his death, how easily might this loss have been repaired? Though many of the Nobility fell, and many Souldiers, yet these Souldiers were but such as he picked up as he could, the strength of the Nation was not much more impared, than after the Northern expedition; for *Ingulphus* writes expresly, that he flew away to *Hastings*, not staying for the Army. Such Forces as were coming up to *Harold*, with those of *Edwin* and *Morkar*, would have been sufficient, or might have been filled up with such numbers (all willingly giving in their Names at such a time as this) as might have made the *Norman* repent he had burnt his Ships, for all his late success he obtained in *Sussex*. His expedition was not so quick, nor his march so in haste, but they had time enough to unite. Nay, he so carried himself in this, as if he had a mind they should reinforce themselves; for his best way had been to march directly for *London*, to dissipate all Forces, and hinder the forming of new Armies, for being every where Master of the Field, Forts and Castles must have come in of themselves, being of no great value in those days, as appeared by the large swinge the *Danes* took throughout the Land, without any considerable let or interruption from Castles, notwithstanding all the Fortresses said to be raised, or repaired, by *Edward* the Elder and his Sister. But instead of preparation for driving away the common Enemy, they become Enemies one to another, and stand in competition for that Crown which he had already got, on the point of his Sword, though not on his Head. These were prodigious miscarriages, not incident to any that had reason about them, but absolute effects of such vitious tempers as infatuate Mens minds, and enervate the Powers of their Souls, both effects and signs, and carrying the punishments along with them, of some notable extravagances, of which, not onely particular Families, but even the whole Nation it self was guilty.

Sect. 12

Exercitum non expectat.

38. And that the *English* were now guilty of such extravagances, as ever forerun such Calamities and Revolutions, as by debauching their minds, render them abject, pitifull, and fit for slavery, we have but too good Testimony to assure us. The Monk of *Malmesbury*, who being of *English* Descent, as well as *Norman*, professes he had no prejudice to either Nation, and we may take his word, the course of his writing making no shew of the contrary, taking a view of their manners from their first entering and planting in the Island, observes that they were various. " At their first coming, their gesture and look was altogether barbarous, and they were wholly given to War as long as they continued Pagans. " When they had once received Christian Religion, they applied themselves in " a manner wholly to it, giving to Arms but the second place; and here he instances in Rich and Poor, Ecclesiasticks and Seculars, Kings, Bishops, Hermites " and Abbats, not one Nation indeed being able to vye with this in that respect. " But the study of Learning and Religion were grown quite out of fashion, in " the foregoing Age, not a few years before the coming of the *Normans*. The " Clergy contenting themselves with a trifling kind of literature, scarcely able to " pronounce the words belonging to their several Services. He that understood " Grammar, was a wonder, and Matter of astonishment to the rest. The Monks " went fairly clad, and observed not the Rules of their Orders, as to Meat and " Drink. The Nobles were given over to Gluttony and Lust, not going to " Church in the Morning as Christians ought to doe. The common People was " exposed as a Prey to the great ones, both in their Persons and Estates, many having got their Women Servants with Child, when they had satisfied their lust, " turned them over either to the common Brothel Houses, or kept them perpetually in that course of slavery. They were universally given to Drunkenness, " spending night and day in Tipling, making great chear, and being at great " expence

A general character of the *English*.

Sect. 12. "expence in their mean and pitifull Houses, of a quite contrary disposition to the "*Normans* in this respect, who in fair and stately Houses lived very thriftily. And Drunkenness was accompanied with the usual Vices which debauch and render effeminate the minds of Men.

39. Hence came it to pass, that rather carried headlong with temerity and fury, than any true skill they had in War, they ingaged with Duke *William*, and by loosing the day, inslaved both themselves and Countrey. In Sum, the *English* then wore their Clothes short, cut their Hair, shaved their Faces, (all, he means, but their upper Lip) loaded their Armes with golden Bracelets, marked their Skin with divers Images, would Eat till they surfeited, and Drink till they vomited, which last Vices they communicated to the Conquerours, in all things else taking up, and admiring their Modes. But this he would not have understood of all, but of the *English* in general; forasmuch as to his knowledge there were many good Men, both amongst Clergy and Laity. *But*, saith he, *as in times of prosperity, the goodness of God most commonly cherishes the bad with the good, so in the Captivity of a Nation, sometimes his severity involves the good in the same Calamities with the bad.* They had formerly, as *Ingulphus* assures us, run out of themselves, and become *French*, by idolising and imitating the *Normans*, in all that was light and trivial; now they must serve whom before they ador'd. Those that were so enamoured of all things that were *French*, that they would wish rather to be served by a *French* Dog, than an *English* Man, now had the privilege to be called and used as Dogs, by their late Lacquies, upon whom, out of the influence of their former affection, it's to be presumed, that like Spaniels, they more fawned the more they beat them. And such Women as ravished with the Persons, and deportment of their *French* Guests, would flock to stare at and admire them even at the Gallows, or when they were Arraigned or led to Execution, now might stay at home and save their pains, might view and satisfie themselves with that contenting sight, while they beheld them knocking on the Head, or hanging up their dull *English* Husbands, Sons or Brothers, at their own Doors. But no more of this dismal Subject. Onely, Reader, remember that the same Causes ordinarily produce the same Effects. We will dismiss our *English Saxon* Ancestors with what is more comfortable; by taking a view of their Polity, their Laws, and better Customs.

Verum sicut in tranquillitate malos cum bonis fovet plerumq; Dei serenitas, ita in Captivitate bonos cum malis nonnunquam ejusdem constringit severitas. De Willielmo primo, lib. 3. p. 102. Edit. Savilianæ. Ut quasi per transennam videas quàm tyrannicè & crudeliter Normanni Anglos tractaverint pete Ingulphi Historiam, & eam partem consule quæ de Tuone Talbois tractat. Nam hæc non pertinent ad hoc nostrum volumen.

Who are admirers of the *French*.

Who are now come to settle their fancy.

40. To begin at the top. From the course of this History, the Reader will observe that the Government was Monarchical, and that not onely in respect of the particular Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, which had their peculiar Kings, but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was usually Commanded by one of the seven, of all which *Beda* takes notice till his time, and *Egbert* more effectually than any of them completed the Design, leaving his Posterity in possession of that Power, which brought the Sovereignty to the House of the West *Saxon* Kings, that which none of the other could accomplish as to their Families. The nature of the Monarchy we must believe at the first followed the condition of the Tenure, absolute Conquests and Territories, both got and held by the Sword alone, usually producing absolute Governments, which many times either by reason of the infirm Foundations laid by the Conquerours themselves, the humour of the People not enduring such subjection, or other accidents, change into more moderate and less Arbitrary. That *Hengist*, *Ælla* and the other Captains, when they first erected their Dominations, Governed their Souldiers, whom now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Authority, and as full Command as formerly, we little doubt. The Polity and Frame of their Governments for a long time could not be very Polisht; Laws and setled Orders having little to doe amongst Arms and Confusion, and with Arms they were wholly taken up, Conquering by dint of Sword every foot of ground they called theirs, generally throughout the Countrey, which having by main strength, and after much contention and tuging on both sides, wrested out of the hands of the Owners, they were afterwards as busie in defending it, as well from the Incroachments and Rapines of one another, as the Re-entries of its former Masters. Therefore till the time of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King, hear we nothing of Laws, they having been formerly Governed by common Rules of natural Prudence, according to the Exigency of Affairs, and the nature of Circumstances, or such Customs as they brought along with them from their own Countries.

The Government Monarchical.

And Arbitrary as by Conquerours.

They Laws are enacted.

41. After

41. After that their Kings became Christian, they styled themselves such, (in the Singular Number, *I*, though the Plural in King *Edgar's* days was given to single Persons) *By Divine Dispensation*, *By* (*a*) *the Mercy of God*, *By* (*b*) *Divine Disposition*, and *By* (*c*) *the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, or such like, though some of them omitted such Expressions, writing onely themselves *Kings of such a Countrey*. The other six Kingdoms being brought under that of the West *Saxons*, the *Welsh* and *Scots* became also tributary, or acknowledged such Subjection, that *Eadred* the Son of *Edward* the Elder, *A. D.* 948. styled himself *King* (*d*) *of Great Britain*. After him *Edgar* took the Title of *Monarch* (*e*) *of all Great Britain*, and *King* (*f*) *of Great Britain*, and *King* (*g*) *of all Albion*, as also of *the* (*h*) *Maritime or Kings of the Islands*, and of *King* of Albion *and the* (*i*) *Neighbouring Kings*, in which Titles he acknowledged the very large Munificence of Almighty God, in that he was advanced above all his Progenitours. The reason of these high Titles, may be fetch'd from what we have written of his being waited on, and rowed in a Boat by Eight Petty Kings or Princes, amongst whom is found *Maccuse* King of the Isles, for *Edgar* is said to have been Lord of all the Islands, as far as *Norway*. But this Dominion of the Northern Isles continued not long, but as with *Edgar* the Grandeur and Felicity of the *English* Monarchy, so this large Title fell with him, not extending it self to the *Orcades*, which as both *Giraldus Cambrensis* and others affirm anciently were subject to the Kings of *Norway*, with one of whom, *viz. Harold Harvager*, as we have lately seen, *Paul* the Earl of *Orcades* came and fought against our King *Harold*, the Son of *Godwin*. Yet though they might not use the Titles, did many of the succeeding Kings hold both *Wales* and *Scotland* in Subjection. The *English Saxon* King whom they termed Cyning, and contractedly at last Cyng, (as we now do the *Saxon* Language not knowing *K*) had Sovereign Power and Rights of Majesty, made Laws, raised Money, and had power of Life and Death, as we shall see hereafter. The Wife of the King they called Cren, as we at present Queen, and she was Partaker with her Husband though not in Sovereignty, yet in Respect and Honour, till by reason of the pragmatical Carriage of *Eadburga*, the Daughter of *Offa*, and Wife to *Birtric*, this Custome common to all Nations was interrupted in the Royal Palace of the West *Saxons*, where the Wives of the Kings were not suffered to sit by them, nor to enjoy the Title of Queen, till this Decree was repealed by King *Ethelwulf*, though with much trouble in favour of his Queen *Judith* the *French* Lady. The King's Son or the Heir to the Crown was called *Etheling*, in Latin they termed him *Clito*, (signifying the same, as *Cæsar*, *Princeps Juventutis* or *Nobilissimus Cæsar*, amongst the *Romans*) though these Names were in a manner given to all of the Bloud-Royal, whom *Hoveden* in a diminutive way calls *Clitunculi*. The Eldest by the Prerogative of his Age challenged justly the Title of King after his Father's death, but the Reader in perusal of this History may take notice how often this Course was changed, when either force prevailed, a former agreement had passed, or the next and immediate Heir was but a Child.

By what Titles the Kings styled themselves.

(*a*) *Ita Ethelbaldus Rex Merciorum in Chirographo quod extat apud Ingulphum.*
(*b*) *Sic Kenulphus Rex Merciorum.*
(*c*) *Ita Witlasius. Ibid. & Beonedus.*

(*d*) *Ego Edredus Rex terrenus sub Imperiali potentia Regis Sæculorum æterniq; Principis magnæ Britanniæ temporale gerens Imperium.*
(*e*) *Ego Edgarus ejusdem Dei nostri largifluæ Munificentiæ possidens totius magnæ Britanniæ Monarchiam. A. D.* 996.
(*f*) *Ego Edgarus sub ipso sydereo Rege præsidens Regno magnæ Britanniæ. A. D.* 970.
(*g*) *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis basileus*
(*h*) *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis basileus nec non maritimorum seu insulanorum Regum habitantium, adeò ut nullius progenitorum subjectione largiflua Dei gratia suppetentessim sublimatus. A. D.* 974.
(*i*) *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis finitimorúmque Regum basileus.*

Topograph. Hiberniæ Dist. 2. *c.* 11. *cui adde Ordericum Vitalem in Eccles. Hist. lib.* 10. *& Chronicon Roberti de Monte continuat. Chronic. Sigeberti ad Ann.* 1167.

The Queen.

The King's Heir and other Sons.

42. Of all the Instruments by which the Kings governed, their Principal were their Councils. Of these they had two sorts, *viz.* their Ordinary or Domestick, consisting of Domesticks, or such as were near their Persons; or Extraordinary; which was the Great Assembly or Council held for determining the great and urgent Affairs of the Kingdom. This was called Witenagemote, or the *Assembly of Wisemen*, and consisted of the Prelates and Noblemen, or chief Magistrates of the Kingdom. Hereof, besides what the Laws of Princes speak, we have ample Testimony from several Charters of Kings, as well in the several petty Kingdoms during the Heptarchy, as after it came fully to be reduced into one Monarchy. *Bertulph* the King of the *Mercians* in a Charter, wherein he confirms the Revenues and Privileges of the Monastery of *Croyland*, signifies that the Monastery had exhibited their complaint before *the* (*a*) *Prelates and Nobles of his whole Realm of*

Two sorts of Councils.

The great Assembly or Council for governing the Nation.

(*a*) *Proposita ergo tali querela vestra per Fratrem Askillum Commonachum vestrum palam coram prælatis & proceribus totius Regni mei Merciæ apud Beningdon ultimo congregatis. Omnibus tenerrimè compatientibus—placuit; apud Ingulphum, p.* 858. *Edit. Francofurti.*

Sect. 12. Mercia, *the last time assembled at* Beningdon, all who tenderly *compassionated* them for the Injuries they had received, and having *considered* and *commended* the Accuratenes of their Religion, *it pleased them all* by this King's Instrument to confirm and inlarge all their Privileges formerly granted to them by his Brother *Withlaf*. Wherefore *with* (*b*) *the common Council of his whole Kingdam*, he grants such and such things; again, he grants *with* (*c*) *the Common Council and free consent of all the Great Men of his Kingdom*. And *consenting* (*d*) *all his Prelates and Noblemen*. And that *it* (*e*) *unanimously pleased him and his whole Council*. Afterward in the same Charter he signifies, that *their Possession was in an especial manner appropriated to these Religious Men, by the* (*f*) *Common Council of the Kingdom*. And at length concludes in this manner, *Therefore* (*g*) *with the unanimous Consent of the whole present Council here assembled at* Kingesbury, *in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord Christ* 851, *the sixth Day in* Easter-*week, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, this my Royal writing I have confirmed firmly, and immutably with the sign of the Holy Cross*. This abundantly shews of whom the Great Council consisted which was held in *Mercia* for the publick Affairs of the Kingdom. At this time the King of *Mercia* was tributary to him of the West *Saxons*, which was *Ethelwulf*, as appears though several other ways by *Oslat* his Butler, who being present at the signing of the Charter witnesseth to it in this form. *I* Oslat *the Butler of King* Ethelwulf, *and the Ambassadour of him my Lord, and of his Sons in their Names, and the Name of all the West* Saxons *have commended this writing of the Lord King* Bertulph. His being present at this Assembly, and signing in *the Name of King* Ethelwulf *of his Sons, and all the West* Saxons, seems to hint this to us, that though these Tributary Princes as Kings held the Assemblies of their Kingdoms, and therein made Laws, and otherwise dispatched their great Affairs, yet in acknowledgement of the Sovereignty of the Kings of the West *Saxons*, who now in effect were Monarchs over all, things were not ratified, but by the consent of the said West *Saxon* Kings, expressed by their Ambassadours sent on purpose.

(*b*) *Cum communi concilio totius Regni mei concedo.*

(*c*) *Cum communi concilio gratuitóque consensu omnium magnatum Regni mei concedo.*

(*d*) *Consentientibus omnibus prælatis & proceribus meis.*

(*e*) *Complacuit unanimiter mihi & universo concilio. p.* 859.

(*f*) *Et Possessio viris Religiosis communi Regni concilio specialiter appropriata. p.* 860.

(*g*) *Cùm ergò unanimi consensu totius præsentis concilii hic apud Kingsbury anno Incarnationis Christi Domini* 851 *feria sexta, in Hebdomada Paschæ pro Regni negotiis congregati, istud meum Regium Chirographum sanctæ crucis signo stabiliter & immutabiliter confirmavi. p.* 861.

Ego Oslat pincerna Regis Ethelwulfi & Legatus ipsius Domini mei & filiorum suorum nomine illorum & omnium West-saxonum istud Chirographum Domini Bertulphi Regis plurimum Commendavi. p. 861.

43. When the whole Power was transferred upon the West *Saxon* Kings, and they were become Monarchs of the *English* under them, also such Assemblies were held of the whole Nation, consisting of the same sorts of Persons. As to goe no farther than *Ingulphus*, *Edred* who styled himself Monarch of Great *Britain*, by his Edict summoned *all the Great* (*b*) *Men of his Realm, as well Archbishops, Bishops and Abbats as the rest of the Nobles of his whole Kingdom to meet at* London, *to handle the publick Affairs of the whole Realm*. Here we see they were assembled by the King's Edict, not by sending to them all in particular, but by the way of Proclamation. Their meeting was timed according to the Exigency of Affairs, as that notable Council held at *London*, *A. D.* 833. under (*c*) *Egbert* for suppression of the *Danish* Pirates, which continually infested the Sea-coasts, at which were present the said *Egbert*, *Ethelwulf* his Son, *Withlaf* King of *Mercia*, with the Prelates and the greater Noblemen of all *England*. Yet it is observable that their business giving them leave, they would stay for some remarkable day or time. As this Council was held on the Feast of St. *Augustine* the Confessour, Doctour and Apostle of our Nation as the Charter hath it, meaning *Augustine*, the Monk, sent over to convert the *English* Nation by *Gregory* the Great, whose Festival was held in great esteem upon that account. The Councils held in *Bertulph*'s time, and formerly mentioned by us, assembled at *Easter*, and indeed this seems to have been the time chiefly respected when the occasion was not urgent and pressing, because the season being convenient for Travel, this Festival in those days was wont by Princes more magnificently to be observed, and their Courts now were wont to be more full of the Nobility, who usually waited upon Kings at the Celebration of it, *Whitsuntide* and *Christmass*, but especially of it, as appears from what we reade of *Charles* the Great, and as we see by the Letter of King *Canute* written to his Subjects from *Rome*, the Princes of *Italy* flocked to that City to celebrate together with the Pope that Holy Feast. Of course therefore coming to Court, at that time it was most convenient to hold the Assembly, *Easter*, *Whitsuntide* and

Summoned by Edict or Proclamation upon extraordinary occasion.

Ordinarily at *Easter*, *Whitsuntide* and *Christmass*.

(*b*) *In Festo ergo Nativitatis B. Mariæ cum universi magnates Regni per Regium Edictum summoniti, tam Archiepiscopi quam Episcopi ac Abbates, quam cæteri totius Regni proceres & optimates Londoniæ convenissent ad tractandum de negotiis publicis totius Regni. p.* 874.

(*c*) *In præsentia Dominorum meorum Egberti Regis Westsaxoniæ & Ethelwulfi filii ejus coram pontificibus & proceribus majoribus totius Angliæ in civitate Londoniæ ubi omnes congregati sumus pro concilio capiendo contra Danicos piratus littora Angliæ assiduè infestantes. Sic scribit Withlafius Rex Merciorum apud Ingulphum. p.* 857.

and *Christmass*, were the ordinary times for holding these great Councils. Yet that Assembly summoned by King *Edred*, was held on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. Sect. 12.

44. We have heard that these Great Councils consisted of Prelates and Noblemen, expressed by these *Latin* words, *Proceres*, *Magnates* and *Optimates*, (not the least mention of any of the Common People being made) but for a better understanding of the thing in hand, we must know what they called them in their own Language. Here to fetch the matter as high as we can, we shall betake ourselves to the Laws of King *Ina*, the first of any English *Saxon* King now certainly extant, who tells us that he composed them by the counsel and advice of his Father *Ceured*, of *Hedda* and *Erkenwald* his Bishops, and all his Aldermen, and the Eldest Wise Men of his Nation, and also in a great Assembly of the Servants of God: of Bishops there is no doubt. As for *Aldermen* the *Latin* Translatour terms it *Senators*, but this leaves us in as great obscurity. First then, the word Ealdonman was so general as to signifie and comprehend all that were eminent either in respect of their Dignity or their Offices, all *Reguli*, *Subreguli*, *Princes*, *Dukes*, *Earls*, and all sorts of Magistrates. But such of them must be here meant as must correspond with what follows, *viz.* the * *Wise Elders*; and such as may be called *Magnates*, *Optimates* and *Proceres*, for such they are styled in General in the forementioned Charters. Those therefore whom Writers in *Latin* call *Duces* and *Comites* were Dukes and Earls, they styled by the Name of *Aldermen*, as is notorious to any one who hath the least conversed with *Saxon* Authours: in King *Alfred*'s Translation of *Beda*, and in the Annals nothing more ordinary. Any eminent Judge also or Justiciary was also known by the word *Alderman*. But more particularly we meet with the Alderman of *England*, for so was *Ailwin* styled, as appeared by his † Epitaph in the Church of *Ramsey* which he himself Founded. Now by this Title what else can be meant than him whom following times called *The Chief Justice of all* England, we cannot devise, for that *Ailwin* was a Judge is || evident enough, and that being the Younger Son of *Athelstan* Duke of the East *Angles*, from his Birth he could have no such Title. There was another called the *King's Alderman*, either for that he was constituted immediately by the King, or because he administred the King's Justice, and he seems to have been ordained for a time as occasion served. Then was there the Alderman of the Shire, or the *Schireman*, *viz.* he whom they called in *Latin Comes*, as the Shire it self *Comitatus*. Or it seems rather to signifie the Judge of the County skilled in the Laws, the Deputy as it were of him whom they called *Eorl*, (like as the *Salii* had two or three Judges under the Count, whom they called *Sagibarones*) and joined by the Laws with the Bishop of the Diocess both as to Dignity and the joint execution of their Offices in the meeting of the Countrey which they called *Folcmote*.

Who were called to this Great Assembly.

Ic Inemiß Gober gife pert peaxna Cyning miß gepeaht ⁊ miß læ pe Cenpeber miner pæßep ⁊ Deßber miner biscepper ⁊ Ercenpolber miner biscepper ⁊ miß eallum minum ealdormannum ⁊ ðam yldestan witan minne Deode ⁊ eac mycelne pomnunge Gober Deopena.

*Ealdormen *quasi Seniores, non propter Senectutem, sed propter sapientiam. Ita invenias in Edwardi. c. 35. Respondent itaque Presbyteris.*

† *Hic requiescit D. Ailwinus inclyti Regis Eadgari Cognatus, totius Angliæ Aldermannus & hujus sacri Cœnobii miraculosus fundator.*

45. That the *Eorle* or *Earl* was distinct from this *Alderman* appears from the Laws of King *Æthelstan*, which in the valuation of Men equals the * Archbishop and the Earl, as also the Alderman and the Bishop, setting the Heads of the former at fifteen thousand *Thrymses*, and those of the later but at eight thousand, as the Head of him we call *Vicecomes* at four thousand. Being thus joyned in valuation with the Bishop, the Laws of both King *Edgar* and King *Canute* joyn them in the *Folcmote* or Meeting of the Shire, where they command that both be present; the Alderman to teach the People their Duty as to this World, and the Bishop to instruct them in reference to that to come, as the Office of the Earl was to protect the Shire; so that the Office of the Earl respected the Political Government and Defence, that of the Alderman matter of Law, and that of the Bishop things concerning Religion. But both as we said, the Earl and Judge in general expression were called Aldermen, especially before the *Danes* came to settle in *England*. For the word *Eorla* is of *Danish* Original, as witnesseth † *Ethelwerd* the Historian, and after the *English* received it, bestowed it upon the Superiour sort of Aldermen, whom the Laws (as we have said) ranked with an Archbishop, and to an Inferiour it is never found applied. After the coming in of the *Normans* the word was applied to him, whom the *Dutch* call a *Grave*, though Sir || *Henry Spelman* thinks that in the days of our *Saxons* it rather signified whom the *Latin* Writers called *Dux*, and Consul as a general Name, than *Comes*, because he whom the Law of *Æthelstan* makes equal with the Bishop was also called *Comes*. But it seems when our *Saxon* Ancestours took the Name of *Earl* from the *Danes*, they took it quite away indeed, and robbed them of it. For now amongst them there is no such word, as neither *Ear* nor *Ar* (signifying

The Valuation and Office of Alderman, Bishop and Earl.

* Æpcebiscopep ⁊ Eorlep pæpegild bi ð xv M. Dynra Biscepep ⁊ Ealdormannep viii M.

† *Undecim consules innuit quos illi (scil. Dani) Eorlas solent nominare. l. 4. c. 3.*

|| *Vid. Spelman. in voce.*

Sect. 12. Honour) from which it is derived. Yet do they use the Adjective *Erlig*, that is, *Honoured*, with which they are wont to subscribe their Letters.

Erlig ock Well-byrdig mane To the honoured and Nobleman.

46. But of such Persons did the Publick Assembly of the Nation consist, *viz.* on the Lay part of Viceroys, Princes, Patritians, (which Title King *Edgar* gives to *Turketule* the Chancellour) Dukes, Earls, Counts, Prefects or Governours, and Hlafords, all who are comprized under the Name of Aldermen; and so also are Archbishops, Bishops, Abbats, Priests and Monks on the part of the Clergy. These were also the Wise Men and Elders which King *Ina* meant, for Seniours, Senatours, Elders and Aldermen are the same, and moreover those of the Clergy are they whom he calls the Servants of God, this being an appellation in those times peculiar to Ecclesiastical Persons, a phrase taken up by Bishops, Priests and Monks, is notorious to any one but meanly conversant in the Monuments of those Ages. All they are comprised under the Name of the Servants of God, aswell as the Lay Members of this Great Council under the Name of Aldermen, the *Thanes* onely excepted, who must be added to the former, as appears by several Subscriptions both to Councils and Charters. Now * *Thanes* were of two sorts, either † Ecclesiastical, or Secular. The Secular were also distinguished into two ranks, whereof the Greater were in Degree next to Counts, (as *Vavasors* were to them) being called the King's ‖ *Thanes* as now are called the King's Barons. The other sort were the lesser * *Thanes* or under *Thanes*, being the same with the lesser sort of Barons, Lords of Manors, *Vavasors*, and the like. In *Latin* they Subscribed themselves *Minister*, after those who styled themselves *Comites*; and I little doubt but that the King's *Thanes*, or the *Ministri Regis* were meant hereby, though some of the lower sort of *Thanes* might occasionally be called to the Council as there was occasion to employ them, as by some Subscriptions we find not onely the Queen, but Abbesses, Priests and Monks to have been present. But as to any Representatives of the Common People, we must profess as doth † Sir *Henry Spelman*, that we can find no such in these Greatest Councils of our *Saxon* Ancestours.

The Laity comprised under the Name of Alderman.

The Clergy called the Servants of God.

Thanes.

But no Representatives of the Commonalty.

* Saxonice ðegn a ðenian *ministrare, ei qui servitutem servit oppositus, is enim* ðeop *dicitur* a ðeopian *servire.*

† Meðe-þegnaþ & þeolo ðegnaþ.

‖ Cyninger ðegnaþ.

* Leþðegnaþ *vide*

Spelman. Glossar. in voc. Thegnus & Baro & Selden. Titles of Honour. *Item Somneri Glossar. in voc. Tegnio.*

† *Sed ut uberius dicam de Personis in istiusmodi Concilio convocatis: occurrit primò nusquam me reperisse inter Saxones nostros plebi locum, cui in Germania Tacitus potiorem tribuit in voc. Parlamentum.*

The Governours of Council out of Parliament.

47. What we have said already of the several great Officers of the Kingdom being Members of the Great Council or Meeting of Wisemen may much serve to shew how the King out of the Council governed as well as in, for something has been said in reference to the nature of their Office and Employments. The chiefest Officer under the King was his Chancellour; for governing of the People, were the Earls, Counts or Aldermen of the Counties or Shires, who for this purpose held another Assembly or Council, which from the Folk or People therein gathered together was called Folcmote, and from the shire Scynagemote, over these the Aldermen of the shire presided, but in them assembled all the Great men in King *Edward* the Confessour's Laws called *Principes*, the Bishops, the military Men and Freemen of all *England*, therein they swore Allegiance to the King. The Businesses of the Shires were here transacted, and hence it was not lawfull to appeal to the King's Court but in failure of Justice, and here were chosen the Deputies of the Aldermen of the Shires called in Latin *Vicecomites*, as also another sort of military Officers called *Heretochs*. The Deputies were in *Saxon* called ȝeþeraȝ and Scyrȝeþeraȝ (whence our *Shire-reeves* contractedly *Sheriffs*) and in the Absence of the Aldermen, they managed the Businesses of the County, and governed the *Folcmotes*. Before them as appears from *Ingulphus* Propriety was tried, and when evicted they were to put the right owner into Possession. From the same Writer it farther appears, that there were certain Officers formerly in *Latin* called *Vicedomini*, out of which two sorts were made, *viz.* This of *Vicecomites*, and another whom he calls *Justitiarii*. Yet that the *Vicedomini* continued afterward is evident enough, but one of these two sorts might be meant, *viz.* either a Sheriff or a Justiciary, for it's an ordinary thing for the *Species* to be denominated by the *Genus*.

48. The *Heretochs* who as we said were also chosen in meeting of the Shire, are thus described to us by one who in the time of the *Normans* interpolated the Laws of *Edward* the Confessour. " There were other Powers and Dignities (saith " he) constituted throughout all Countries and Provinces, and through the se-

De Heretochis.

" veral

A Description of *Heretochs*.

Sect. 12.

" veral Shires which the *English* called *Heretochs*, viz. *Noble, Eminent, Wise,* " *Faithfull and Courageous Barons*, in Latin *Ductores Exercitus*, whom the *French* " named Capital Constables, or Marshals of Armies. In Battels they Marshalled Ar- " mies, and raised Forces as occasion served, and when they thought fit for the " Honour of the Crown, and the benefit of the Kingdom. Now these Men were " chosen by the Common Council, for the common Utility of the Realm through " all the Provinces and Countries, and the several Counties in full *Folcmote*, as " the Sheriffs of Provinces and Counties ought to be chosen; so as in every Coun- " ty there was ever one *Heretoch* chosen to conduct the Forces of his Shire accor- " ding to order received from our Lord the King for the Honour and Profit of " the Crown of the said Kingdom, always when need required. Whosoever for " fear of Battel or Death shall fly from his Lord, or Associate in the Conduct of " his *Heretoch*, either in an expedition by Sea or Land, is to loose all he hath, " life and all, and the Lord may seize upon that Land which he formerly gave " him. Here add that all Men were bound to be provided of Arms, out of St. " *Edward's* Law. 35. They were chosen then as Sir *Henry Spelman* observes in full *Folcmote*, not in the Assembly of the beginning of *May*, of which we shall speak anon, but at the beginning of *October*. At these *Folcmotes* these *Heretochs* * were present, and with the approbation of the Assembly ordered what was to be done, in reference to the *Militia*. This Popular Election of them seems to have been taken from the *Germans*, as appears from the Laws of the *Boii*. † And as Thing so Name came from them, with whom still at this day *Hertog* answereth to the *Latin Dux*, and they as well as our *Saxon* * Ancestours still give that Title to those Princes, and great Nobles which with us use the style of *Dukes*. Yet these our *Heretochs* were no such kind of Persons, but either of the same Dignity, and account with the Sheriffs or inferiour to them. For the Laws of *Henry the First* directing who should be present at the *Shiremote* order that there be the *Bishops, Comites, and Vicecomites, then the Heretochs, Trithingreves, Ledgreves, &c.* Sir † *Henry* thinks them the same with those whom the Laws of *Æthelstan* call *Holdes*; for as he joins *Shire-reeves* and *Heretochs* together, so doth he also *Holdes* and *Hebgereeves*, by which no other than the *Shire-reeves* are signified. But thus we have shewed that both the one and the other were chosen in the *Folcmote*, which as to the *Shire-reeves* held till the ninth year of *Edward* the Second, or the year of our Lord 1315. Afterwards great Contests and Tumults arising they came to be pricked by the King, in the manner they are at this present.

* *Ab* Dene *Exercitus & tozen ducere.*

† *Sic Batavi hodie dicunt De Hertog van Jorck, de Hertog van Orleans, &c.*

* *Chartæ quædam Saxonicæ Ælfherium quæ Latinè nunc Ducem nunc Comitem vocant Merciorum, scribunt* Alfrehepe Mepcna hepetogan.

† *Vide hic omnino quæ Spel. habet de Mareschallo.*

49. But farther, What has been said of the Power of the *Heretochs*, as to raising and management of the *Militia* of the Shire, must for all this be meant subordinately to the Earl or Alderman. For in the *Saxon* Annals and other Histories throughout, upon all occasions we find these great Men, those whom in *Latin* they called *Duces* and *Comites*, still to be up and fighting, and of these *Heretochs*, otherwise than in the Law Books, find we no mention, their Actions and Authority being hid under that Employment of the Counts. They were chosen by the People in the *Folcmote*, as the Knights of Shires at this day, the Alderman, Count or Earl, was appointed by the King, continued during pleasure for a time, or was now and then Hereditary as the Prince thought convenient. The Office of Count, Earl or Alderman, was to prevent and punish Force and Injury, restrain Robberies, and keep the King's Peace, not onely by the vigour of the Laws, but if need served, by force of Arms; the King's Dues, as Customs and Tributes, he Collected and brought into the Treasury. Yet the Causes of Noblemen were not tryable in his Court, a thing in force so much at this day, that Actions of Debt or Injuries cannot be tried in the County Court, if the value of the thing contended for be not under forty shillings. This is farther remarkable, that no Man by the Laws of King *Alfred*, could change his dwelling without the knowledge and testimony of the Alderman, in whose Shire he lived. In case he had taken a Thief and dismissed him, or concealed the theft, he was to loose his Shire, except the King pleased to dispense with him by the Laws of *Ina*. As the reward of his service, or stipend from the profits arising out of the Mulcts and Pleas of his County, he received the third penny, as did the *French* Counts, in the time of *Charles* the Great, which Custome was continued by the *Normans* after the Conquest. From Doomsday Book also, it appears, that the Earl or Count received certain Rents or Payments from particular Towns, as that of *Chichester* paid fifteen pounds to the King, and ten to the Earl. Such was the power, duty and reward of this great Officer, in *Saxon* called *Alderman*, in *Latin*, *Dux* or *Comes*,

How these Officers were chosen.

Their Power, Duty and Reward.

Vide Ll. Inæ, Aluredi, aliorum passim.

C. 33.
C. 34.

Sect. 12. *Comes*, and often *Consul*; for our Writers about the *Norman* times, confound these Names, and finding them given to great Officers abroad, handle them hand over head; insomuch, that *William* the Conquerour himself, they more commonly call *Comes* than *Dux*. His power was great, the extent of it was through his Shire or County, of the Original of which, and the nature of it, we must add a little.

50. *Shire* or *Scire*, signifieth a *Section* or *Division*, being a certain Portion of the Kingdom, into many of which, the whole was, as it were, cut or divided. In *Latin* it was called *Comitatus*, from the Officer of it in the same Language stiled *Comes*, as *County* at present from the *Count*, in *French Comte*, which word we reject, though *County* and *Countess*, thence derived, we retain. At what time, and by whom this Partition of the Land was made, is something controverted, the general opinion following the credit of *Ingulphus*, who writes, that Shires, were first made by King *Alfred*. Speaking of this Prince, how in ordering the matters of his Kingdom, he was most carefull and sagacious, he tells us the occasion to have been; "That some of his Subjects, taught and incouraged by the example of the *Danes*, practised Robberies, and committed violence upon their Neighbours, whom desiring to restrain, he first changed all the *Pagi* and *Provinces* of *England* into *Counties*, *Counties* he divided into *Centuries* or *Hundreds*, and *Hundreds* into *Tenths* or *Tithings*, that every legal Inhabitant might be found in some certain *Hundred* and *Tithing*, and if any one was suspected of a Robbery, by his *Hundred* or *Tithing* he should either be condemned or acquitted. He adds, that the Governours of Provinces, whom formerly they called *Vicedomini*, he divided into two Offices, *viz*, into *Judges*, whom we now call, saith he, *Justitiaries*, and into *Vicecomites*, who still retain the same Name. By the care and industry of these Men, the Countrey was presently brought to so great tranquillity, that in case a Traveller left any money in the Fields or High-ways, if he came the next day, or a month after, he might find it. So much *Ingulphus*.

The Division of the Land.

Into Provinces, Shires, Hundreds and Tithings.

Their Governours.

A ȝcynan *scindere, dividere, adhuc manent*, To sheer, a pair of sheers, and a share.

51. Before the Division into Shires, we see by him there were *Pagi* or Territories and Provinces. And several of those we now term Shires, are by *Asserius* called *Pagæ*, as those of *Sommerset*, *Sussex* and *Cornwall*; and *Wilscire* he calls by this very Name. Nay much ancienter than this is the word *Scire* * being found in the Laws of King *Ina*, who speaks of the Ealdorman forfeiting his Shire, as also of * *Scirmen*. Now as we have seen before in the History of *Alfred*, *Asserius* lived in that King's time and wrote his life, and a wonder it is that speaking of many other remarkable things he should make no mention of this famous Division of the Land. To be sure whether there were those same Divisions we now call Shires, there were those Officers they then in *Latin* called *Comites*, who not being merely Titulars surely had their several and relative Districts called *Comitatus*. For in the History of the same *Ingulphus*, in the Charter of the Foundation of *Croyland* Abby by *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in the Year DCCXVI, we find one *Egga* subscribing by the Title of *Comes Lincoln*, another *Leucitus* by that of *Comes Leicester*, and another calling himself *Saxulph* the Son of *Count Saxulph*. Nay in the same Authour in the Charter of King *Kenulph* which confirms the other in the Year DCCCVI. mention is made of *Thorold Vicecomes* of *Lincoln*, above threescore years before King *Alfred* came to be King. It's certain during the Heptarchy, the several Kingdoms had their Districts, Territories and Divisions, sometimes taken from the Habitation of such and such a People, as the *Wiccii*, *Meanvari*, *Girnii* and *Gaini*, of whom we find the Father-in-law of King *Alfred*, to be styled *Comes*. So that Province of *Mercia*, lying near *Lincoln*, or that we now call *Lincolnshire*, was anciently divided into three Parts, the very same, and by the very same names they are now known, *viz. Lindsey* by *Beda*, called *Lindissi* from the City, doubtless, which he termes *Lindecollina Civitas*; *Kesteven* by *Ethelwerd*, the Historian, called *Ceostesne* Wood, and *Hoyland*, which if *Ingulphus* may be credited, took its name from *Hoy*, by which our *Saxon* Ancestours meant that we now call *Hay*, or else being in quality like to *Holland*, in the Low-Countries, from the same reason fetcht its appellation, being as infirm, or hollow as it.

* *LL. Inæ* 36. & 39.

* *L.* 8. *vide infra in LL. Inæ.*

Of the *Comites* and *Vicecomites*.

52. Now for the Shires, probable it is that such other Divisions as were formerly made, during the Heptarchy, being found convenient, still continued; and that others were made as there was occasion, by reason of any newer Town, that was found fitter to be the Head of the Division; for the convenience of resort to the *Folcmote* or *Shiremote*, and by reason of the decay of a former place. Of this later nature, we take the Town of *Derby* to have been, which was not of any note till that

An Alteration of the name of the Shire.

that *Repandune* (now *Repton*) the Seat of the *Mercian* Kings was decayed, but being a lurking hole of the *Danes*, whereas it's former Name was *Northworthige*, from them, as *Ethelward* witnesseth, or in their Tongue, received that of *Deoraby*, contracted as some think from *Derwentby*, because situate upon the River *Derwent*. *Ingulphus* writes expresly, that in the time of the *Danish* Kings, the Limits and Bounds of Territories and Shires, were translated and very much altered from the ancient state wherein they had stood, as often as rich Men who had money wherewith to bribe, were concerned. In the times of the *Danes* were thirty two Shires, of which, they invaded sixteen at one impression, which number, in the time of the Conquerour, as appeareth by Doomsday Book it self, was increased to thirty four, although some have written of thirty six. We said that some Districts, during the Heptarchy, might be continued afterward, when the whole Monarchy came to be afterward divided into Shires; but that generally it was not so, we may guess from a certain fragment, which belonging to some time of the Heptarchy, shews that the Land had other Regions distinguished by *Hides* after this manner. *Myrena* contained 30000. *Hides*, *Wokensetna* 7000. *Westerna* 7000. *Pecsetna* 1200. *Elmedsetna* 600. *Lindesfarona* 7000. South *Gyrwa* 600. North *Gyrwa* 600. East *Winna* 300. West *Winna* 600. *Spalda* 600. *Wigesta* 900. *Heresinna* 1200. *Sweordora* 300. *Eysla* 300. *Wicca* 300. *Wihtgora* 600. *Noxgaga* 5000. *Obtgaga* 2000. *Hwincna* 7000. *Clinternsetna* 4000. *Hendrica* 3000. *Vnecungga* 1200. *Aroseatna* 600. *Fearsinga* 300. *Belmiga* 600. *Witherigga* 600. East *Willa* 600. West *Willa* 600. East *Engle* 30000. East *Sexena* 7000. *Cantwarena* 15000. South *Sexena* 7000. and West *Sexena* 100000. *Hides*. Of these *Hides*, we shall onely remark, that from division of such Territories as here are, into but so many, the quantity of them must be very various, for other reckonings do not agree with this. In ancient times they much used the word *Setna*, for Inhabitants, terming also those that lived upon Mountains, *Dunsæten*. We are told that this Catalogue onely respects the Land lying on this side *Humber*; so that the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* being left out of it, and the five last Regions containing so many other Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, that of *Mercia* must have contained the rest before mentioned. *Pecsetna*, was the Seat of such as Inhabited the Mountains, or the *Peak*, which was with other low grounds, afterward assigned to *Darby*. *Lindesfarona*, was *Lindsey*, South *Gyrwa* and North *Gyrwa*, were the Fenny Habitations of the *Girvii* or *Gernii*, formerly mentioned, part were bolonging to *Lincolnshire*, *viz.* North *Gyrwa*, and the rest to the other Counties adjoyning. East *Sexena*, South *Sexena* and *Cantwarena*, being formerly Kingdoms, and found to be of a proportionable size, without much variation, were left and made so many Shires of themselves.

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Sed Danicis Regibus Swano, Cnutone, Haraldo & Hardcnuto totam Angliam opprimentibus, & multa immutantibus, plurima privilegia monasteriorum perdita sunt ac prorsus suffiata: limites ac termini Territoriorum, & Comitatuum translati & a statu veteri sensim mutati, prout pecunia divitum in mentibus barbarorum qui nihil aliud quam ruinas quærebant, præponderabat. p. 911.

Another division of the Land by the *Hides*.

53. Some Divisions therefore or Shires, King *Alfred* might find, others he might add, and he or his complete the Number which we said were found in the *Danish* times. If he divided not all the Land first into Shires, the Shires he subdivided into Hundreds, and these Hundreds into Tithings. Of these after *Ingulphus* the Monk of *Malmesbury* writes, that because the Inhabitants, taking occasion from the Barbarians " practising Robberies, so that there was no Travelling without defence of Arms, he ordained *Centuries*, which they call *Hundreds*, and " *Decima's*, which they name *Tithings*; that every *English* Man, living honestly, " might be found in his proper *Hundred* and *Tithing*. If it happened that any " one were accused of a Crime, out of his *Hundred* and *Tithing*, he was to produce Sureties or Bail, if none would Bail him, he was to undergoe the severity " of the Laws; in case any accused Person, either before or after Bail given, " should make his escape, all in the *Hundred* and *Tithing* should fine to the King. " By this Device, he procured such Peace to the several Countries, that where " Highways parted, he caused Golden Bracelets to be hung upon Posts, which deterred the avarice of Passengers, of whom none dared to take them away. " This gives us an account of the occasion of their Institution, and of the Success. As for the Division of the Land into them, it was neither certain nor " equal. *Gervase* of *Tilbury* wrote, that an Hide of Land consisted of an hundred Acres, and an Hundred of certain hundreds of Hides. Sr. *Henry Spelman*, takes notice, that of purpose he assigns no certain number, for one Hundred was three or four times bigger than another. Some have held that an Hundred consisted of an hundred Villages, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* describes the *Welsh Cantred*. But at present, scarcely any where are there to be found throughout *England*, an hundred Villages in one Hundred; scarcely half so many; they are great ones that contain thirty or forty. Many have but ten, some but two, and some, as the Hundreds

The occasion of subdividing the Land into Hundreds and Tithings.

De gestis Reg. Angl. l. 2. p. 44.

This Division not certain nor equal.

Sect. 12. dreds of *Cherham* and *Marden* in the County of *Kent* consist but of one a-piece. And *Stanford* in *Lincolnshire*, as appears from *Doomsday Book*, paid for twelve Hundreds and an half.

54. My Opinion is, that at first an Hundred consisted of 100 Hides, and that afterwards the quantity came to be altered, as all humane Institutions are subject to change, and *Ingulphus* tells us that great alteration was made in the Divisions of the Land in the time of the *Danes*. Just so at *Rome* when the several Centuries of the People were first ordained, a respect was had to the Number, but afterwards when *Servius* modelled the State anew he increased the numbers of People very much in some of them, but let the Name still remain as in that History we have observed to the Reader and given him warning not to take a Century for an hundred Men, but such a Division of the People. The Hundred to be sure was a part of the Shire, where an hundred men presided as Preservers of the King's Peace, being called *Hundreders*, and in Latin *Centuriones* and *Centenarii*. They had Cognisance of the middle sort of Causes and Suits; the most inferiour being heard in the *Tithing* or *Decuria*, by the *Tithingmen* or *Decuriones*, (each *Hundred* containing ten *Tithings*) and the highest in the *County Court* or *Sciremote*. Over these *Hundreders* and the whole *Hundred*, one presided, called the Lord of the Hundred; not in his own right, but of the *Count* or *Sheriff* of that *Shire*, to which the *Hundred* did belong. Most anciently he was chosen by the People, though a Statute of *Edward* the Second long after appropriated the Election to the *Chancellour, Treasurer, and Barons of the Exchequer*. He received money from those that were under his Jurisdiction, and had many Privileges. The Court of the Hundred, by the Laws of King *Ina* and *Edward the Confessour*, was to be held every Month, except the King's Affairs required haste, and then several *Hundreds* sometimes were called together for quicker dispatch. It was not lawfull for any to be absent, as appears from the Laws of King *Edgar*. The *Thanes* here assembled, whom Posterity called *Barons* and Ecclesiastical Judges too, for as the Bishop was to be present at the County Court, so others of the Clergy at this, and as there, so here both Ecclesiastical and Secular Matters were heard and determined, till *William the Conquerour* distinguished the Jurisdictions, and commanded the Courts to be held a-part, as is evident from a Writ of his directed to all that lived within the Diocese of *Lincoln*, which prohibits all Bishops and Archdeacons any more to determine their businesses in the Hundred; or to bring a Cause concerning the regiment of Souls before Secular Persons. But if any application was made about any Cause or Crime relating to Ecclesiastical Laws, they should appoint a place of meeting where they thought convenient, and there right should be done to God and the Bishop, not after the custome of the Hundred, but according to the Canons and Episcopal Laws.

The Government of the Hundred.

Vide Seldeni Analect. lib. 2. c. 7.

55. The Court day being published a Week before if any one were absent the third time, he was punished as Contumacious against the King himself; and in case he paid not his Fine, all his Goods were to be seized. When the Court was sate, the Laws of *Ethelred* commanded that twelve Elderly men of free Condition should take an Oath together with the President, that they would neither Condemn the Innocent nor Absolve the Guilty. The *Hundred* by another name was and still is called a *Wapentack* from the *Saxon Wæpen* and *Tac*, which signifies taking or touching or betaking. *Hoveden* thinks it so named from the touching or concussion of Weapons or Arms. The ancient *Germans* indeed, from whom so many will have the *English Saxons* descended, neither met in Council nor in Judicature without their Weapons, and when any Proposal they liked they testified their approbation by the shaking together of their Arms, as *Tacitus* informs us. And from them some believe the Institution of *Hundreds* or *Wapentacks* it self to have been derived both to us and to the *Lombards*, from the Laws of whom as also those of *Charles* the Great it is evident that the Courts of the Centenaries both among the *Lombards* and ancient *Franks* were ordered by the same almost Customs and Laws as ours are and were. But we are told by one very knowing in the *Saxon* Tongue, that the word *Tac* with our Ancestours never signified *Tactus* in Latin or touching, so that to derive *Wapentack* from the touching or Concussion of Arms cannot, according to him, be warranted by the Etymology. *Brompton* the Abbat gives us another derivation, writing that it was called *Wapentack* from this custome, that when any Lord of the Hundred was new made, those under his Jurisdiction were wont as a Ceremony, and in token of subjection, to deliver their Weapons or Arms up to him. Whether this be more agreeable or not to the Etymology, the *Germans* are wont from such like Ceremony to term their

LL. Æthelstani. c. 20. Be ðon ðe ȝemoe þoþfitte.

It is also called a Wapentack.

Papen arma ȝetæcan *tradere, reddere.*

Somner. in Glossar. Voc. Wapentack.

their lesser sort of Vassals, whom otherwise they call *Arimanni*, *Wapendemannen*, or *Gewapende*. Sect. 12.

56. But if credit be to be given to the Publisher of the Laws of King *Edward the Confessour*, the former Etymology is the truest, the reason this. " When any " one, say they, undertook the Government of the *Wapentack*, at the appointed " time and wonted place, all the Elderly men gave him a Meeting, and as he light- " ted from his Horse all did him reverence. He erecting his Lance received an " Agreement or Association according to the custome from all, and all those that " were assembled with their Lances touched his Lance, and so by the Contract of " Weapons strengthened them, an agreement being thus publickly made. For in " *English* Arms are called wæpnu, and tæccane signifies to *Confirm*; as it were a " Confirmation of Arms; or to speak more expressly, according to the *English* " Tongue *Wapentack is the Touching of Arms*; for wepnu signifies *Arms*, and tac " is *Touching*. Therefore it may sufficiently be known, that for this Reason all " the Assembly was called *Wapentack*, because by this Touching of Arms they " confederated amongst themselves. There were also other Divisions above *Wa-* " *pentacks*, which they called þrihingar, which was the third part of the Province. " Those that ruled over them were called þrihingeneraf, before whom were brought " such Causes as could not be decided in *Wapentacks*. And so what the *English* " in general called *Hundreds*, the Counties of *York*, *Lincoln*, *Notingham*, *Leicester*, " and *Northampton*, as far as *Watling street* termed *Wapentacks*, and what they " termed three or four Hundreds, these called ðrihinga. But in some Provinces " they were called leð, which these called *Thrihinge*: And what could not be " tried by the *Thrihinge*, was removed into the *Shire*. Here the Reader may observe what Counties they were that used the word *Wapentack* and the word *Thrihinge*, which he must by no means confound with *Tithing*; for the one is so named from *Three* and the other from *Ten*. The Division of *Shires* belonged to the King, the Divisions of *Hundreds* and *Wapentacks* to the Earl or Sheriff.

Its Etymology. — *De Hundredis & Wapentachis.*

Another Division called *Thrihingas*. — *Thrihingas.* — *Thrihingeresfas.*

Named also *Leth vel Laths*. — *Leth vel Laths*

57. Such was the Division, Government, and Governours of the Countries or Provinces. The Cities and greater Towns had also their Governours, who were also called *Ealdormen*, which name in them continues to this very day, and their power, as the publisher of *Edward the Confessour*'s Laws affirms, was much like to that of the Governours of Hundreds and Wapentacks. Having told us that *Greve* was a Name of Authority extending to Shires, Wapentacks, or Hundreds, and to Towns also, that it signified properly what *Dominus* doth in Latin, that the *Teutonicks*, as *Frisons*, and those of *Flanders* called their Governours *Mergreves*, he adds, " That in his time they who had authority over others, " were called *Greves*, amongst the *Britains* in the time of the *Romans* they were " termed *Senatours*, and *Aldermen* by the *Saxons*, not in respect of their Age, some " of them being young, but for their Wisedom and Experience, and their know- " ledge of the Laws. And that I may confess the truth, saith he, the Aldermen " also in the Cities of this Kingdom in their Bailywicks, in their close Burghs, " their Walled Towns and their Castles have the same Dignity and manner of " Power as the Governours of Wapentacks and Hundreds have in their Bailywicks " under the King's *Vicecomes*, or Sheriff, throughout the Kingdom. For it is " their duty to preserve the Laws, Liberties, Rights, and Peace of the King, as " also the just customs of the Kingdom, such as are ancient and approved by our " good Ancestours, inviolably, without fraud or delay, all manner of ways ac- " cording to their power. When any sudden, unexpected, doubtfull, or ill thing " happens against the Kingdom or Crown of our Lord the King in their Baily- " wicks, they ought to ring the Bells, in *English* called motbell, to call all the " whole People together, which Meeting in *English* they call folcmote, that is, " the calling or Congregation of all the People, because all that live under the " Protection and in the Peace of the King, within the said Kingdom, ought to " meet, and there by their Common Council provide for the Indemnity of the " Crown or this Kingdom, and for repressing the Insolence of Malefactours. For " it is ordained, that there the whole People meet once in a year, *viz.* on the " First of *May*, and by Oath confederate and unite themselves as sworn Brethren " together with the King to defend the Kingdom from Strangers and its Enemies, " with all Fidelity to defend his Territories and Honours, and to be faithfull to " the said Lord the King, both within and without the Kingdom of *Britain*. " This ought all Princes and Earls to doe, and swear together before the Bishops " of the Kingdom in folcmote; and in like manner all the Nobles of the King- " dom, as also the Souldiers and all Freemen whatsoever of the whole Kingdom of

The Governours of Cities and great Towns. — *De Greve.*

Aldermen.

Their Power and Duty.

These Northern Nations of the same Original.

Pulsatis campanis quod Anglicè vocant Motbel. In borealibus partibus Angliæ Locum ubi convenire solebant oppidani novi vocari solitum. *The Moote-Hall.*

Sect. 12. " *Britain*, ought to doe in full *Folcmote* before the Bishops of the Kingdom. He ascribes the first Invention of this Law to King *Arthur*, and saith it lay long buried in Oblivion till raised as it were from the dead by *Edgar* the English *Saxon* King.

58. From what this Writer saith, and what farther he adds in the same Chapter, the Reader must observe what formerly we hinted, that there were two sorts of *Folcmotes*, *viz.* That of the whole *Shire* called *Shiremote* and this other of Burghers or Citizens termed *Burghmote* held also at several times, and in this they also differed, that by the Law of King *Edgar* the Shiremote was to be held twice, but the Burghmote thrice in the year. And what he here speaks of *Aldermen* is not to be understood of such as we call *Aldermen* of Towns at this day constituting the Aristocratical form of the Government of Corporations between the chief Magistrate and the Commonalty; but those we call Mayors and Bayliffs, being the principal Officers. For this present sort of *Aldermen* is of a much later date coming up much about the same time as did the Name of *Mayor* step into the room of the *Saxon Alderman*, *Portreeve*, *Burghreeve*, and the *Anglonorman Bayliff* about the Reign of *Richard the First*. The *Folcmote* was the Meeting of the Citizens or Burgers, not in their Representative as the Common Council of the City but in their own Persons, as at *London* of all Freemen at the Election of the Mayor. And as we said formerly of the *Folcmote* of the *Shire* that it was held also at extraordinary times by the King's order, if the exigency of his Affairs required. This we find to have been practised in *London* (the mentioning of which City lately brings it to our mind) long after the end of the *English Saxon* Polity. For in the one and fortieth year of King *Henry* the Third, two hundred years wanting ten after the *Norman* Conquest, the *Londoners* were by the King's Councellours called to *Folcmote*, and commanded to distribute themselves into *Wardmotes*, the better to debate and determine the business of supplying the King with Money; and in his fifty fourth year this King himself was present at a *Folcmote* of *London* held at the *Temple*.

Two sorts of *Folcmotes* and the difference of them.

⁊ hebbe mon þriga on gean Burhgemote. ⁊ þra ȝeriȝcmot. c. 5.

Fabian.

59. We have seen the publick Division and Government of the Land, the next thing we shall consider, is its private Division in reference to Propriety and Possession: And the first inquiry is, whether Lands were held in *Fee* during the *English Saxon* Government before the Conquest. By *Fee*, with *Cujacius*, we understand *Right of using and enjoying another man's Ground* in perpetuum, *which the Lord thereof grants on this condition, that he which receives it perform Fidelity to him, with Military or some other Service.* Or more largely to explain it, *A* Feudum *or* Beneficium *is that which for good will is granted, so from one to another, that the propriety of this Immoveable thing granted, remaining in the Giver, the* Usufructus *thereof passeth to the Receiver in such manner, that to him and his Heirs Male, and Female also, if they be expressly mentioned, it shall perpetually belong, on this condition, that he and his Heirs faithfully serve the Lord, whether the Service be by name expressed, or the promise be indeterminately made.* This last Definition is more agreeable to a *Fee* of the Inferiour Age, as our *Spelman* observes, when the Nature of it was altered from its Primitive Institution; but both together lay a sufficient foundation for our inquiry, with this farther consideration premised, that *Fees* at their beginning were not tied with such Circumstances as afterwards, the thing was more loose, and the Lord not bound by such Bargains and Conditions as following Ages invented. For as elsewhere we have already observed what the Feudal Book it self suggests; *In most ancient times it was in the power of the Lords to take away the thing by them granted in Fee. Afterward it came to pass that it should continue certain for a year, and that after that it was continued for term of life to the Vassal. But nothing for all this descending by right of succession to the Sons, at length it was brought down to them, to whomsoever of them the Lord would confirm it, which at this day is so established, that it equally appertains to all the Sons*, saith the Book.

The private Division and Government of the Land. *viz.* Tenure in Fee.

Feud l. 1. Tit. 1. Feudum est jus in prædio alieno, &c.

Lib. 2. Tit. in quibus Caus. Feud. amit.

Lib. 1. Tit. 1.

60. Now the general opinion of our learned Countreymen is, that *Fees* or *Tenures* were not in use in *England* before the *Norman* Conquest, after which the Conquerour, according to the custome of the Countrey whence he came, distributed all *England* to his Followers, which then began to groan under the burthen of *Fees*, not heard off in the Age of the *Saxons*. They urge that the Term or Word *Feudum* or *Feodum*, is no where to be found in any Record or Monument of these times still extant, and of credit; for it occurs sometimes in the Laws of King *Edgar* and *Edward the Confessour*, as also in several Charters mentioned in *Ingulphus*'s History, the Text is corrupted, or the Laws are of a later Date; and *Ingulphus*

Vide Spelman. Glossar. v. Feudum. Seldeni: Tit. Hon. & notas ad Pol. Somner. Tract. de Gavelkind.

gulphus having been Secretary sometime to Duke *William* in *Normandy* before his Conquest of *England* had both his Tongue and his Pen tipt with Words and Phrases peculiar to those Countries where he had so long resided. They affirm that no other *Tenures* were in use, or to use the *Scotch* expression, *Haldings* of Land, but these two *Bocland* and *Folcland*. The former was a Possession by Book or Writing, and the latter without. That by Writing was a *Freehold* and by Charter; hereditary with all Immunities, and for the Free and nobler sort. That without writing was to hold at the Will of the Lord; bound to Rents and Services, and was for the rural People. But, not much to concern our selves about words, whether in the *Saxon* times the term of *Feodum* or *Feudum* was used, is not very material, for by the most knowing Antiquaries it is granted, that till about the beginning of the Tenth Century scarcely can any Monument whatsoever of any Nation shew these words, *Beneficium* being generally used before to signifie Lands so granted. And to come to the thing, as the word *Feudum* was scarcely known in the *Saxon* times, so *Fees* then were of a more laxe nature, not tied up by such Circumstances, Laws and Covenants, as in after times, as appears sufficiently from what we have already said out of the Books themselves.

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Bocland and *Folcland.*

Vide Lambard in explic. verb. v. Terra ex scripto.

The general word in Grants.

61. Then again, the most learned acknowledge some kind of Footsteps of these Customs among the *Germans*, and that from the *Germans* our *English Saxons* issued as well as the *Lombards* and *Franks* they ever own. If therefore out of *Germany* the custome was derived, the *Saxons* coming out of the *Chersonesus* were as capable of receiving it as the rest. " If (as the Definition which most agrees with the " Primitive Institution of *Fees* affirms) the nature of a *Fee* consisted in this, that " it was granted for some Service or other to be performed (whether Military or " other) and at first it was in the Lord's power to take it away when he pleased, I can see no reason why the *Folcland* they mention may not be accounted of this nature. " For they grant that *Folcland* was Land letten out, and in op- " position to Demesne Land, termed *in Servitio*, or *Tenementalis*, that is, granted " out in Service by the Lord to his Tenants, to be holden of himself like the " *Frenchman's Fief Servant*, i. e. *Terra Serviens*, in respect whereof the Tenants " were bound to be Retainers Attendants, and Followers to their Lords, Sui- " tours to their Courts, and were thence called *Folgarii*. There were also *Villani* or *Villains*, not in that sense the word hath lately been taken for *Slaves*, but as *Fitzherbert* expresseth it, *Base Tenants* that did Villain Service, but nevertheless were no *Villains*, that is, not in the latter sense, for from *Villa* a *Villain* was named. Mr. *Sumner* contends that *Gavelkind* is a Tenure, confesses also, that in its nature is lyable to works, and though he be carried away by the Authority of some Learned men, without examining it, to believe that *Fees* or *Fiefs* were not in use here before the Conquest, yet he will have his *Gavelkind* ancienter, supposing it to have been an Universal Custome in *England* before the Conquest. The Propriety of Land held in *Gavelkind* was this, that it was partible; and *Gerard Niger* where he treats of the Original of *Fees*, tells us, that after a *Fee* * came to descend, to Sons to which of them the Lord would name, at length in his time it was came to be establisht, *that it should belong equally to them all*; which, as our learned Glossarist notes, the † *English* call them by the Name of *Gavelkind*.

Fee and *Folcland* of the same nature.

Vide Sumner. in Tract. de Gavelkind. p. p. 114, 115.

Villanage.

Gavelkind.

* *Sic progressum est & ad filios deveniret & in quem scil. dominus vellet hoc beneficium confirmare. Quod hodie sic stabilitum est, ut ad omnes æqualiter filios pertineat.* † *Hoc Angli Gavelkind dicimus.*

The Antiquity of *Fees.*

61. So *Fees* seem here to have been in use before the Conquest, as they were in a more lame sense received out of *Germany*, and as they were in their Infancy. But as afterwards they were clothed with straiter Circumstances and Laws, so were they not in use (as little elsewhere before the tenth Century) not such as *Littleton* writes of in his Book of *Tenures*, as *Fee-simple*, *Fee-Taile*, *Fee-ferme*, *Frank-fee*, *Grand & Petit sergeanty*, *Escuage*, *Burgage*, or the like. Military Fees seem also of a later date in *England*, than the *Saxon* times, though they might have been very serviceable for repelling the insolent and pertinacious *Danes*. In after times in all places the chief part of feudal service became military, and for the most part that of old Fees was granted out *militiæ causa*, which thing gave occasion to many Learned Men of Errour, both in denying *Fees* never to have been where indeed they were, and in defining *Feudum* by that which Feudists call *Clientela militaris*, that is of a *Genus* by a *Species* most illogically as *Vulteius* challengeth upon this account *Hotoman* himself. The general service was that

They become Military.

Sect. 12. of works imposed upon the *Folcland*, though not all of it, for most of that which was called *Gafolland*, the same with *Gavelkind Land* (for that *Gavel* comes from *Gasol* signifying *Census*, *Rent*, or *Tribute*, and is not derived from *Gineall*, Mr. *Sumner* hath convinced me) was onely subject to Rent or Payment, the works were of a divers Nature. * *Fleta* tells us, that in (or before) *the Conquest there were Freemen, that freely held their Tenements by free Services, or by free Customs, but being cast out of them by those that were more powerfull, afterward they returned and received back the same Tenements in Villenage.* There were others that were *Base Tenants* amongst the *Saxons*, who might be called *Villains* in this sense, that in Villages they lived, and there performed base services to their Lords. But a question may be moved, whether during the *Saxon* times there are such *Villains* as are the same with *Bondmen* or *Slaves*.

Generally work was chiefly required.

* *Fuerunt etiam in Conquestu liberi homines, qui liberè tenuerunt tenementa sua per libera servitia vel per liberas consuetudines & cum perpotentiores ejecti essent, postmodum reversi receperunt eadem tenementa sua tenenda in villenagio. lib. 1. c. 8.*

Two sorts of Slaves.

62. Some make a distinction of *Slaves* into *Personal* and *Predial*, and contend that as well the one sort as the other, were in use not onely with our *Norman*, but *Saxon* Ancestours, the one being received from the *Romans*, and the other from the *Germans*. The latter sort at the pleasure of their Lords possessed Lands and Estates, and in the Villages did Rustick works and base Services, whence they were called *Villains*, and these seem little or nothing different from the *Villains* of which we lately spake: their possessing of Lands makes them distinct from absolute *Slaves* (of whom amongst the *Romans*, many wrought in the Fields and Villages, but yet held not ground) and shews them like to those of the *Germans*, who were in far better condition than those of the *Romans*, as appears from *Tacitus*. To be sure *Doomsday Book* makes several the *Villani* and the *Servi*, as to instance onely in that part of it which concerned the Abby of *Croyland*, and which *Ingulphus* hath transcribed into his History. Speaking of *Goundnanesloundd Hundred* in *Adington*, he saith St. *Guthlack* hath had, and hath two hides of Land, the Ground is of four Carucates. One is in *Dominio* and two slaves (*Servi*) and six Villains and three *Bordarii*, *&c.* Again speaking of *Wendlingborough* in *Ausfordeshew Hundred*, and what St. *Guthlack*, or the Monastery had both formerly, and at that time there, he adds in *Dominio* is one Carucate with one Slave, and one and twenty Villains with the Church and the Priest. Afterward he mentions in *Badeby*, being in *Dominio* Eight Carucates, Eight He-Slaves (*Servi*) five She-Slaves (*Ancillæ*) and twelve *Villani*. All these are in the same Page. In the next we meet with four Cotages and three Slaves, and again there is one Slave. Now he saith St. *Guthlachus haluit & habet*, St. *Guthlack*, both *had* and *hath*, which *had* refers to the times of *Edward* the Confessour, or before the Conquest. It's true indeed, that there are many words which are purely *Norman* in that Description of *England*, and *Ingulphus* having lived in *Normandy*, made use of such in his Translation of *English* Charters, but if *Servi* and *Villani* had been the same, he would not have used several words to express them. But he plainly distinguisheth them by the Number of each; and if any should yet doubt that this Distinction was brought in after the *Norman* times, this may satisfie him that *Slaves* were before the Conquest, because they are frequently mentioned in the *Saxon* Laws, particularly those of King *Ina*, by the Name of *Theowum*. One of this King's Laws mentions those who were for Theft deprived of their Liberty and called *Wite Theowum*, ordaining that if such Slaves steal again they should be hanged, and no compensation therefore made to their Lords. In case any body killed him, nothing upon that account was to be forfeited to his Kindred, except they had redeemed him within six Months. As for the *Villanus* or Countreyman he was called by the Name of *Ceorl* or *Ceorliscmon*, and in the League between King *Alured* and *Guthrum*, is described to be one that occupieth *Gafolland*.

Spelm. Glossar. in voc. Servus.

The difference betwixt a Villain and a Slave.

P. 909. *Sanctus Guthlacus habuit & habet duas hidas terræ & quatuor carucat. in Dominio est una & duo servi & sex villani.*

The *Saxon* Name of a Slave.

Wite Theowum, c. 23.

That of a Villain a Countreyman.

Ceopl. Ceorlscmon.

Folcland answerable to *Fee*.

63. For, so in a larger sense were all called, that held that sort of Land called *Folcland*, whether it was *Gafolland* especially so called, *viz.* that for which Rent was paid, or the other for which Services belonged. This *Folcland* answered to *Feudum* or *Fee*, at least such of it as was held by service, and that to which we must now speak, *viz.* *Bocland* answered to that which was opposite to *Feudum*, and termed *Allodium*. As *Feudum* or *Feodum* was so named as *Feo-hode* or *Feh-hode*, as one would say *Feeship*, or that to which a *Mercenary* Fee or Payment of service did belong; so was *Allodium* called from *All-hode*, as one would say *Totality*, *All-ship* (*hade hode head hept*, and the like as before we have observed, signifying what in *Latin* do *status qualitas* or *conditio*) which now are expressed by the word *ship*, as *Worship*, *Ladyship*, *Lordship*, &c. Yet *Man-hood*, *Woman-hood*, *Maiden-*

Allodium what.

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Maiden-head and others continue) because it was possessed totally and wholly, being hereditary, perpetual and patrimonial, free without all condition, and in the Power of the Possessour to dispose of it wholly how he pleased, without dependence or asking leave of any. This was of a quiet contrary nature to a *Feodum* or *Fee*, which when first instituted was but personal, not (as afterward) perpetual, patrimonial or hereditary, or holden as our ancient *English* Lawyers phrase it, *ad remanentiam*, but as a Clergyman holds his Benefice onely for *life*, the Tenant being but a mere Stipendiary, a Termer, at best, as one expresses it, but a *Freeholder for life*, an *usufructuarius*, or not so much, for some held onely *ad voluntatem Domini* or *precario*, not unlike our *Tenants at Will*. In process of time indeed as we have already shewn degenerating, and receding from its first Institution it became perpetual and hereditary, yet holden still as formerly with a condition of service on the Tenants part, and by way of Salary, Pension or Stipend from the Lord, wherewith to gratifie and recompence his Man for his service, to which he was obliged under peril of forfeiture. The *Fee* was holden but in *service*, and though the *Dominium utile* was in the *Tenant*, yet the *directum* or the propriety remained in the Lord, together with a Power of restraining his Tenant from alienation, and consequently such Land was but partially, conditionally granted out, not totally and absolutely held by the Possessour, as was *Allodium*, the Possessour of which had *Dominium*, both *directum* and *utile*, held it *pleno jure*, *integrè*, *ex toto* and *ex solido*, as they say, quit of all services, independently without acknowledgment of any superiour Lord, not unlike the Prince of *Haynault*, who held as Sir *Henry Spelman* observes *de Deo & Sole*, or as other absolute Princes *Dei gratia*, or to speak in a word answerable to the Etymology, *in Totality*. Hence the terms of *Prædia immunia*, *terra propria*, *fundus proprii juris*, *patrimonium* and the like, and in Charters of Foundations given to such Possessions.

Vide Somnerum in Tract. de Gavelkind.

Bocland the same with *Allodium.*

64. Answerable to this was that by our *Saxon* Ancestours called *Bocland*, which Interpreters into *Latin* translate by the very word *Allodium* * as also *terra* † *hæreditaria*, *terra* ‖ *libera*, and *terra* * *testamentalis*. It took its Name from the Lands booking or entring in a Codicil or little Book, named a Charter after the Conquest, which in case the Land was made over to a Lay Person, was in way of seisin delivered to the Party, and if to a Monastery was ordinarily laid and left upon the Altar. Thence was such an Instrument known in those times by the Name of *Landboc*, and in *Latin Telligraphium*, and sometimes *Codicillus*. The Creation of *Bocland* (in *Latin* termed *terram hæreditario jure conscribere* and *liberam proclamare*) was a Prerogative Royal, and not in the Power of a Subject, yet done it seems not without the consent of the great Council of the Realm. Hence Mr. *Somner* tells us, that passages often occur in Grants made by Subjects of Lands in perpetuity to the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and other places of such and such a King, that he made them hereditary, and proclaimed them absolutely free. And as it is proper for him that makes to establish, hence King *Ethelred*'s Privilege, or Confirmation of their whole Possessions, to that Cathedral is by one of the Subscribers called *Cyninges bocung*. Nay this Land was very seldom alienated by the Possessour without (what the Law of *Mortmain* afterward required) a concurrent, at least a subsequent Confirmation from the King, whereof Examples he tells are obvious in the List of that Churches Lands and Benefactours published in the Antiquities of *Canterbury*, as also of the Concurrence of the Nobles of such *Bocland* grants. Particularly in the year of our Lord DCCCXXXVIII. King *Egbert* and *Ethelwulf* his Son granted to *Christchurch* in *Canterbury*, *Mallings* in *Sussex*, which Manor King *Baldred* had formerly given to that Church, but because it was not done by consent of the Nobles of the Kingdom, that gift was not valid. As *Bocland* originally flowed from the Crown, so upon all Forfeitures particularly that of the Estate of the Possessour for deserting the Wars, there being no mean Lord betwixt the King and him, by the Laws of *Ethelred* and *Canute*, to the Crown it reverted.

The manner of passing it.

The King's Consent necessary thereunto.

* *Textus Roffens.*
† *Ll. Aluredi c. 47. apud. Bromton. Canuti, c. 104.*
‖ *Ll. Ethelredi, c. 2. in Bromton.*
* *Ll. Canuti. c. 32.*

hit ȝeboked on ece ynne. Cyninȝes bocunȝe.

Quod viz. manerium prius eidem Ecclesiæ dedit Baldredus Rex sed quia non fuit de consensu Magnatum Regni, donum id non potuit valere. Et ideo, &c. C. 11. par. 1. Text. Roffens.

Vide Somnerum ubi suprâ.

By whom tenable.

65. *Bocland* was properly tenable by *Thanes*, as *Folcland* by *Ceorles*, and thereupon in King *Cnute*'s Laws *Thegn* and *Bocland* in the Original *Saxon*, meet as Relatives, as in the *Latin* Translation do *Thegen* and *Allodium*. Not but that it was sometimes held by *Ceorles*, who were not absolutely incapable of holding it, but when it so happened it was placed as improperly, and as much out of *decorum*, as since and at this day, *Knights Fees* proper to *Knights*, and the Nobler sort of the People are in the Hands of *Socagers*, *Sochmen* or *Ceorles*, whose proper tenure was that of *Gafolland*. So proper was this *Bocland* to the *Thanes*, that those who in the *Latin* Charters of St. *Austin*'s are called *Allodiarii* in the very same Charters

Hinc illud solenne legis butan ðæm Ceople þe on ȝafolland ſit.

Sect. 12.

Thanes who.

ters exhibited in *English* (like as in those of *Christ-church*) they are styled *Thegnes*. Though their name came at first from Ministring, yet being the King's Ministers, the word afterwards came always to be taken in an honourable sense, denoting in general a Gentleman, one nobly or generously descended, a Man of worship, of honour, whether he was the King's *Thane*, properly so called, or a *Thane* of inferiour degree; for still was he accounted Noble. But to come to *Bocland*, it was termed *terra hæreditaria*, to distinguish it from *Folcland*, otherwise called *Gafolland*, wherein the Tenant being but as a Lessee, Usufractuary or Termour, and having no propriety, upon his death bed, or other expiration of the term, it reverted to the Lord, and descended not upon the Heir as *Bocland* did, at least might doe, being because the possession in propriety, hereditary, if not alienated by him in his life time, as it might be in regard it was *terra libera*, as well as *hæreditaria*, which *Folcland* never was. It was called *terra testamentalis*, in regard of the publick Testimony of the Shire, required and used in passing of it otherwise than by Will. Probable it is that the conveyance thereof was recorded and inrolled, and entred in the Shire book, in the publick Shiremote after Proclamation there made, for any to come in that could lay challenge to it. It was also called *Testamentalis* because devisable, but yet here a question is moved whether it was indeed in the Power of the owner to dispose of it at pleasure.

Hinc ȝegena ȝilb. *Generosum Collegium.* ȝegnbopen *Generosus* ȝegnscipe *Thani dignitas.*

The difference betwixt *Folcland* and *Bocland.*

66. Sr. *Henry Spelman* was of opinion that it could neither be given away nor sold, but was to be left to the Heir except the Writings or Conveyances otherwise permitted it; and that thence it had the Name of *Terra hæreditaria*. He grounds himself upon a Law of King *Alfred* concerning *Bocland* which runs thus: *He that hath* Bocland, *and left him by his Ancestours, we ordain that he give it not from his Kindred, if there be any writing or witness that it was forbidden him to convey it to strangers by those that gave it to him, and that it was done in presence (or witness) of the King or Bishop, his Kindred being present.* Now against Sir *Henry Spelman* his Conclusion, Mr. *Sumner* justly excepts that this Law clearly makes for the contrary, forasmuch as it allows unto the Possessour a Power of Alienation, saving where his Hands were tied from it by an express Provision, and prohibition to the contrary made by those from whom the Land came to him, a Caution of the same nature with that exception which as we say, *firmat regulam in non exceptis*. That *Bocland* was alienable he proves by a passage, he cites out of a Charter of Archbishop *Wilfred*, who died about the year DCCCXXX. which sufficiently shews, that the Possessours might grant it away in their life time as pleased them, either by Act or Grant, or by Will. So it was before the Conquest. But afterward that Custome of devising it by Will ceased, as did withall the descent of Land generally, by equal division amongst all the Sons. For as the *English* Laws and Customs in general, from that time suffered a daily Eclipse and Declination by degrees, so this in particular (saving where they were more tenacious of it than elsewhere; or in such places as *London*, which by special privilege were suffered to retain it) languished, and was at length supplanted by that other kind of Descent, which now regularly takes place throughout most of the Kingdom. Insomuch, as where Partible Descent cannot, to uphold it self, justly plead Antiquity and ancient Custome, it quite fails and falls to the ground. But yet we must know, that notwithstanding the Introduction of new *Tenures* by the Conquerour, yet did not the *English* presently forgoe their *Bocland* (that kind of Tenure Mr. *Sumner* tells you he means) but reteined it both name and thing, as he proves in several Instances. And evident enough this is from Doomsday Book, where though happily not the name of it (as neither of *Folcland*, *Saxon* terms both) yet the thing is very obvious, and often occuring under the name and notion sometime of *Tainland*, because as we said properly tenable by *Thanes*, otherwhile and oftner of *Allodium*. And as *Bocland*, so *Folcland* survived the *English Saxon* Government, continuing after the Conquest, and remaining unto this day, though not in the very name, yet in the thing and substance. For as aforetime the *Saxons* had their *Ceorles*, *Gebures*, *Folcmen*, and the like, as the *Normans*, afterward had their *Villani*, *Bordmanni*, *Cottarii*, and others; so what the former held was called *Folcland*, *Gafolland*, &c. and was opposed to *Bocland*; what the later Villainage, and in some sense *Socage*, opposed to *Chivalry*, *Knight-service*, &c. and in all likelihood intended by *Rusticana servitus*, occurring in a Charter of one *Walchelinus Maminiot*, of which Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Selden* may be consulted.

Be boclande. Semon ȝeȝe boclande habbe. ⁊ him his magas læfbonbonne ȝeccon ȝe þ he hit nemoȝta ȝyllan oþhim. Mæȝeboþh ȝif ðenbið ȝeþniȝ, oþþe ȝeþiȝnyȝȝe þ hit þæna manna ȝoþboc, &c.

Bocland alienable.

Why called *Tainland.*

Inde clamare ad Tainland. Tenere in Allodio.

Hist. of Titles c. 11.

67. Those

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Their Jurisdiction and Privileges.

67. Those that held *Bocland*, had several Jurisdictions and Privileges, over and amongst those that held Lands of them. Their Franchises or Extents of their Jurisdictions and Privileges, or the Territories, Precincts, or Circuits, where they were exercised, they called *Soc*, *Socne*, *Soken* and the like. Besides Doomsday Book, *Ingulphus* mentions the *Soca de Dounedike*, *Soca de Beltisford*, *Soca de Tad*, and *Soca de Acumesbury*. And in *Notinghamshire*, as appeareth by a Statute of *Henry* the Eighth, *Lordship* and *Soke*, were in his time indifferently used, as indeed still in the Northern Parts, *Soke* signifies a *Franchise*, of such and such a Place, as the *Soke* of *Oswelbeck*, mentioned in the now cited Statute. The Tenants that held Lands in this Franchise, might be called *Soc manni*, and their Service *Socagium*, in *Latin*, *agium*, as a great *English* Lawyer saith, being a legal termination, signifying Service or Duty, as in *Homagium*, *Escuagium*, or the like,) but this Term of *Socage*, after the Conquest became more abstruse, and as such we shall leave it, as neither belonging to us in these *Saxon* matters. But he that was possessed of these Privileges and Franchises, usually was said to have *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, and *Team*, *Infangthef* and *Outfangthef*. *Sac*, as St. *Edward*'s Laws describe it, was this. * *In case any one was accused of any thing, and he denied it, the forfeiture for proof or denial should be his.* It supposed therefore the Cognisance and Jurisdiction which the Lord had in his Court in Controversies and Suits, arising amongst his Vassals, so as to hold Pleas, and impose, levy and collect Fines and Amerciaments thence arising. The Power of holding the Pleas, and having all his Vassals follow his Court; it seems they expressed by *Soc* for the Laws, thus obscurely describe it. Soca *is, in case any one seek for any thing in his Land, the Justice is his whether it be found or not.* In this sense therefore it must signifie what the Lawyers call *Secta*, in *Latin Sequela*, *Sectatio* or *Consecutio*, and what in *French* is called *Suite de la Court*, although in general, as we said, the word signifies a *Franchise* or *Immunity*. Of *Thol* or *Tol*, the Laws speak more plainly, telling us that *Thol* (*which we call* Tholonium) *is that a Man hath liberty of selling and buying in his own Land.* It was the privilege of holding a Market, there being no other word to express the said Privilege, till that of *Mercat* was brought in by the *Normans*, which seems yet originally from the word *Merces*, to signifie great *Fairs* and *Marts*, rather than these weekly meetings of the adjacent Countrey People, which are meant by the word *Tol*, which in a secondary sense came to signifie *tribute paid to the Lord of the Market, for the liberty of selling within his Jurisdiction*, and in after times, it was as *Fleta* testifies, brought to signifie *freedom from such custome of payment*. Concerning *Theam*, the Laws are again very obscure.

As *Sac*.

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Quod Socage à Soc vel Socne, i.e. Immunitate vel privilegio derivatur, non autem à Soc aratro, vide Somnerum fusè probantem in supra dicto Tractatu de Gavelkind.

**Sachaej: quod si quilibet aliquem nominatim de aliquo calumniatus fuerit & ille negaverit, forisfactura probationis vel negationis (si evenerit) sua erit.*

Derivatur à Saxon sac *Causa, adhuc dicimus, for God's sake. vide Spelm. in voc. A Græc.* σάκος.

Soc.

Toll.

Team.

68. But its agreed that it signifies two things. The first is *Advocatio* or Avoury, or Garranty, of which the Lord had Jurisdiction, *viz.* concerning those that as the Lawyers phrase it, are *vocati ad warrantiam*. Again, it signifies an Off-spring or Generation, and here particularly it's applied to the Issue or Off-spring of a Lord's Villains, and is defined to be a Royalty, which whosoever enjoys, hath his propriety in his Slaves or Villains within his own Franchise or Fee, and power of disposing of them as of his other things, moveable or immoveable, at his pleasure. *Infangthef*, was another Royal Privilege, and by St. *Edward*'s Laws, is said to be a Man's Justice over a Thief, *viz.* of his own Man, if he was taken upon his own ground, as *Outfangthef* (though these Laws speak nothing of it) was Jurisdiction over a Thief that did not belong to the Lord, but being a stranger, was taken within his Jurisdiction. To what St. *Edward*'s Laws say of *Infangthef*, they add, they which have not these customs, may doe right before the King's Justice in Hundreds, Wapentacks, or in Shires. But as it appears by *Bracton*, in the *Norman* times, this Jurisdiction over Thieves onely belonged to the King, growing out of use amongst Barons, who formerly had had this Royalty, rather than taken away by any Law, which yet happened to the Hundreds and Shires, which seem to have been deprived of this Privilege by the Great Charter. Concerning such Persons as enjoyed these Royalties of *Sac*, *Soc*, *Tol*, *Team* and *Infangthef*, we must add what the often mentioned Laws farther hint to us. *Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and all that have Sac, Soc, Thol, Theam and Infangthef, may have their own Souldiers,* (*Free Tenants* Sr. *Henry Spelman* reads it) *and their own Servants*, viz. *their Sewers, Butlers, Chamberlains, Bakers, and Cooks under their Friborg; as also these their Squires,* (Armigeri) *or others that serve them under their Friborg, in case they proved faulty, and Hue and Crye was made after them, by the Neighbours, they should see right done in their own Court. Those I say that have Sac, Soc, Thol, Theam,* and *Infangthef*. By *Friborg* is meant, what

Team what.

Infangthef.

Vide Skenæum de Verb. signif. Spelman. Glossar. in voce. Somneri Glossar. & Lexicon Saxonic. item in voce & Cowellum. Team autem derivatur à tyman *propagare, parturire, unde nostratium a Teeming. Ab in & intus;* fangan *capere, prehendere, (unde digiti hodie Fingers quibusd. Fangs) & θεοφ: fur.*

Sect. 12. what the *Normans* called *Frankpledge*, in *Latin*, *Fidejussio*; the meaning is, that for all these, their Lords were ingaged, and as it were gave security that they should well demean themselves.

Friborg what.

69. Here it is seasonable for the better discovery of our *Saxon* Government, to take notice that generally in every Town there was a *Friborg* or College, Company or Society of ten of the Principal Men, who were each of them *Fidejussors* for the King, and answerable one for another, invented, as it's said, by that glorious King *Alfred*. From the Number (as in *Latin*, *Decuria*, *Decania*, *Decima*, *Deceana*, *Fidejussio*, *Decemviratus*, and the like) it was called teoðung and tienrantale or the number of *ten men*. The chief of them who presided over the rest, was also called teoðungman, tienheros: Borhealder, and freoborhereos, as in *Latin*, *Decurio*, *Capitalis Decemvir*, *Vas Senior*, *Capitalis Plegius*, *Capitalis Friborgus*, & *Justitiarius Friburgi*. Their Office, Employment, and the effects thereof, are set forth at large by the Laws of *Edward* the Confessour, in this manner. *Farthermore, there is another the greatest and most principal security, through which all are firmly established in their several Conditions*, viz. *that every one establish himself under the security of this Frankpledge or Surety-ship, which the* English *call* freoborger, *yet the Torkshire Men, and they alone, call it*, tien manna tala, *which is as much in Latin, as the number of ten men. This Security came to pass in this manner*, viz. *that all Inhabitants of every Town whatsoever, in the Kingdom, should be under this decennal Suretyship. Insomuch, as if one of the ten proved faulty, the nine were to have one forthcoming for Justice: if he fled, the Law allowed one and thirty days; if he was found out in the mean time, he was led before the King's Justice, and was compelled at his own charge to make reparation for what he had done, and if his Crime was such, Justice was done upon his Body. But in case he could not be found within the compass of one and thirty days, there being in every Friborg a Principal whom they called* friborgerheros, *this Principal was to take two of the best of his Friborg, and out of the three nearest Friborgs, from each a Principal, with two others of the best of every Friborg, if he could procure them, and so he being the twelfth, ought to purge himself and his Friborg, if he could, from the offence and flight of the aforesaid Malefactour; if he could not doe it, he and his Friborg were to make satisfaction out of the Goods of the Malefactour, if it could be had; or if not, out of their own Estates, so much as they were legally condemned in. And what they could not doe with the assistence of the three neighbouring Friborgs, they themselves were to swear that they would not be in fault for the time to come, and if they could recover the Malefactour, they would bring him before the Justice, or declare to the Justice where he was.*

A Saxonic. freoh *i. e. liber &* borher *fidejussor, vas.*

Præterea est quædam summa & maxima securitas, &c. c. 20. de Friborgis.

Than of a Town or City.

70. The occasion of making over these *Friborgs* certain Justitiaries they afterwards declare, forasmuch as, it seems, the other constitution did not sufficiently accomplish its design. *But whereas it so happened, that certain foolish and naughty Persons, too frequently and freely committed Insolencies against their Neighbours, wise Men began to consult about it, and over every ten Friborgs constituted Justitiaries, which* (in Latin) *we may call* Decani, *but in* English, *were named* tienheros, *or the head of ten. These handled Causes amongst the Villages and Neighbourhoods, and according to the offences, punished and made agreements*, viz. *concerning Pastures, Meadows, Corn-fields, and concerning differences amongst Neighbours, and other innumerable contentions which infest humane frailty, and incessantly make War against it. But whenas any greater Causes happened, they were referred to their Superiour Justitiaries, whom the above-named wise Men appointed over them*, viz. *over the ten* Decani, *whom therefore we may call Centurions or Centenaries; for that they were Judges over an hundred Friborgs.* Thus we have taken a view of the Polity of our *English Saxons*, as to the manner and form of the Government. The next that we doe, must be to consider of their Laws, in the discovery of which, much will be farther made out as to the Customs respecting the Government; the faults to which the Nation was incident, the sorts of their punishments, with many other incident matters.

Cùm autem contingeret quòd quidam stulti & improbi gratis & nimis consuetè erga vicinos suos, &c. c. 32.

The Power and Duty of the chief *Friborg*.

71. The *English Saxons* and *Jutes* coming out of the *Chersonesus* of *Germany*, must doubtless have brought some such Customs with them as were then in use with those Northern Nations, but what they were, as our Learned Glossarist before us, we cannot but very much doubt, there being very little light concerning these ancient matters. We reade indeed of the Laws of the *Anglii* in *Germany*, but with the *Anglii* are joyned the *Werini* and *Thuringii*, and these Laws were confirmed by *Charles* the Great. We also reade of the Law of the *Saxons* of *Germany*, which some ascribe to *Herald* the *Dane*, who yet flourished, but about the year of our Lord,

These Northern Nations of the same original.

Lex Angliorum, Werinorum & Thuringorum.

Lord, DCCCCLXXXIV. *Lindenbrogius*, indeed will have those of *Herald* much later than those which he himself hath published, together with those of the *Frisons*; forasmuch as the Copies both in the ancientness of the Parchments, and Hand he imagines to have exceeded the times of *Charles*. But by our *Spelman* he is advised to take heed what he says, for some things in them relate to the Church, some things to the safety of the King of the *Franks*, and it's well enough known, that till the Reign of *Charles*, the *Saxons* were not converted to the Christian Faith; nor had submitted to the Yoke of the *Franks*. Yet that the *Saxons* had ancient Laws or Customs, not found amongst those that are published, we may easily admit: but these we may also object, were after they came into *Thuringia*, after the dispersing of this People into those several Quarters from the *Chersonesus*. But our *Saxons* came as we formerly inculcated from the ancient *Saxons*, our *Angli* from that place we formerly described, and could not descend from those Colonies, which after their coming into *Britain*, were sent into many places Southward in the Continent. But as they were of the same Original with those other Colonies, no wonder if some affinity may be found amongst their Laws and Customs.

Their Language and Customes the same.

72. For, when as all these *Gothick* or *Scandian* Nations, *viz.* the *Goths*, peculiarly so called, the *Saxons*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, *Danes*, *Normans* and others, had carried their victorious Arms throughout the Western Parts of the *Roman* Empire, and had begun as it were a *Gothick Teutonick*, or a *Scandian World*, no wonder that agreeing in Original, Language and Customs, imposing their Laws upon the conquered Nations, and retaining many of their own ancient Terms and Rites, (however in some places their Language, for the main, might afterward be swallowed up by the multitude of Speakers of that of the place) it should come to pass, that betwixt us and the *Germans*, *French*, *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Sicilians*, and betwixt all those themselves, being all of us descended from these fore-named People, so great agreement there should be, as well in the Canon of ancient Laws, as the Names of Magistrates, Officers and Ministers, not to speak of an infinite number of vulgar words. To those Northern Customs we must ascribe then the very first Original of our *Saxon* Laws, not to any that are now extant in Print. Customs I call them, for they were scarcely written in those Ages, when *Hengist* and *Horsas* came into *Britain*. The Runick Letters I confess might be more ancient, but they were rather employed upon Mythological matters, and things relating to their superstition. The first beginning of all humane Laws, was imperfect and rude, and our Neighbours lately mentioned, as to their municipal Laws, have no more reason to brag than we. * *Let them boast that will*, saith our Learned *Spelman*, *of the Antiquity of their Municipal Laws, yet the Original of them, how inconsiderable soever, and barbarous, is not to be fetcht from elsewhere, as shall appear from what follows. For what Conquering People will wink under the Laws of the Conquered, especially when the one is cast out, and the other possesseth its Seat?*

* *Jactent igitur qui volunt legum suarum municipalium antiquitatem (nam & hoc ineptiæ prudentes carpit) earum tamen origo quantulacunq; sit & barbara, aliunde nusquam videtur expetenda, ut è sequentibus elucebit, quis enim victor populus sub victi legibus, &c. præsertim cum ejecto isto sedem ille incoluerit? Spelm. in voc. Lex.*

Which prevail'd with the Conquerours.

73. These last words are well and cautiously added by Sir *Henry*, for as we have elsewhere observed both of Laws and Languages, when these Northern People (or indeed any other People any other place) conquered those parts of the *Roman* Empire, if they imbodied with the conquered People, and were exceeded by them in Numbers, the Language and Fashions of the Conquered would prevail, as we see in the case of the *Franks* conquering *Gall*, and the *Normans* conquering *England*; but in case the Victours overpowered the subdued People in Numbers, or drove them out of their Possessions, then both Language and Laws of the victorious People must needs prevail as in our present case, when the *English Saxons* drove up the *Britains* into the Western Mountainous places, destroyed them, or forced them to quit the Island. But here now it comes fitly to our remembrance, that some there are who would have several Laws and Customs to have been by the *English Saxons* received from the *Britains*, many of whom, as they contend, continued among them, incorporated with them, and were never driven out. They instance in several Charters made to the Monastery of *Glassenbury*, wherein is mention made of the *British* Inhabitants as well as *English*, and they urge, that had not *British* Husbandmen and inferiour sort of People been suffered to continue and Till the Ground, Bread would presently have failed the Invader himself,

 and

Sect. 12. and he ſhould have wanted ſtrength to Conquer, becauſe he had not whereon to live. That every where, and abſolutely the *Britains* were driven out no man will affirm; but yet for all this objected, that very few of them continued in the conquered places, we muſt be perſwaded by ſeveral Arguments. One is the general change of the Names of Places, very few Countrey Towns retaining *Welſh* or *Britiſh* Names, and thoſe great Towns that did, having ſome addition made unto them. Then the Language evidently makes out the thing in queſtion; for in deſpight of all Laws, Preſcriptions, and Orders, (as we ſee after the Conqueſt by Duke *William*) the Vulgar will be Maſter of Speech, and the greateſt multitude of Speakers overpower the reſt, each one being addicted to his own Native Language, and however ſome particular Perſons may have an affectation after the Foreign, uſing his own Dialect as moſt eaſie to him. Neither are there ſo many *Welſh* words crept into the *Engliſh* as can argue any greater Conjunction and Union than with other neighbouring Nations, with which the *Engliſh* hath had Traffick and Commerce.

74. But as for that Objection of *Tillage*, it's eaſily anſwered from what we have already written in its place of the perpetual ſwarming of theſe *Engliſh Saxon* Nations into *Britain*, which overpowered the poor Inhabitants by their Numbers, and by their Crowds forced them to quit both Seats and Arms and either paſs the Seas or ſeek for ſhelter in the Mountainous and hardly acceſſible places. Therefore do we reade that thoſe places, whence ſome of them came, were left deſolate, and void of People, Old and Young, Noble and Ignoble, Man, Woman and Child; as well he that handled the Mattock, as he that managed the Sword, haſting to be partaker of that Booty and Fertile Land, of which they had heard ſo much Commendation, and of its worth had aſſurance from this, that none that once came over were willing to return to their former Seats. Some Faſhions and Cuſtoms, while they held Correſpondence in times of Truce, or afterward when the War was finiſhed, they might receive from the *Britains*, as the *Britains* alſo from them, there being a kind of Commutation and Re-action in thoſe Caſes, but that any great matters is no way probable. Many Nations agree in ſeveral Cuſtoms, not ſo much out of Communication and from their learning one from another, as that thoſe things are either agreeable to humane Prudence in general, of which all People participate, and conſequently it dictates to them all the ſame things, (the Laws of Nations flowing from this Principle) or that as in Words, in Faſhions, and all other things relating to Mankind there is no Infinity, but Neceſſities, Uſes and Conveniences, being the ſame; ſeveral People as ſeveral men muſt ſometimes light by accident upon the ſelf ſame things. If any conſiderable Laws can be ſhewn to have been derived from the *Britains*, they were rather thence borrowed by ſuch *Saxon* Princes as finding a great defect at home, were glad to ſeek elſewhere and provide from abroad Supplies for Domeſtick Wants, for anſwering thoſe new Exigencies which continuance of time and ſettlement in a peaceable condition daily produced. So King *Alfred* is ſaid to have tranſlated and made *Engliſh* the Laws of *Milmatius* the ancient *Britiſh* King, of which anon.

Unwritten Cuſtoms the firſt original of the *Engliſh Saxon* Laws.

75. The firſt Original therefore of the *Engliſh Saxon* Laws were ſuch unwritten Cuſtoms as they brought along with them from beyond the Seas, which were increaſed by the Dictates of natural Prudence according to convenience, and the Exigency of Affairs, and by Obſervation and Communication in proceſs of time came to be more full, certain and ſolemn, in reference to Cuſtoms, or to be by Legiſlatours framed into poſitive and written Precepts. The firſt of theſe, *viz.* Cuſtoms were according to the People from which they proceeded various, and not fully the ſame throughout the Land, though by reſemblance they ſhewed themſelves near akin, and anſwerable, poſitive Laws they had joyned to them, either firſt made or received by their reſpective Legiſlatours. The *Jutes* in *Kent* had their peculiar Laws, but being reduced under the Government of the Weſt *Saxon* Kings, they alſo ſubmitted to the Laws of the Weſt *Saxons*. The *Angli* or *Engliſh* properly ſo called, uſed the Law called *Mercian*, and the Laws of St. *Edward* tell us, that *Ewerwickſhire*, or *Torkſhire*, (or as in the Margent is noted *Warwickſhire*) *Nicolſhire* as the *Normans* called it (which ſhews theſe Laws to have been worded after the Conqueſt) or *Lincolnſhire*, *Notinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*, as far as *Watlingſtreet* and eight Miles beyond were under this Law. Afterwards when the *Danes* came to ſettle and domineer in *England*, they impoſed their Cuſtoms or Laws upon the Provinces of Eaſt *England* and *Northumberland*. So came it to paſs, that in the Land were in force three ſeveral Laws, *viz.* that of the

Then that of the Weſt *Saxons*.

Of the *Mercians*.

And the *Danes*.

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the West *Saxons* called *Westseaxnalaga*, that of the *English* or *Mercians* called *Myrcnalaga*, and the other of the *Danes* called *Denelaga*. This of the *Danes* is by the forementioned Laws called *Lex Norvorum & Danorum*, viz. The Laws of the *Norwegians* and *Danes*, and to have been the received Law of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Gratabridgeshire*, or *Cambridgeshire*, as also of *Deira*, with the Western and Northern Isles, as those of *Man*, *Catheney*, the *Orcades* and others, and such as inhabited *Gurth*, that is the Fenny places. As for the *Norwegians*, though generally those Northern People that invaded the Land go under the Name of *Danes*; yet as we have formerly hinted, the People of *Norwey*, otherwise called *Normans*, are to be understood as Partners in the Expeditions; for as under the Names of *Norwegians* and *Normans*, the *Danes* are also to be understood, so under that of *Danes* are also comprized the *Norwegians* and *Normans*. The *Danes* as they setled in *England* by degrees induced their Customs, which seem to have been inforced after that *Guthron* from King *Alfred* received the Provinces of East *England* and *Northumberland*; and afterward became the most owned Laws of the Land when King *Canute* had brought the Sceptre into the hands of that People, where it continued from the days of *Ethelred* to *Edward the Confessour*, during which time the Law of the *English* is said to have been mute. *Edward* when he came to the Crown would not endure that one and the same Kingdom should be govern'd with three sorts of Laws, surveyed them all, selected and digested out of them that which from the thing was called *Lex Communis* or *the Common Law*, and from him *the Law of St. Edward the Confessour*.

jest seaxna laga Myncna laga. Denelaga.

Out of which the Common Law was compiled by *Edward* the Confessour.

76. So much of the Laws in general, as they respected the whole government of the Land. To come to particular Legislatours, the First that we know of, who made any written Laws, was *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, he who first received Christianity of all the Nation. Concerning him *Bede* writes, *that among other good things he did for the Nation, He ordained for it Decrees of Judgments, according to the Examples of the* Romans, *with the Council of Wise Men. Which being written in the Language of the* English, *are hitherto kept and observed by it. In which he first placed how he ought to make amends that should steal any thing from the Church or Bishop, or the other Orders, resolving to protect those whom with their Doctrine he had received.* That he ordained was Decrees of Judgments (*Decreta* * *Judiciorum*) which may be explained by what follows, concerning Sacrilegious Persons, that they should be punished or make amends (the Parliaments in *France* in their Arrests of Condemnation of Criminals to death, use still the Term of making *honourable amends*, answerable to the Latin *Emendare* here used by *Bede*) and this was according to the * Examples of the *Romans*. These Decrees of Judgments then were Judicial Laws inflicting Punishments upon Offenders, and were taken from the *Roman* Books. It was about the year of our Lord DLXI that *Ethelbert* (according to Sir *Henry Savill's Fasti*) began his Reign in the thirty fifth year of *Justinian*, and he reigned about six and fifty years, in which time (*Bede* tells not in what year) he ordained and published these Decrees of Judgments. But publish them in what year he would, *Justinian's* Law, or his New Model, was not then known to the *European* Nations, nor many years after. What therefore he took from the *Roman* Laws must have been out of *Theodosius's Code* (which determines of matters as well Ecclesiastical as Civil) out of the Fragments of *Gaius*, *Paulus* or *Ulpian*, or a small part of the Pandects which then was known to the *Europeans*. So *Alarick* the King of the *Visigoths* in *Gall* had near an hundred years before caused the *Code of Theodosius* to be abbreviated by *Anianus* his Chancellour, and published for the benefit of his People.

Ethelbert the first Law-maker.

Lib. 2. c. 5. Qui inter cætera bona quæ genti suæ consulendo conferebat, etiam decreta illi Judiciorum juxta exempla Romanorum, cum concilio sapientium constituit. Quæ conscripta Anglorum sermone hactenus habentur & observantur ab eo. In quibus primitus posuit, qualiter id emendare deberet qui aliquid rerum vel Ecclesiæ vel Episcopi vel reliquorum ordinum furto auferret, volens scil. tuitionem eis quos & quorum doctrinam susceperat, præstare.

* *Rex Alfredus vertit* þýlcepe þihtpa boma ȝeþeteneþþe.

* Æþtep *Romana* býþena.

77. What these Decrees of Judgments were which *Ethelbert* published, we do not certainly know. Yet are there certain Laws in a Manuscript Book of *Rochester*, called *Textus Roffensis*, an ancient Monument indeed, but such as in this matter we cannot fully trust. For neither do these Laws of his seem to be taken from the *Roman* Books; nor doth their Language seem to be near so ancient as King *Ethelbert*, nor doth *Bromton* the Abbat of *Jornal* mention them, though carefull to deliver such Laws of those *Saxon* Kings as he then found, and thought authentick. And therefore shall we exhibit onely such as are found in him and Mr. *Lambard's* Edition. The next Legislatour to *Ethelbert*, at least whom he can receive as such, was *Ine* or *Ina* the King of the West *Saxons*, who began his Reign well nigh an

Sect. 12. hundred years (four wanted) after that *Ethelbert* ended his, and made his Laws by the Advice of *Cenred* his Father, *Hedda* and *Erhenwald* his Bishops, all his Senatours, and the Elders of the Wisemen of the People in a great Assembly of the Servants of God for the Salvation of their Souls, and the common preservation of his Kingdom, that lawfull Marriages and just Judgments might be established throughout all his Dominions, and that no Senatour or other of his Subjects might transgress his Laws. After this Preface follow the particular Laws, many whereof relate to Church Matters, and in that History are to be exemplifi'd, of such as respect the Civil State we shall here make mention. *If any one fight in the King's Court, let him forfeit all his Estate, and let it be in the King's power whether to put him to death or not. Let him that fights in a Church forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings; he that commits the like Offence in the House of a Senatour or any other Wise and Honourable Person sixty shillings. If any one fight in the House of a* * *Countreyman paying Rent, or any Husbandman, let him forfeit thirty shillings, and six shillings to the Man himself, if in the open Field let him be fined an hundred and twenty shillings. If at a Feast there be any falling out, let such as abuse the rest incurr the Mulct of thirty shillings.* The next that follows ordains, That *if a man steal without the knowledge of his Wife and Children, he be fined sixty shillings, but if all the Family be knowing and consenting,* (a) *all of them be condemned to Servitude.* And it declares, That *a Boy of Ten years old is to be esteemed guilty of Theft.* The next enacts, That (b) *If any one desire of the Shiremen* (c) *or other Judges that Right be done him, and cannot obtain it, neither can have any Caution given him, the Judge in such case be fined thirty shillings, and yet that Right be done the Man within a* (d) *sevennight.* The ninth Law commands, That *In* (e) *case any one revenge his own Quarrel privately, before he require Justice to be done him, he shall restore what he took, pay the full value of the thing, and further, be fined thirty shillings.* The Tenth imposes (f) *Upon such as rob within the Kingdom, or make Booty of any thing, a Mulct of sixty shillings, besides the restoring of what was taken.* The next appoints, That *if* (g) *any one buy his own Countreyman, be he Bond or Free, and send him over Sea, though he guilty of any Crime, shall pay* (h) *the whole rate or price of his Head*; and further, *give satisfaction to Almighty God.* The next Sentences *Such as bear false Witness before the Bishop, or falsly produce their Pledges, to pay an hundred and twenty shillings.*

* Gif he ðonne on geþolgilden hus. oþþeon gebuner geþeohte XXX scill. to þire gesylle. ⁊ ðæm gebune six scill.

C. 7. Be stale.

(a) gangen hi ealleon ðeowas ⁊ cynþinþe cniht mag beon ðeoþe gesita ⁊

(b) C. 8. Be rihtesbene ⁊

(c) scirmen.

(d) binnan seofan nihte.

(e) C. 9. Be ðam þiæcenðan ⁊

(f) C. 10. Be þeaflace.

(g) C. 11. Be leos bygenæ ⁊

(h) forgylð hine be hirþæne.

(i) C. 12. Be ðam þe heoþa gesitny þne geleogaþ ⁊

78. The thirteenth Law, concerning Thieves or Robbers, ordains, That *if any such be apprehended he be put to death, or else pay the value of his Head. Now* (saith he) *we call them Robbers as far as the number of seven men; from seven as far as five, and thirty we call a Troop or Company; if above, we name it an Army.* Concerning *such as are found in the Troop or Company,* the next Law enacts, That *such an one purge himself by an hundred and twenty Hides of Land by Oath, or make an answerable Compensation. He that is found in the Army,* the fifteenth Law commands, That *he redeem himself by the price of his Head, or make satisfaction. But this Oath must be made one half by Masters of Families or Houshoulders. And in case the Thief be in the King's Custody this Redemption cannot be admitted.* Concerning these Oaths made by an hundred Hides, and by Houshoulders, the Reader must call to mind what lately we said concerning *Friborgs*, and Caution given about Malefactours, as also refer to what is said afterward concerning the valuation of Heads. The sixteenth requires, That *he that hath killed a Thief make Oath that he killed him as a Criminal, this done he is to be discharged.* The next is made about *such as find stoln flesh and hide it, that it may be lawfull, if they will, to prove it their own. Such as give notice of it are to be rewarded.* The next that follows is, *A Countreyman if he often stole, and at last be taken in the Fact, let him loose an Hand or a Foot.* The next ordains, That *the King's Husbandman or Looker to his Cattel, if the price of his Head be twelve Hundred Shillings, and he be an Houshoulder, his Oath be taken for sixty Hides.* The

C. 13. Be gefangenum ðeofum.

C. 14. Behlopum.

C. 15. Be hengc.

C. 16. Be ðeofslege.

C. 17. Be forstolenum flæsce.

C. 18. Be ceorlisscum ðeofum gefangenum ⁊

C. 19. Be Cyninges geneat ⁊

twentieth

twentieth willeth, That *if a Travellour or Stranger wander up and down the Woods, and neither cry out nor wind an Horn, as a Thief be put to death, or redeem his life. If any require the value of any one so slain at the slayers hands, he that killed him, if he make Oath that he slew him as a Thief is to be indemnified both against the Associates of the slain and his Lord. But if he dissembled the Crime, and afterwards it appeareth, then gives he advantage to the Kindred of the slain man by Oath to purge their dead Kinsman of the fault.* That which follows directs, That *if any ones Vassal steal and flie for it, his Master call * upon such as ingaged for him, if there were any; if not, he himself must pay the value of the thing, no Remission being to be used in the case.* And the two and twentieth wills, That *if a Foreigner be slain, the King have two parts of the value of his Head, and his Children or Kindred the third; if he have no Kindred, the King is to have half of that, and his Companion or Gild-fellow the rest. After the same manner an Abbat or Abbess, if they he concern'd may share with the King. A* Welchman *that pays yearly Rent is to be esteemed at an hundred and twenty shillings; his Son at an hundred, and his Servant at sixty or fifty; let a* Welchman *redeem a beating with twelve shillings. If he possess five Hides of Land, let his value be six hundred shillings.*

C. 20. Be ꝑeoꝑꝑan Cumenum men ⁊

* ȝif ðu hæbbe boꝑȝaꝑ mana ðone ðæꝑ angylbeꝑ.

C. 21. Be þon þe monneꝑ ȝeneat ꝑtaliȝeþ

C. 22. Be ælðeoðiȝeꝑ manneꝑ ꝑlæȝe ⁊

De his Capitum æstimationibus videque infra dicimus ad LL. Æthelstani.

79. *Iue* by his twenty third Law commands, That *if an* Englishman, *deprived of his Liberty, steal again, he be hanged, and no Compensation at all be made to his Lord. In case any one slew him, that nothing upon that account be paid to his Kindred, except they redeemed him within a Twelvemonth.* By his twenty fourth, That *if a Merchant that trades by Land buy any thing, he get Witness of what he buys. For in case any stoln thing be found with him which he cannot prove he bought by good Witness, he is bound to make it good, that he neither stole it nor was privy to the Theft, or else must pay six and thirty shillings.* By his twenty fifth he takes care, That *for the Maintenance of a Child exposed and found, six shillings be allowed for the first year; twelve for the second, and thirty for the third: That afterward the allowance be inlarged according to the goodlinesse of the Child.* By his twenty sixth, *To him that takes a Thief he gives as a Reward Ten shillings, and declares, that the King is to have the Thief. Here the Thief's Kindred are to take an Oath that they will not interpose on his behalf. In case he Contumaciously made resistence, or fled for it, he is to be taken as guilty of the Offence. If he free himself he must doe it with respect to the value of the thing, and the greatness of the Mulct.* By the twenty seventh he enacts against *Such as beget Children clandestinely, ordering that if such Children be killed they shall loose the prices or valuation of their lives, which the King and their Lords shall have.* The twenty eighth requires, That *if one lend another man's Servant his Sword; if it be lost, a third part of the value of his Head is to be paid; if a Spear, the half; and if an Horse, that the whole value of the Slaves life be paid.* By vertue of his twenty ninth, *If a Countreyman was accused of relieving a Fugitive, and could not clear himself, he was to pay the value both of his own and the Fugitives life.* And by his thirtieth, *If any one bought a Woman and paid not for her what was agreed, he was to pay double the price, and over and above be severely punished, as if he had broken suretyship,* which they termed *Borhbryce.* The one and thirtieth sets the *value of the Head of a* Welchman, *if he have an Hide of Land, at one hundred and twenty Shillings, if but half an Hide at eighty Shillings; if he have no Land at all at sixty.* But the thirty second *excepts the* King's Stable-Groom being a *Welchman*, ordaining, That *if he was fit to carry a Message, the valuation of his Head should be at two hundred shillings.* By this we learn, that the Kingdom of the West *Saxons*, bordering part of it upon *Wales*, some *Welchmen* lived amongst the *English*. That according to *Lambard*'s translation of the word, the King was wont to have a *Welchman* to look to his Horses, for the Phrase is, not the King's Horse-Groom, or his Horses Master, but the King's Horse *Welchman*, yet we may call him the Gentleman or Master of his Horse, because of his other imployment that follows. We reade in the *Saxon* Annals of *Wulfric* King *Alfred*'s *Horsethegne* or *Minister*, who was also Governour of *Wales*. Yet Mr. *Sumner* by no means will allow of *Lambard*'s

C. 23. Be ꝑiꝛe ꝑeoꝑum.

C. 24. Be Cýpmanna on lande.

C. 25. Be ꝑundeneꝑ cilceꝑ ꝑoꝑꝑe.

C. 26. Be ðeoꝑeꝑ onꝑeng.

C. 27. Be ðam ðe beaꝑnunga beaꝑn ꝑtýneþ.

C. 28. Be þam þe hiꝑ ꝑæꝑnie onlæne.

C. 29. Be þam þe ꝑlýman ꝑeoꝑmiȝe.

Boꝑhbꝑýce.

C. 31. Be Cýnhiꝑceꝑ moneꝑ lands haꝑene.

C. 32. Be Cýninȝeꝑ hoꝑꝑ Pealh.

Sect. 12. *bard*'s Interpretation of the word *Wealh* here for a *Welshman*, but affirms it signifies onely a Servant, as Mr. *Lambard* himself also sometimes interprets it. For it appears, that the *Saxon* Kings were wont to send their Domesticks upon Messages, both from this Law and what we have formerly out of *Ingulphus* observed concerning *Oslat* the Butler of King *Ethelwulf*, who was present at the Council held by *Bertulph* King of the *Mercians*, and in the name of his said Master, his Sons and all the West *Saxons* signed the Charter granted to the Monastery of *Croyland*, both in quality of his *Butler* and of his * *Ambassadour*.

* *Ego Oslat pincerna Regis Ethelwulf & Legatus ipsius Domini mei, &c.*

80. The three and thirtieth Law provides, That *in case any was present at the killing of a man, he shall purge himself according to the value of his Head, or else be punished for his presence according to the value of his life that was slain. As if the valuation of his Head was of two hundred shillings, let him pay fifty; and let the same course be taken in those that are born of any nobler Families.* The thirty fourth says what formerly had been said, That *if any one slay a Thief he must make Oath that he killed him as a Malefactour, and farther adds*, that *he must make faith of this by Oath of men not chosen on purpose for the business, to the Kindred of the slain. In case he deny the fact and it become manifest he must pay the value of the mans Head.* The next Law provides, That *if any one be sued for keeping another mans Goods, and by Oath preconceived hath denied the having of them, and fears not again to swear to the same purpose he sware according to the penalty and the value of the thing. But in case he refuse this Oath, that he pay double for his Perjury.* That which follows again, *Requires the value of the Thiefs Head of him that shall let him escape. If * he be an Alderman he is to forfeit his Shire, except the King think fit to pardon him.* The next *imposes Forfeiture of Hand or Foot upon a Countreyman, who having been often accused of Theft hath been sold or convicted any other way.* The thirty eighth Law provides, That *if a Countreyman have Children and die, the Children abide with their Mother, and to keep them that she have six shillings, with a Cow in Summer and an Oxe in Winter; and that the Kindred keep the Seat till the Children come to age.* That which follows directs *Concerning such as flie from their Lords, and lurke in any other * Shire, that they be thence sent back, and moreover sixty shillings paid to their Lord.* The fortieth *requires that the Field of a Countreyman adjacent to his House be fenced as well in Summer as in Winter. If any gap lie open and so let in his Neighbours Cattel, the Countreyman must expect no satisfaction, but must himself take care for keeping out the Cattel and alone go away with the loss.* The one and fortieth *gives liberty to deny suretyship, in case he knows that he doeth well.*

C. 33. Be manslyhte.

C. 34 Be ðeofslihte.

C. 36. Be ðon ðemon þeof þoplæte.

* gif he ealdorman ryþoligehir scire, butan hun Cyning aþian wille 7

C. 37. Be Cynlirces monnes betogenniſſe.

C. 38. Be þon þe wiht gehiþan beaþn hæbban.

C. 39. Be una lyredum ræne fnamhus hlaforþ.

* Oþþe on oþþe scire hine bertele. *Vides his antiquitatem vocis Shire.*

C. 40. Be ceorles geornige.

C. 41. Be borges onræce.

81. The forty second Law ordains concerning Common Ground, in this manner. *If Grass-ground or any other belong to several Countreymen, and some will fence their part, and others refuse to doe the same by theirs: if Cattle break into the Ground on that part that lay unfenced, let such as owe this part make satisfaction to the other, and the owners of the Cattle to them, according to Right and Justice: but if there be any Beast that breaks Hedges and is troublesome, and the owner thereof either cannot or will not keep it at home, he that finds the Beast in his Ground may kill it, and the owner of it shall have the Carkass, and no other compensation made.* The forty third enjoyns, that *If any one set fire to the Trunk of a Tree lying in a Wood and be thereof convicted, he be punished for it, and besides that pay sixty Shillings*, for this reason, because *Fire is a clandestine Thief. If any fell Trees in a Wood and be convicted thereof, that for the three first Trees he pay thirty shillings, and undergo no greater punishments how many soever there be of them*, because *an Axe by the noise discovers the Fact, neither can it easily be concealed.* The next *imposes a penalty of sixty shillings upon him that shall fell a Tree, the Branches whereof can cover thirty Swine:* that which follows makes an *Annual Livery, a sort of Garment given to the Family of the value of six pence.* The forty sixth imposes penalties upon Breaches of the Peace: as *If the Peace be broken in the Town of the King, an hundred and twenty shillings; in the Town of an Alderman or Senatour eighty shillings; in that of the King's Thane or Minister sixty shillings; if in the Town of the chief Man of the Hundred, having Land, five and thirty shillings; and the purgation of the crime is to be answerable.* The forty seventh takes order, that *If any one be accused of Theft, or of receiving a stoln thing he,*

C. 42. Be Ceorla gemænum land.

C. 43. Be þuðu bærnet.

C. 44

C. 45. Gafol-hwitel.

C. 46. Be burhbryce.

C. 47. Be stal tyhþe, tlan.

he free himself from the crime by sixty Hides, if he be accounted fit to swear. If an English *Man steal, that he purge himself by a double number. If a* Welsh *Man, that he be obliged to no greater a number of Jurours. And that it be lawfull to any one both to prevent by oath the penalty of receiving Thieves, and the valuation of one slain in case of capital enmity, if he can, and be not ashamed to doe it.* That which follows ordains, that *If any stoln goods be intercepted, one of servile condition must not be taken for a Voucher, as bought of him.* And the next to that, *In case any one for his crimes be condemned to slavery, and he be accused that he stole something while he was free, the Accuser may beat him once: and the Thief, according to the value of what he stole, is to be beaten how unwilling soever.* Sect. 12. C. 48. Beforstolene ceap beþangene. C. 49. Beþite ðeopum mannum.

82. The fiftieth Law is concerning him that *finds Swine feeding upon his Mast, or Acorns, without leave, that he take a pledge worth six shillings: if they never were there before let him that owns them pay one shilling, and according to the value of the Swine, let satisfaction be given that they never were in before; but if it shall appear that they had been in oftner, let two shillings be paid. He that takes in Hogs to feed upon Acorns, of those that are three fingers thick in fat, let him take every third; of those that are two fingers, every fourth; of such as are the thickness of ones thumb in fat, every fifth.* The fifty first *forbids him whom these Laws call* Gesithcundmon (being of condition below a *Thane*, and above a *Ceorle*, probably as we have already translated it, the Chief of the Hundred) *if he petition the King or his Alderman, for his Family; or the Lord for any Slave or Free-man, to sue for any remission of a Mulct, because he had not inflicted deserved punishment upon Offenders at Home.* That which follows enacts again concerning this same sort of man, that *If he held Lands and refuse to go to War, he lose his Land, and pay one hundred and twenty shillings. if he have no Lands, that he pay sixty shillings. A Ceorliseman or Countreyman, if he offend in this sort, he must pay thirty shillings.* By the next, *He that is accused of a Clandestine crime must purge himself according to an hundred and twenty Hides of Land, or else pay so many shillings.* The fifty fourth provides, that *In case another Man's Slave be found with a Man, and he be dead of whom he pretends he bought him, that the Buyer go to his Grave, and there according to the rate of forty Hides, make Oath that he bought this Slave of him, which done he is to be acquitted, and the Slave is to return to his former Lord. The same is to be observed in other stoln things. But in case it be known who had the goods of the Deceased, he is to be gone too, and to be desired to clear the sale except he make it good, that the Slave never belonged to the dead man.* The fifty fifth orders, that *If one be accused to have been at deadly enmity with a slain man, and the value of him be required at his hand, and he will swear that he gave him not his mortal wound; in such case the Oath called the* Royal Oath, *according to the rate of thirty Hides is to be duly administred, whether those called* Gesithcundmen, *or* Meor Ceorles *be joyned with him. In case he be found guilty, yet he may give his Corslet and his Sword to whom of his Companions he will, though he be not able to pay the value of the slain. A* Welshman *deprived of Liberty, must make this sort of Purgation, according to the Rate of twelve Hides. A Slave must be beaten. An* Englishman *must swear according to the Rate of four and thirty Hides.*

C. 51. Beþiþcunder monner geþinge. *Vid. Somnerum in Glossario voc. Sithcundus.* C. 52. Be ðon ðe geþiþcunðman fýnd forþitte. C. 53. Be ðýnnum geþinghe. C. 54. Þaforþtolener manner forþenge. C. 55. Be þæþþæh þe týhtlan.

83. The fifty sixth, "Sets the price of an Ewe and her Lamb at one shilling, "till a Fortnight after *Easter*. The next, Gives leave to any one that has bought "imprudently any faulty thing, and discovers the fault within thirty days to re-"turn it to the Seller, except he will take his Oath that at the time of sale, that "fault was unknown to him. The fifty Eighth, Acquits the Wife of Theft, "though conscious to her Husband's stealing, because she is to be obedient to "him. And upon his condemnation, if she refuseth not to swear that she had no "part of the thing stoln, she may possess the third part of his Goods. The next ordains that "He that cuts off the Horn of an Ox pay ten pence, the Horn of a "Cow two pence. If the Tail of an Ox four pence, if that of a Cow five pence. "Whoso puts out the Eye of an Ox must pay five pence, if the Eye of a Cow "one shilling. That which follows concerning Rent Barley is imperfect in Mr. *Lambard*'s Copy, neither doth *Brompton*'s Translation make it much more intelligible. By the sixty first, "If a Countreyman hired a Yoke of Oxen, and had Fodder

C. 56. Be eoþer þýnne. C. 57. C. 58. Be Cýnlircer monner þtale. C. 59. Be Oxan. C. 60. Be þegaþol. C. 61. Be hýne Geôc.

Sect. 12. "der sufficient, he was in that kind to pay the whole hire, if not sufficient, then "half in Fodder, and half otherwise. The next commands "The first fruits of "Corn, due to the Church to be paid out of that House, where a Man lives at "*Christmas*. Of this we must speak in Church matters. The sixty third gives order, "That if an accused Person be required to give pledge, and is not able to "doe it before the Trial, in case another Man offers to doe it for him, on conditi- "on that he give himself up into his Power, till such time as he can give him satis- "faction for what he now deposites; and now a second time Caution is deman- "ded of the accused Party, and he who assisted him before now refuseth to help "him the second time; if he be cast, let him loose what he laid down for him "when the suit began. The next concerning him called *Gesithcundman* ordains, "That if he change his Habitation, it may be lawfull to him to take along with "him his Officer or Baily, his Smith, and his Child *Foster* or his Nurse. Here the word *Smith*, *Lambard* translates, *Fabrum Ferrarium*, viz. *Backsmith*; but *Smith* in *Saxon*, answers fully to *Faber* in *Latin*, not onely *Faber Ferrarius*, but *Faber Lignarius*, or any of the other sort, the reason why it is become the most general sirname now in *England*.

C. 62. Be Cynic ceatte. C. 63. Be ðon ðe-mon to ceaſe ſonðnæſe. C. 64. Be ȝeriþcunðer monner ſaſe.

84. By this sixty fifth Law King *Ina* enacts, *That whosoever possesseth twenty Hides of Land and removes his Habitation, shall leave twelve Hides sown with Corn. He that occupies ten shall leave six, and he that possesseth three shall leave one and an half.* This we may suppose done in respect of the want of Corn, this Isle and all in ancient times abounding with wood, which long after the time of *Ina*, procured Laws for cutting it down, though now we be in the other extreme. By that which follows he provides for him, *That hath hired and ploughed a Tardland, that if the Landlord exact other services from him besides the Rent, he shall not need to pay them nor abstain from tilling the ground, except he assign him also an House to dwell in.* Against *Gesithcundman* the next ordains, *That in case he be banished, he shall not have the liberty to return to his House.* The sixty Eighth Commands, *That a Sheep be not shorn till* Midsummer, *otherwise the Fleece is to be redeemed with two pence.* The sixty ninth is concerning Valuations of Mens Heads, that, *If a Man in his Life-time was valued at two Hundred shillings, thirty of them should be deducted to make his Lord recompence for his death. If one was valued at six hundred, in such case Eighty should be deducted; if at twelve Hundred, then were to be deducted One hundred and twenty.* The seventieth concerning *maintenance* exacts, that, *From ten Hides of Land be allowed ten Fatts or Barrels of Honey; three Hundred loaves; twelve Runlets of* Welsh *Ale; thirty of the smaller Ale; two grown Oxen, or ten Wethers, ten Geese, twenty Hens, ten Cheeses, one Pott of Butter, five Salmons, twenty Pound weight of Fodder, and an Hundred Eeles.* That which follows wills, that, *If one be required to pay the Value of his Head, and being now to swear, confesses what before he denied, he pay nothing by way of Mulct, till he have first satisfied for the value of his Head.* The seventy second requires, that, *If a Thief who had formerly paid the value of his Head be taken, and make his escape the same day, the whole mulct be not again required, he being taken about Night: but in case the Theft was committed the Night before, such as formerly apprehended him, must pay as the King or his Officer shall ordain.*

C. 65. Be land hæbbendum. C. 66. C. 67. Be ȝeriþcunðer monner ðnæſe of lande. C. 68 Be ſceaper ȝangemis ſleoſ. C. 69. Be ſenum. C. 70. Be ſoſtne. tyn ſata hunȝeſ. Oþþe tyn ſeſenaſ. tyn ȝeeſ. tſeontiȝ henna. tyn cyſaſ. ambenſulne butenan. ſiſ leaxſaſ. tſentiȝ

Vide hic Spelman. in voc. Firma omnino.

ſunð ſaȝa ſoðneſ. ⁊ hund teontiȝ æla, *vide quam parum distant ista rerum nomina ab hodiernis.*
C. 71. Be ſenȝyhtlan. C. 72. Be ſenȝylð ðeoſeſ ſoneſeng.

85. The seventy third ordains, "That if a *Welsh* Slave kill an *English* Man, his "Master shall give him up into the Hands of the Lord, and the Kindred of him "that was slain, or else redeem him with sixty shillings. If he will not part with "his Money, that then he set at liberty his Slave, and the Kindred of the slain re- "cover the value of their Kinsman, if the other have any Kindred to bear him "out. If not, let him expect mischief from his Adversaries. A Freeman need "not pay with a Slave (except to buy off Capital Enmities or deadly Feuds) "neither a Slave with a Freeman. The next ordains concerning stoln Goods, "If they be found with another Man, and the Seller will neither own the Goods "nor that he sold them, and yet confess that he sold the Party some other things, "in such case it must lye upon the Buyer to prove, that he sold him these very "Goods and none other. The seventy fifth and the last is concerning him that "kills ones Godfather or Godson, That, he pay as much to the Kindred of the "slain,

C. 73. Be ðon ðe ðeoſ ſealh ſlȝne man oſſlea ⁊ C. 74. Be ſonſtoleneſ ceapeſ ſonſeng ⁊ C. 75. Be ȝoðſæðe neſ oþþe ȝoðſuneſ ſlyhtiȝ

"slain, as ought to be paid to the Lord for the loss of his Servant. And the Payment must be more or less according to the value of him that was slain, and "that which was to be made to the Lord for his loss. But in case it was the "King's Godson that was slain, satisfaction must be made to him as well as the "Kindred. In case a Kinsman slew him, abatement must be made of what is to "be paid to his Godfather, as if it had even to his Lord. If the slain was the "Son of a Bishop, abatement must be made of the half.

86. These are the Laws of King *Ina*, which we have transcribed, because they are the first of the *English* Nation, now extant: of such as follow we shall make mention with relation unto them. The next Legislatour after *Ina*, was *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, whom we may very well take for Authour of the *Mercian* Law, and not *Martia* the Widow of *Guenthelin* King of *Britain*, though some fancie her to have enacted it while she held the Regency of the Kingdom in the Minority of her Son, about three Hundred and fifty Years before the Birth of our Saviour. That *Offa* the King of the *Mercians*, made Laws is evident from the Preface of King *Alfred* to such as he enacted, though now there be no Body of them extant. For the next Legislatour after *Offa* was *Alfred* himself, to whom St. *Henry Spelman* gives the Epithetes of *Pius*, *Inclitus*, *Felix*, and, amongst perpetual and most bitter troubles, of *Victor* and *Triumphator*, *Alfred never sufficiently to be commended King also of the West Saxons*, but to whom all both *English* and *Saxons* voluntarily submitted themselves, to whom also *Guthrum* the *Danish* King swore obedience, and held the Provinces of the East *English* and *Northumbrians* as his Vassal. He himself tells us in the Conclusion of his Religious preface "That "whatsoever he found worthy of Observation, either in the time of *Ina* his Kinsman, or of *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert* the first Christened King, he "gathered them all together, and omitted the rest, in which work he used the "advice, and had the consent of the wisest Men about him. Having revised the Laws of these Princes, he transcribed such of them as he liked into his own, and by consent of those Wisemen he used Collection, commanded them to be observed by all *English* Men, under which Name the *Saxons* and *Jutes* were then included.

Offa.

Alfred.

Leland Cestriensis Monachus, apud Spelman. v. Lex. Mercionum.

Ac ða ðe ic ȝemette ahþæn oþþeon Ineȝ ðæȝeminer mæȝer. oþþe on Offam cynincna cyninȝer, &c.

87. The first of his Laws commands, an Oath and a pledge to be strictly regarded. "If any by necessity was compelled to swear or depositе a pledge, where-"by he is bound either to lay snares for his own Lord or unjustly to assist any "Person, he is advised to recede, rather than to stand to his obligation. But in case "he engaged to perform any thing which might justly be done, and doth not doe "it, his Arms and all his Fortunes are to be put into the Hands of his Friends, "and he is to be put into the King's Prison for forty days, till he undergoe that "punishment, which the Bishop according to his Deserts shall lay upon him. If he "have not wherewith to sustain himself in the mean while, his Kindred are to "provide him Victuals, if they be not in condition, the King's Officer must doe it. "If by force he be constrained to give up his Arms, he must forfeit both his "Arms and all his Estate, and if in making resistence he dye, nothing is to be paid "as the valuation of his Head. In case he fly before his time be out and be taken, he "is to be returned back again to prison for other forty days. If he escape he is to "have no benefit of the Laws, and to be excommunicated in all Churches. If "any ingaged for him he must pay his forfeit, and undergo such penance as the "Priest shall set him. The second bears the Title of the immunity of the Church, and we shall speak of it in the Ecclesiastical concernments. The third is concerning the breach of Suretyship. "If the Suretyship was in behalf of the King, "satisfaction must be made according to the Damage received, and the breach "farther punished by a mulct of five pounds of *Mercian* Penies. The Violati-"on of Suretyship, or the Peace, made to an Archbishop, is punished by a fine of "three pounds, to Bishops or Senatours (*Ealdermen*) by one of two. The fourth Law, "upon one that either by himself alone or by his Servants, and Assassi-"nates, lays treacherously in wait against the life or safety of the King, inflicts the "loss of life and fortunes. If he will purge himself he may doe it with respect to "the Valuation of the King's Head. The same is to be observed in all Degrees of "Men, whether * Noblemen or Countreymen. Whosoever conspires against his "Lord, let him be punished with loss of life and fortunes, or else pay the Valua-"tion of his Lord's Head.

C. 1. Be aþum ⁊ be þeoþum ⁊

C. 2.

C. 3. Be borhbryce.

C. 4. Be hlafoþo ⁊ ryppe ⁊

* *Saxonicè* ȝe ceople ȝe eople. *Comes scil. & villanus intelligitur summus & infimus apud eos ordo vel gradus quamvis* Ceopl *non nunquam pro marito usurpetur, hinc* Ceoplian *pro nuptum dari.*

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88. The seventh Law "To the sixth of *Ina*, which gives the King Power "of life and death over him that fights in the Court, gives the same Power over "him, that shall but draw his Weapon in the same place. Farther provides that "If the Offender flye and be taken, he pay the value of his Head, and according "to his offence farther be punished by the payment of a Mulct, or the Value of "his Head. The ninth ordains, "That if one kill a Woman with Child he pay "the full Value of her Head, besides half the value of the Head of one of her "Husband's Children. If the value of the Head come not to thirty shillings it is "to be made up, and a farther Mulct of an Hundred and twenty shillings to be "imposed. And whereas formerly such were more grievously punished as stole "Gold, Stallions or Bees, and other more heavy Mulcts were imposed upon other "Offenders, by this Law the same respect shall be had to all; onely he that steals "a Man shall pay an hundred and twenty shillings. The tenth requires, that "He "that lies with the Wife of a Man whose cense or value of his Head, is twelve "Hundred shillings, pay the Summ of one Hundred and twenty shillings to him for "the offence. If the Man's value be six hundred, that the offender pay to him an hun-"dred shillings. He that lies with the Wife of a Ceorl or Countreyman shall pay "forty shillings; for payment of which, if need be, all a Man's Cattel are to be "sold, but no Mankind. The next wills, "That if any one wantonly handles "the Breasts of a Countreyman's Wife, he pay down to the Woman five shillings: "if he cast her down upon the ground, but lies not with her, ten shillings; if he "enjoys her, sixty shillings. If another had committed Adultery with her before, "one half of this Mulct is to be paid. If he be fined for it, either according to the "rate of sixty Hides, he must purge himself or pay down half of the Fine. If "violence be offered to a Woman of greater Birth, the Mulct is to be increased "according to the valuation of her Head.

C. 7. Be ȝon ȝe mon on cynnȝer healle ȝeseohte 7

C. 9. Be ȝon ȝe mon oþþlea beapn eacnend þiþ 7

C. 10. Be þoplegepum 7

C. 11.

89. The twelfth Law, *concerning Burning of Wood*, alters the forty third of *Ind*, concerning this Subject, "Imposing upon him that shall set fire to the Trees of "another man, or fell them without his leave, for every greater Tree a Mulct of five "shillings, for every smaller five pence, besides a fine of thirty shillings. That which follows willeth, "That if in felling a Tree a Man accidentally be slain, the Kin-"dred of the slain shall have the Tree, if within thirty days they fetch it off the "ground; otherwise it is to remain with the owner of the Wood. By the four-teenth, "The Father of a dumb or deaf Man, is to repair the Damages caused "by him. By the fifteenth, "Fighting in the presence of an Archbishop, is "punished by a fine of an hundred and fifty shillings, in the presence of a Bishop "or Senatour with one of an hundred. By the next, "such as steal a Mare or a "Cow, and drive away Foal or Calf from them are to pay the Value of the "Mare or Cow, and farther a Mulct of forty shillings. The seventeenth requires, "That if a Man borrow any Cattel which chance to dye in his Hands, if thereto "required he make oath, that he is not guilty of any fraud as to the death of "the Beast. The Nineteenth ordains, "That if one Man lend to another any "Weapon to kill a third Person, both of them if they please may pay the Valua-"tion of his Head. If they refuse to doe it together, that he that lent the Wea-"pon, himself lay down the third part, and then he may make faith, that he "meant no harm when he lent out the Weapon. The latter part of the Law, "Commands restitution to be made of such Swords or other Weapons as have "been put into the Hands of Artificers, onely for mending or making into other "sorts of Instruments. The two and twentieth Orders, "That if a Man sue a-"nother before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and afterwards let fall his "Action, he make it appear if he can where the Right lies, or otherwise be fined "the value of the thing. The next in order is concerning the "Biting of a Dog "imposing a mulct of six shillings upon his Master if he still keep him, for the "first offence, if he bite again of twelve shillings, and if the third time of thirty; "and now though the Dog be killed, yet is the fine to be paid. If he live and "afterwards doe more mischief and his Master still keep him, he must either pay "the value of the Head, or make other Compensation according to the mischief "done. That which follows is concerning Cattel, "if an Ox rent or wound a "man he is to be seized, except the owner of him redeem him. The twenty fifth "Punisheth him that ravisheth the Maid-servant of a Countreyman, with "the payment of six shillings to the man, and a mulct of sixty shillings besides: "a Man-Slave that lies with a She-Slave with the loss of his Member; and him "that ravishes a Virgin of tender Age, as him that lies with one of riper "years.

C. 12. Be þuðu bænnette 7

C. 13. Be ȝon ȝe mon oþenne oþþylle 7

C. 14. Be ȝumbna manna bæðum 7

C. 15. Be ȝeseohtum.

C. 16. Be ȝon ȝe mon mýne oþ cu þoþrtele.

C. 17. Be ȝon ȝe oþþic hiȝ unmaȝum oþþæȝtep.

C. 19. Be ȝon ȝe heope þapne ænaþ to manslihte.

C. 22. Be eoþeȝtes anbetlan.

C. 23. Be hunbes slihte.

C. 24. Be nýtena mistaȝum.

C. 25. Be nýbhæmed.

90. The

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90. The twenty sixth Law inflicts Punishments upon those, " Who kill men " by Troops or Companies. If the slain innocent Party, or he that had received a " mortal wound, was valued at two Hundred shillings, he that slew him must pay " the value of his Head and a Mulct; and every one that was in the Troop or " Company, must also pay thirty shillings. In case he was worth six Hundred " shillings, every one in the Company must pay sixty shillings, and he that killed " him pay the value of his Head, and the Mulct besides. If he was valued at " twelve Hundred shillings, they must pay an hundred and twenty a-piece, and " the slayer both the value and the mulct. In case every Man deny, that he gave " the mortal wound, all are to be impeached together, and amongst them must " pay both the Value and the Mulct. Now concerning these Troops or Companies which our *Saxon* Ancestours called *Hlothum*, how many Men made up one of them, the Reader may remember he was told by the fourteenth Law of King *Ina*: The twenty seventh orders, " That if a Man in a Quarrel killed another, " and had no Kindred by the Father's side, such Kindred as he hath by the Mo- " thers side, shall pay the third part of the value of the Head, another third those of " his Gild or Society, and for the third he is to suffer banishment. In case he have no " Kindred neither on his Mothers side, those of his Gild must pay one half, and he be " banished for the other. If he that was slain had no Kindred, one half of the value of " his Head is to be paid to the King, and the other half to those of his Gild or Society. Those of his *Gild* in *Saxon* called *Gegyldan*, were so named from *Gyldand* signifying to *pay*, asmuch as one would say *Fellow Paymasters*. And they were so called for two Causes, first because they contributed Money according to the Custome, together with their Fellows that had killed a Man, *viz.* The valuation of the Head of the slain, as they also received money for a slain Brother of their *Gyld*. Another was because they contributed toward publick Feasts, which at certain times they observed. Hence afterward in the Laws of King *Henry the First*, they are called *Crocca Cowellet*, as those whose *Pot boils together*. In *Germany* the *Bores* call their publick *Feasts* by the Name of *Gilde*, to which all contribute. A Society or Company in *Saxon* is called *Gebeorscipe* and *Gyldscipe*, in the low Countries *Ghildschap*, and hence comes our more modern Name of *Gilde*, used to express some Societies of Religious men, as also of Tradesmen and Artificers, which now we call *Companies*, and moreover of *Gildhall*, the place of their Meetings and judicial Assemblies.

C. 26. Be manslihte mid hlope.

C. 27. Be mægleaðum monnum.

gegyldan.

A Saxon cpocca olla & pællen *bullire.*

Co præposito quod ut Con in Compositis simul notat ut in Co-partner Co-operate, Co-ordinate, Co-incident, &c. vide Somneri Glossar. ut Congildones.

91. The twenty eighth Law of *Alfred* was made against the *Spreaders of false News*, and commands that " such being convicted, be not slightly punished, but " their * Tongues cut out except they redeem them by payment of the whole " value of their Heads. The thirtieth orders that " Merchants when they land, " bring such as come ashore with them before the King's Officer in *Folcmote*, and " declare their number, and then keep them with them that they may be ready " to answer any thing that shall be demanded of them in *Folcmote*. And if out " of necessity they bring many with them from Sea, into the Haven thereof, " they are also to certifie the King's Officer in that Assembly. Considering the dangerous times wherein King *Alfred* lived, when was such flocking of strangers into *England*, this Law seems very prudently made. The one and thirtieth inflicts " upon him that shall put into bonds a Countreyman who no such thing " deserves, a mulct of ten shillings, upon him that beats such an one, twenty " shillings; if he hang him up aloft, thirty shillings. If he clip his hair like a " fool, ten shillings; If he shave his head like a Priest and bind him not, thirty " shillings: In case he cut his beard, twenty shillings; and if he bind him and " cut his hair like a Priest, sixty shillings. That which follows " requires of " him who carries on his back a spear so negligently that another by chance falls " upon it, the value of his head without a mulct: but in case he bore the head " of the spear in his hand and another falls upon it, the Law imposes a mulct " upon him. If he be accused to have done it on purpose, it's lawfull for him " to clear himself according to the nature of the mulct; if the point of the spear " was three fingers higher than that part behind his back; if the point and all " the rest of the spear was of the same height it blames him not. The next directs that if " a servant pass from one place to another, he must doe it with the " knowledge of the Alderman or Governour of that County where he formerly served. Otherwise, he that receives him into his Family must forfeit an " hundred and twenty shillings to the King, whereof one half to be paid in the " Countrey whence the servant came, and the other in that where he is now received. And in case before his removal he committed any fault, he that last " received him must make amends, and fine to the King an hundred and twenty " shillings besides.

C. 28. Beforlc learungum gepynhtum.

* þonnehum mon aceopp ða tungan of.

C. 30. Be Cypmannum.

C. 31. Be Ceoplicer manner binnelan.

C. 32. Be sperer gymeleaste.

C. 33. Be bolbgetæle.

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92. The thirty fourth Law "Impoſes upon him that ſhall ſtrike or fight in "*Folcmote* before the King's Alderman, both the value of his own head and ſuch "a fine beſides as ſhall be thought fit, beſides an hundred and twenty ſhillings to "be paid to the Alderman, upon him that by his weapons ſhall make any diſtur-"bance in *Folcmote*, a mulct of an hundred and twenty ſhillings to the Alder-"man. If he be not preſent, but the thing be done before his Subſtitute or the "King's Prieſt, an amerciament of thirty ſhillings. Here by the *King's Prieſt* is meant the *Biſhop*, as we may very well conjecture, who, as we formerly ſaid, in thoſe times preſided alſo in *Folcmotes*, and there diſpatched buſineſs relating to the Church. The thirty fifth ordains that "He that fights at the Homeſtall of a "Countreyman, pay the ſaid Countreyman ſix ſhillings; if he drew his Sword, "but ſtruck not, half as much. If the offence be committed in the Homeſtall "of a man valued at ſix hundred ſhillings, three times as much is to be paid as "laid upon him that fights in that of a Countreyman; If it be done at the "Houſe of a Man valued at twelve hundred ſhillings, the double of that which is "to be paid for fighting in the Yard of one valued at five hundred. The thirty ſixth Law of *Burhbrice* or breach of the Peace in a Town "confirms that part of "King *Ina*'s forty ſixth Law of this Subject; for what concerns the breach of "the Peace in the King's Town or City, impoſing upon the offender the ſame "mulct of an hundred and twenty ſhillings. But if it be done in the Archbi-"ſhops Town, a mulct of ninety ſhillings; in that of a Biſhop or Alderman "ſixty ſhillings. In the Town of a Man valued at twelve hundred ſhillings, a "fine of thirty ſhillings; half as much if done in the Village of one worth but "half as much. Him that breaks the Hedge of a Countreyman, it fines five "ſhillings: and double the ſum, if it be done during an expedition in War, or "in time of Lent. Him that in time of Lent draws the Holy Courtain before "the People without leave, it fines an hundred and twenty ſhillings.

C. 34. Be ȝereohte beforan ealdormen.

C. 35. Be Cynlirceſ monner ſlette ȝereohte.

C. 36. Be burhbryce. cymnȝeſ burhbryce. Æncebiſceoperſ burhbryce. Ceorleſ eorborbryce.

93. The thirty ſeventh, is that Law concerning *Bocland*, which we have already occaſionally mentioned. By virtue hereof "He that holds ſuch Lands left him by "his Anceſtours, hath no power to alienate it from his Heirs to others, in caſe "it can be proved by writing or teſtimony before the King or Biſhop, his Kin-"dred being preſent, that he who firſt granted it, forbade him all alienation, "and laid on him this condition. Upon occaſion of this Law, Mr. *Selden* tells our common Lawyers, that here they may behold *Fee-tail*, much more ancient than the thirteenth year of *Edward* the Firſt. The thirty eighth concerning *quarrels* or *deadly feuds* "Forbids any Man to attacque his Enemy, if he find "him in his Houſe, except he firſt demand of him what is right. If he can Be-"ſiege the Houſe, he may doe it for ſeven days, during which time, if he give up "himſelf and his Arms into his hands, he may keep him thirty days, but then "offer him ſafe and ſound to his Kindred and Friends. In caſe he flye to a Church, "the honour of the Church muſt be preſerved: If he cannot Beſiege him, he "may deſire the aſſiſtence of the Alderman, which if he cannot obtain, he muſt "go to the King. If any one by chance light upon his adverſary, knowing "not that he keeps himſelf at home, and the other will deliver up his Arms to "him, he ſhall keep him ſafe thirty days, and then offer him to his Friends. "But in caſe he will not deliver up his Arms, then may he inſtantly force him. "In caſe he be willing to deliver up himſelf and his Arms to his Enemy, "and any other Man ſets upon him, let ſuch a Man pay the value of his head, "or give ſatisfaction for his wounds if any be given him, according "to the fact, beſides, let him be fined, and looſe all that may fall to him by rea-"ſon of Kindred. A Servant may lawfully fight for his Maſter if any one ſet "upon him, and a Maſter for his Servant. In like manner, if any one unjuſtly "fall upon ones near Kinſman, he may fight for him againſt all men, except his "Lord, which is not to be ſuffered. It may be lawfull alſo for any to ſet upon "him whom he finds locked up under the ſame covering with his Wife, or with "his own Daughter, his Siſter or his Mother, lawfully Married to his Father.

C. 37. Be Bocland.

C. 38. Be ȝereohte *alias* ſæþe.

94. The laſt of theſe Laws of King *Alfred*, is concerning *wounds and maims*, which though ſomething long, we ſhall add to the former. "If any Man wound "another in the head, ſo as the bone on both ſides be pierced, let him pay to "the wounded thirty ſhillings: If the outward bone onely be pierced, fifteen "ſhillings. If the Man be wounded to the quantity of an Inch under the hair, "let the mulct be one ſhilling; but if the wound was beſides the hair, two ſhil-"lings. If an Ear be cut off, thirty ſhillings; in caſe the hearing be loſt by the "wound, ſixty ſhillings. He that digs out the Eyes of another, let him pay ſixty "ſix

C. 40. Beþundum.

" six shillings six pence, and the third part of a penny; but in case the Eye be " still in the head, yet so wounded that the sight is lost, let the third part of the " mulct be abated. Let him that cuts off a Nose pay sixty shillings. Him that " strikes out the first Teeth, eight shillings to the sufferer; if those called the " Wang-teeth (*Dentes Canini*) be strucken out, four shillings; if the Grinders, " sixteen shillings. He that wounds another on the Cheek, let him pay fifteen " shillings; that cleaves his Chin-bone, twelve shillings; that pierces the Throat, " twelve shillings. He that cuts out the Tongue as much as he that pulls out the " Eye. He that wounds in the Shoulder to the breaking of the Member, thirty " shillings; that breaks an Arme above the Elbow, fifteen shillings; that breaks " both the bones of the Arme, thirty shillings. Let him that cuts off a Thumb, " forfeit to the Party thirty shillings: that cuts off the nail of a Thumb, five " shillings: he that cuts off the first Finger let him pay fifteen shillings: the nail " of this Finger, four shillings; if the middle or longest Finger, twelve shil- " lings; if the nail of it, two shillings; if it be the Ring-finger, seventeen shil- " lings; if the nail, four shillings; if the little Finger, nine shillings; if its nail " onely one shilling.

Sect. 12.

Gif hitryre rongtop.

95. " If one receive a wound in the Belly, let him receive from the offender " thirty shillings; and if the weapon pierced through the Belly, twenty shillings " for each Orifice, If a Man be run through the Thigh, he that did it shall pay " him thirty shillings, and if the bone be hurt, other thirty shillings. He that " pierces a Man through the Leg, let him pay the wounded Party twelve shil- " lings; but if the bone be broke, thirty shillings. If one Man cut off the great " Toe of another he shall pay him twenty shillings; if the next to that, fifteen " shillings; if the third, nine shillings; if the fourth, six shillings; and if the " least, five shillings. If a Man be so wounded in the Genitals, that the faculty " of procreation be thereby taken away, the offender shall pay him eighty shil- " lings. He that cuts off an Arme shall incur the mulct of eighty shillings. Let " the punishment for every wound, beside the Hair and the Sleeve, and beneath " the Knee, be doubled. He that breaks a Mans Loins shall pay him sixty shil- " lings; if he prick them with a weapon, fifteen shillings, if he pierce them " through, thirty shillings. If a Man receive a wound on his shoulder he shall " receive eighty shillings: If the outward part of his Hand be bruised or woun- " ded, yet so as it may be cured, twenty shilling; but if he loose half of his " Hand, sixty shillings. If a Rib be broken, though the Skin be whole, the of- " fender shall pay ten shillings, but if the Skin be broke and some bones be forced " out, fifteen shillings. If an Eye be pulled out, an Hand or a Foot cut off; let " there be the same penalty, *viz.* sixty six shillings, six pence and the third part " of a penny. If the Leg be cut off above the Knee, the mulct shall be eighty " shillings; if the Shoulder-blade be cut off, twenty shillings; if it be bruised so " that bones come out, fifteen shillings; if the greater Sinews be cut, yet so as " they may be healed, twelve shillings; but if the Party fall lame and his lame- " ness cannot be cured, thirty shillings; if the smaller Sinews be cut, six shil- " lings. If a Man receive a wound on his Neck, so that all his life he goes in- " firm and deformed, let the offender by way of Compensation pay him an " hundred shillings, except in the opinion of wise Men more ought to be given " to him. These be the Laws of King *Alfred*, made by himself and his wise Men; for the Government of all his Subjects. In the League betwixt him and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, there were others made by the consent of both Nations; whereof such as respect the Civil state we have already mentioned in the History of *Alfred*'s Life. The rest which respect matters Ecclesiastical, must to such matters be referred,

96. The next Legislatour in order of our *English Saxon* Kings, was *Edward* the Elder, the Son and Successour of glorious King *Alfred*. In the Preface to his Laws, he strictly charges and commands all his Officers, that as much as in them lies, they doe Justice according * as it stands in the Judicial Book, and without all fear boldly dispence the Common Law, and that they set and appoint certain days for Determination of the several Causes depending before them. The first Law is concerning Traffick, and in way of confirmation of the fourth Article of the League made betwixt his Father and the *Danish* King *Guthrun* ordains that *If a Man buy any thing, he have one that will vouch, warrantize, and make good the sale. That no*

Be some ⁊ ryppæce.

* ⁊ hit on ðæne som bec ſtande. *De isto libro Judiciali frequens in his legibus mentio nec tamen constat quis fuerit. Ethelbertum legimus Decreta Judiciorum Composuisse. Asserius etiam prodit Alfredum Judiciorum decreta Saxonicis mandasse literis.*

C. 1. Be Ceapunge.

Man

Sect. 12. *Man without the Town buy any thing, but* (a) *have the Portreeve for witness, or other Men worthy of Credit, otherwise he shall* (b) *undergoe the penalty of Contumacy against the King, and the vouching or warrantizing shall also proceed from one to another till it be ended; we farther ordain that whosoever calleth to warrantize a Party of whom he bought the thing, in question, either produce his Testimony that he did rightly call him, or by interposition of his Oath satisfie the Demandant. In the same manner we determine concerning that that was ones own; for if he contend that it was not received from elsewhere, but was his own, and so used it, let him either produce his Witnesses, or with some other persons (if he can) not chosen on purpose, let him swear that the thing is not the Demandant's. If he cannot doe it, let six Men be summoned out of the Neighbourhood, and one Man swear for every Cow, or any thing of such a value, or more if the thing be of a greater price. We farther Decree, that if any Pawn another Man's Goods, he take his Oath that he did it not deceitfully, but without all fraud and evil design: then let him with whom the Goods shall be found be at his choice, whether he will plead that they are his own, or go to Vouching.* This calling to Vouching or Warrantizing, our *English Saxons* expressed by the word *Team*, which properly signifies *Propago*, *Soboles*, or *Off-spring*, but secondarily, and by way of translation, to *make known*, *call forth* or *produce* another. In reference to the matter in hand: it was the Custome of the Ancients, that if one had sold to another any stoln Goods, and this Man had alienated them to a third, and the third to a fourth, &c. yet might the true owner seize them whereever he found them. Then was he with whom they were found obliged to produce him that sold them to him, to own and make good the Sale, which in *Latin* they term *Advocare*. Then was he that was thus called out or produced (*Advocatus Causæ*) bound to produce his Chapman also of whom he bought the Goods, and this Chapman another, till at length they came to the Thief himself. From this continuation and progress from one to another, it had the Name of *Team*, as in the Old *Norman* Law *French*, *Voucher al Garantiæ*; so hence in Barbarous *Latin* come *Garandia*, *Garantia*, *Garantum*, *Garantizare* and *Garentizare*, otherwise written *Warrantia*, *Warrantum*, and *Warrantizare*, the Root of all which, seems to be the *Saxon* word *Waran*, which signifies to defend. For the *French* instead of the *Saxon W*, always use *G*, and all these words have their proper signification amongst the Lawyers of *England*, *France* and *Germany*, which no one *Roman* or *Latin* word can express. As for the *Portreeve* mentioned in this Law, it signifies the *Chief Governour of a City or Town*, he of *London* and many other Cities in ancient times being known by this Title.

(a) Ac hæbbe ðæt þorþgeneþan geþitnýþþe. (b) ðonneþý he cýningeþ oþeþhýnnýþþe þcýlðig. ⁊ gangþe team ðeah þonþ, &c.

tyman *propagare* team *soboles & hinc* team *tam pro sequela quam vocant nativorum vel mancipiorum propagine, de quâ prius; quam pro advocatione Authoris laudatione vel productione. Hinc etiam partum Teeming dicimus, à teeming Woman.*

Advocatio alio sensu est jus patronatus vel præsentandi, nostratibus vulgo Advowson.

Vide Lambard. Glossar. in voc. Advocare, Spelman. in voc. Garandia & Somners in v. Advocare.

97. The second of King *Edward*'s Laws ordains, that *Whosoever denies another Man his Right, either in* Bocland *or* Folcland, *demanding it before the King's Justice, whenas he hath no Right in either of these sorts of Land, shall pay to the King for the first offence thirty shillings, as much for the second; and if he offend the third time, that he pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his Contumacy against the King.* The third determines of *One that hath forsworn himself, or born false witness, that no credit be given to him for the time to come, and that he be put to Ordeal.* The fourth declares, that *King* Edward *lying at* Exeter, *and consulting with his Wisemen, studiously enquired by what means he might best provide for Peace and Tranquillity, for he perceived that these things were not so much regarded as they ought to be, and as he had ordained. He intreated therefore and required all that would be corrected and amended, and would with him enjoy common society, and would prosecute with love and hatred the same things as he did both by Sea and Land; that they would look to this one thing,* viz. *that they did injury to no Man. He that doeth contrary let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty shillings to the King; if he offend the second time, as much; and if the third, an hundred and twenty shillings.* The fifth commands, that *That Reeve or Judge that doeth not Justice according to the Testimony of such as are summoned, pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his contumacy against the King.* The sixth wills, *That if a servant be accused of Theft, he that recommended him to his Master, or other of his Friends (if any he have) be sureties*

C. 2. Be ðone ðe oþþum þihteþ þýþnþ.

C. 3. Be manþoþenum.

C. 4. Be þþýðe.

C. 5. Be geneþan þe mid þihte ne amanige.

C. 6. Be ðýþþe betogenum.

ties for him, that he discharge himself of what is deposed against him. If he have none to interpose on his behalf, those that are concerned may sieze his Goods. If he have neither Goods nor Friends, let him be taken into Custody. The seventh absolutely requires, that *Those always be had in readiness that will not goe to their own Homes, and that for no reward they be protected.* Sect. 12.

98. The eighth Law enjoyns that " No man knowingly and voluntarily, have " peace with or harbour one that is condemned for a Crime: he that acts contrary " and thereby breaks his Oath and the faith given by him, and all the People, let " him undergo the Mulct prescribed in the Judiciary Book. That if he refuse to pay, " he is to be deprived of the King's and all other Mens friendship, and farther for- " feit all his Estate. And if any afterwards relieve him, let him also incur the pe- " nalty expressed in the said Judiciary Book. Farther, saith he, whosoever shall " relieve a fugitive either in this our coast, or in the Eastern or Northern parts of " the Kingdom, let him be punished as in the Articles of Peace is ordained. That " which follows provides that, If one deprived of liberty for stealing, steal " again and all his kindred forsake him, so that none will ingage for him, he be " set to servile works as opportunity shall be, and his kindred loose the Valuation of his Head. The tenth Law " forbids any Man to receive another Man's Ser- " vant without his leave, and he hath fully satisfied his Master: he that doeth o- " therwise must be punished as Contumacious against the King. The eleventh and last commands that " about every fourth Week every Reeve, or Judge, hold " the Gemote or Assembly, Administer Justice to every Man, and determine " all causes at the appointed days. If he doe otherwise he is to be punished as " was before said. These are the Laws made by King *Edward* the Elder himself. After them follows the league made betwixt him and *Guthrun* the *Dane* consisting of such matters as had been formerly agreed of betwixt the said *Guthrun* and King *Alfred* which we have already mentioned, at such time as the *English* and *Danes* made Peace and imbraced one another. These Articles were often afterward repeated by wisemen, and to the common utility of the Realm, as the Preface words it, increased and amplified. But forasmuch as they respect Religion we must as before we hinted refer them to another place.

C. 7. Be ðon ðe heora agen ȝecan nyllon.

C. 8. Be ðon ðe full fyriaþ. bete ȝra ðom boc tæce. bete ȝra ȝeo ðom boc ȝecȝe.

C. 9. Be ðon ðe hiȝ ȝneot ȝoppynce.

C. 10. Be ðone ðe oþþer manner man unbeȝreþ butan leafe.

C. 11. Be ȝemote anbaȝum.

99. The next Legislatour after King *Edward the* Elder was King *Æthelstan* his Son. After a Religious Preface, the first Law he enacts is against Thieves, requiring that " If a Thief be taken in the fact, no Man spare him if he be above " twelve years old, and have stole any thing above the value of eight pence: if " any one doe contrarily he shall pay the value of the Thief's Head, or make amends " for the fault, and yet for all that the Thief shall not be spared, who if he con- " tumaciously make resistence, or flye for it, for the time to come shall obtain no " favour: a Thief cast into Prison, shall there stay forty days, and then after the " payment of an hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged. But the kindred " must give security for his good behaviour, after which if he steal again, they " must either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Prison; and in " case any one resist them he shall pay to the King, or to any other it concerns " the value of his own Head, and if any stand by him, he shall pay to the King an hundred and twenty shillings. The second is against " such as have no Masters, ordaining, that " of those that are not of any Man's family, and consequently none can " have right against them, the kindred shall give caution for their just demeaning " of themselves and in *Folcmote* put them into some ones service: which if they " will not or cannot doe, let such Masterless men be esteemed as fugitives, and " be beaten as Thieves, as they are light upon. If any one afterward relieve them " let him pay the value of his Head, or according to that value, discharge himself of the guilt. But the third commands that " if a Master denies to doe another " man right and defends a naughty and knavish Servant, so that of him com- " plaint is made to the King, he pay the value of the thing in demand, and farther " to the King forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings. But in case any make " complaint to the King, before he demand his right as it is prescribed, he shall " incur the like Mulct as the other should have done for denying Justice. If the " Master be convicted to have been privy to the Theft of his Servant, he shall " loose his Servant and pay the value of his own Head for the first offence, for " the second shall loose all he hath. The same punishment shall the King's Trea- " surers and Reeves undergo if guilty of the same offence. The fourth ordains concerning " such as conspire against their Masters, that if thereof legally accused, " and if the fact cannot be denied, the offender being convicted by threefold Ordeal, " it shall be Capital.

C. 1. *Sax.* Be ðeofum. *apud Fornal. C. c.* 4. & 5.

C. 2. *Sax.* Behlafoþ-leafum mannum. *Fornal. c.* 6.

C. 3. *Sax. Fornal. C. c.* 7. & 8.

C. 4. *Sax.* Be hlafoþ ryppum. *Fornal. c.* 9.

100. The

Sect. 12.

100. The sixth Law of King *Æthelstan* is against " Witchcrafts, Inchantments " and such like deeds as procure Death, that if any one by those that use them be " made away and the thing cannot be denyed, such practicers shall be put to death, " if they endeavour to purge themselves and be cast by the threefold Ordeal, let " them lie in Prison, an hundred and twenty days, which ended let their kindred " redeem them by the payment of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King, " and farther pay to the kindred of the slain, the full valuation of the parties " Head. And then must the criminals procure Sureties for their good deportment " for the time to come. The same punishment shall be inflicted on Incendiaries " and such as rescue Thieves. Nay let such as endeavour to rescue them, though " no Man be wounded in the attempt, pay an hundred and twenty shillings to " the King. As for Inchantments mentioned in this Law, the *Saxon* word is *Liblacum* which signifies the Art *of Conjuration* or *Witchcraft*, yet not all in General, but that sort of it properly called *Fascination*, or *Inchantment* used with certain *Ligatures*, *Fasciæ* or *Bands*. The *Romans* called this sort *Obligamentum Magicum*, *Phylacteria* and *Ligaturæ*. Hence *Nectere* came to be a Magical word, as in that verse of *Virgil*, *Necte tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores*. This he wrote, as *Turnebus* observes, from the Ancient Custome of Inchantments wherein were reckoned knots, bands and necessities. In those matters also the word *Ligare* came to be used. And as *Isidore* writes, to these things belong *Ligatures* of execrable Medicines which the Art of Physick condemns, whether in precantations, Characters or in any other things to be hung and bound about one, in all which is the Art of Devils sprung from a certain pestiferous society, or compact of evil Men and Angels. Upon which account they are all to be shunned by Christians to be rejected and condemned, with all execration possible.

C. 6. *Sax.* Be ricce-cpæftum. *Fornal. C. c.* 11. & 12.

A Saxon. lyblac *voce composita à* lyb *obligamentum &* lac *munus. q. munus liganti vim habens. Vide Somnerum in Gloss. v. Liblacum.*

101. The seventh of King *Æthelstan*'s Laws ordains concerning *simple Ordeal* that " If one accused several times of Theft be cast by it, and have no body " to be surety for him, he be sent to Prison, and thence freed by his kindred, as was before said. The eighth appoints that " If any man having no House nor Land " of his own, goes to serve in another Shire, and returning to the place whence " he came to see his Friends, doeth any mischief, he that received him shall " give caution that he shall be ready to make satisfaction, or else doe it himself to the party aggrieved. The ninth provides that If any one challenge Cattel as his own in another Man's hands, five Men out of their Neighbourhood " shall be called, whereof one shall swear that he rightly challenges them. But " if another Man contend they are his, twenty Men shall be taken out of the " Neighbourhood, whereof two shall swear with him, that he bred them. This " may be done without the Common Oath of all; but otherwise if the value of " the thing exceed twenty pence. The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods " but in the presence of the Reeve, the Priest of the Town, or the Lord of the " Soil, or some other credible Person, under the penalty of thirty shillings, " and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil. And if any of " these bear false witness, let him be infamous, or no credit be given to him " ever after, and let him forfeit besides thirty shillings. The eleventh prescribes the manner of accusing a Thief that's killed. First let there be three in " number (if they will take it upon them) two Kinsmen on the Father's side, " and one on the Mother's, which shall swear, that they knew no reason why " their Kinsman should have been slain upon the account of Theft. Then let there " be twelve impanelled, which by their Oaths shall lay Theft to his charge, and " then if the Kindred of the slain Party do not appear, those who first endeavoured to clear him of the crime shall each of them forfeit an hundred and " twenty shillings. The twelfth confirms the first part of the Law of King *Edward* the Elder, Decreeing that no Man buy any thing out of Town which " exceeds the value of twenty pence, but within the Town, in presence of the " Portreeve, or some other creditable Person, or else in presence of the King's " Reeve or Justice in *Folcmote*.

C. 7. *Sax.* Be anpealtum Opteale. *For. c.* 13. C. 8. *Sax.* Be land learum mannum. *Fornal. c.* 14. C. 9. *Sax.* Be ðonne ðe ynf behfe. *Fornal. c.* 15. C. 10. *Sax.* Be ynfa gehfenfe. *Fornal. c.* 16. C. 11. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe rcylðgunge bæðe et orflegenum. *Fornal. c.* 16. C. 12. *Sax.* Be þon þe mon ne ceapige butan ronte. *Fornal. c.* 17.

102. The thirteenth decrees, that " All Towns or " Castles be repaired within fourteen days after the time of " Procession or Perambulation, and that all Bargains be " managed within the Town. The fourteenth appoints, " that throughout the King's Dominions one and the " same Money be current which shall not be Coined " out of Town. If any Minter or Coiner imbase the Coin, " let him loose his hand, which being cut off shall be

C. 13. *Sax.* Be burga gebettunge. *Fornal. c.* 18.

C. 14 *Sax.* Be myneterum. *Fornal. c.* 19.

" fixed

" affixed to the Workhouse. If any be accused of adulterating Money, and will purge himself, let him by the Ordeal of hot Iron cleanse his hands of such wickedness but if by the Ordeal he be cast, let him be punished as now was said. At *Canterbury* let there be seven Minters or Coyners, whereof four for the King, two for the Bishop, and one for the Abbat. At *Rochester* let there be three, whereof two for the King, and the third for the Bishop. At *London* eight. At *Winchester* six. At *Lewes* two. At *Hastings* one. At *Chichester* one. At *Hamton* two. At *Werham* two. At *Exceter* two. At *Shaftsbury* as many. And in every other Town one. The next Law requires, that no Target be made of Sheeps Skins under penalty of thirty shillings. That which follows commands, that for every Plough a Man keep two well furnished Horsemen. The seventeenth ordains, that he that receives reward from a Thief, and thereby hinders another Man's Right, be amerced the full value of his Head. The eighteenth forbids Horses to be transported, except such as be sent upon free Gift. The nineteenth ordains, that If a Servant be Cast by the Ordeal, the just and simple value of the thing be paid, that the Slave be thrice beaten; or if the full value of the thing be reiterated, this punishment is to be abated.

Eandem supplicii formam iis qui adulterinum percuterent nummum, addito insuper, ut eorum abscinderentur pudenda, resuscitavit Henricus primus ut monuit Seldenus in Jano Angl.

C. 15. Be ȝcylbȝýnhtum. *Jornal.* 20.

C. 16. *Sax. Jornal.* 21.

C. 17. *Sax.* Be þæm þoæt þeoȝe mid ȝceatte nimaþ. *Jornal.* 22.

C. 18. *Sax.* Be hoȝum. *Jor.* 23.

C. 19. *Sax.* Be ðeoȝman ðe ful ȝunþe æt ofbale. *Jornal. c.* 24.

103. King *Æthelstan* by his twentieth Law enacts, that " If any one absent himself from *Folcmote* thrice, he be punished as contumacious against the King, if so be that the Holding of the Assembly was declared a Seven-night before. In such case if he refuse to doe right, and pays not his mulct to the King, the ancientest Men of the Countrey are to go and seize upon all he hath, and take security for his appearance. If any one refuse to go with his Neighbours for Execution of this Law, he is also to be punished as contumacious against the King, when the Assembly is opened let it be proclaimed, that all enjoy Peace whom the King will have to enjoy it, and that every one abstain from Theft upon pain of loosing his Life and his Estate. And if afterward any one be guilty of Theft, let the ancientest men of the Countrey ride thither, and seize on all he hath, one half to the King, and another to their own use, and take security for his appearance, in case no security can be had, let his Person be seized; if he stubbornly make resistence, and flye not, he may be killed. If any one concern himself for him, and kill a third Party, let the King and all that love him set themselves against such an one, and if any relieve him if he make his escape, let him be fined the value of his own Head, except he make it out that he knew not that he was a Fugitive, and then according to the value of the Fugitive's Head. The twenty first gives order, that if " any one would get off his punishment of Ordeal, if he be able to procure Pardon of the Party that received the Injury, but by no means that he escape the penalty inflicted by the Law. The twenty second confirmation of former Laws requires, that " No man receive another * Man's man (as this Law words it) into his Family without leave first obtained of his Master. He that doeth otherwise shall restore the *Man*, and pay the mulct of Contumacy against the King. And no *man* is to put away his *men* that are accused of any Crime, till they have first made satisfaction. By this it appears how ancient in this Nation, the Custome is of calling a Servant by the word used for the whole *species*, a thing in use as well with the *Romans*, and others more ancient, as with modern People.

C. 20. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe ȝemot ȝoȝ-ȝitte. *Jornal. C. c.* 25. *&.* 26.

C. 21. *Sax.* Be ðæm ðe ȝoȝ Ofbale ðingiaþ. *Jorn. c.* 27.

C. 22. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe oþȝer manner manunþeȝ-ȝeh ð. *Jorn. c.* 28. *&* 29.

* Neunþeȝ-ȝo nan man oþȝer man-ner man, *&c.*

104. The twenty fourth concerning Traffick in Confirmation of former Laws ordains, that " If a man buy any thing with witness, which another man challenges for his own, the Seller make it good, and secure the bargain, whether he be bond or free. But on the Lord's day let no market be held, under penalty of forfeiture of the wares, and a mulct of thirty shillings besides. The next Law as a terrour to such as shall *forswear themselves* commands, " That such being convicted shall not onely not bear Testimony for the time to come, as People to whom no faith is to be given, but be forbidden also Christian burial, except the Bishop of the Diocese will certify, that he had done all things, that were injoined him. Of this the Priest of the Place is within thirty days to give notice to the Bishop, or else to be punished as the ordinary shall think fit. The last of these Laws gives directions, that In case any of the King's Officers refuse

C. 24. *Sax.* Be ðam ðeyȝȝe hycȝaþ. *Jorn. c.* 31.

ȝy ȝȝa ðeoȝe ȝȝa ȝȝeoh.

C. 25. *Sax.* Be man ȝȝoȝum. *Jorn. c.* 33.

C. 26. *Sax.* *Jorn. c.* 32.

" to

Sect. 12. "to put these his Ordinances into Execution, or be remiss in his Administration, "he be punished as Contumacious against the King, who will put in another that "will be more carefull of his Duty. The receiving of the mulct he commits to "the Bishop of the Diocese. If any one contemn these his Laws and Commands, "for the first offence he shall incur a penalty of five pounds, for the second the "value of his own Head, and if he offend the third time forfeit all the Estate he "hath, together with the Amity of the King and all his People. After this it follows, that these matters were setled and determined in the great Assembly at *Greatanleage*, at which was present Archbishop *Wulfhelme*, together with all the Noble and Wisemen, that *Æthelstan* called together.

Elalle ðis þæt gesetted on þam miclan ȝynoþ æt Greatanleage, &c.

105. After these Laws follow others of this same King in the *Saxon* Edition to which *Æthelstan* prefaceth in this manner. "I *Æthelstan* King, make known to "all that I have diligently inquired the Cause why our Peace hath not been so well "kept as I desired, and was formerly enacted at *Greatanleage*, and from the most "knowing Persons in my Kingdom I received this Answer, that it happened by "reason of too much patience, and suffering Crimes to go unpunished. Moreo-"ver lately keeping *Christmas* at *Exeter*, and there attended by my Wisemen, I "found them all most ready to venture themselves, their Wives and Children, "to procure those Violatours of the Peace, to procure these Violatours of "the Peace, to be so driven out of the Kingdom, that they might never "return again into it, which if any of them should doe, he should be "punished as a Thief taken in the Fact. And in case any one cherish "or hold correspondence with any of them or their Servants, they should forfeit "both Life and Estate. For hence we believe it comes to pass, and for no other "reason that Oaths are so often violated, suretyship is so commonly broken, and "Pledges signify so little as they do. Then follows a Law injoyning, that *If any one entertained in his House another Man's Servant, which he has removed from his Family for his misdemeanour; and as one he cannot govern, such an one pay the full value of the Servant's Head to his Master, and besides that a mulct of an hundred and twenty shillings to the King. But in case the Master of any Servant unjustly afflict and abuse him, let him purge himself if he can of what is laid to his charge in* Folcmote, *and then put himself into any other Family he pleaseth. For we graciously grant, that if such an one prove himself just and honest, he may serve whom he pleaseth. And if any Reeve or Judge pass this over, or unwillingly transacts it so as his fault be evidently proved, let him be punished as contumacious against the King, and if for a reward he hath perverted Justice, let him both be punished as contumacious against the King, and be farther noted with Infamy as was said before; let a Thane so offending be punished in the like manner; and let the Reeve or Judge chuse out Men faithfull, and of Integrity the best he can light on within his Precincts, and make them Witnesses and Overseers of all Controversies. And according to the value of the thing of Controversie let the Oaths of honest men, without any picking or chusing of them be interposed.* The second Law requires, that *If one pursue any Cattel by their Footsteps, and find them in another Man's ground, the owner of the ground shall, if he can, trace their Footsteps to another Man's ground, if not the Footsteps of the Cattel in his Ground shall, when the owner comes to make out his right, be taken as much in evidence as a first Oath.*

C. 1. Be ðon of þer monne man unbeþrehþ ȝ.

C. 2. Be ðon ðe ȝnre berȝrȝrige ȝ

106. The next thing that follows relating to the Civil State, is the *valuation of mens Heads*, which we have often heard mentioned by the Laws, but never yet to what particularly it amounted. First then saith the Text. *The valuation of the King's Head according to the Common Law of the* English, *is thirty thousand Thrymses, whereof fifteen thousand are properly the value of his Head, the rest being due for the Kingdom: the last fifteen belong to the Nation, the first to the Kindred. An Archbishop's or Earl's Weregild* (*as the* Saxons called it) *or valuation is fifteen thousand Thrymses. A Bishop's and Ealdorman's Eight thousand. A General's of an Army or an High Marshall's four thousand Thrymses. The valuation of a Spiritual Thane or Priest, as also of a Temporal Thane two thousand Thrymses. That of a Countreyman* (Ceorl) *by the Danish Law is two Hundred sixty seven Thrymses. If a Welshman grow so rich as to maintain a Family, have Land and pay yearly Rent to the King, he shall be valued at two Hundred and twenty shillings: if he possess half an Hide of Land, at Eighty shillings. If he have no Land, yet if he be a Freeman, the value of his Head shall be seventy shillings. If a Ceorl or Countreyman be so wealthy as to possess five Hides of Land, in case he be killed the price or value of his Life shall be two thousand Thrymses. But if he come to have a Corslet, an Helmet and a gilt Sword, though he have no Land let him pass for a Sithcundman.*

Be þeþum ȝ.

The valuation of Mens Heads. Of the King's. Of an Archbishop or Earl. A Bishop or Alderman. Of a General. Of spiritual or temporal Thane or Priest. Of a Countreyman or Ceorl. Of a wealthy *Welshman*. A wealthy Ceorl or Countreyman.

And

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And if his Children or Grandchildren grew so rich as to possess five Hides of Land let all their Posterity be reckoned as so many Sithcundmen, and be valued at two thousand Thrymses. The Mercians *value a Countreyman at two Hundred shillings, a Thane at twelve Hundred. They are wont to equal the single value of a King's Head with six thousand of Thanes, that is thirty thousand Sceats; for so much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more must be paid as a recompence for his death. The value of his Head belongs to his Kindred, and the Compensation of his death to the People. He that is valued at twelve Hundred shillings, his Oath shall be of the same esteem as those of six Countreymen, for were such an one slain, six Countreymen would satisfy over and above for the value, therefore let the value of him and all them be the same. By the* English *Law the Oaths of a Priest and a Thane are of the like esteem, and in respect of the seven Church Offices, to which by God's Gift he is risen, let his Place and Rank be equal with that of a Thane.*

The valuation of the *Mercians.*

Oaths how valued.

107. By these valuations of Heads from the highest to the lowest Rank, we may perceive, that in those ancient times punishments consisted rather in Mulcts than in Bloud, contrary to our present Custome, whereby small offences in comparison (especially if reiterated) are become capital which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this Consideration that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reasons is not evident. The Wisedom of Legislatours is most seen in this, to ordain such Punishments, as by example and terrour may best prevent those Crimes against which their Laws are enacted, no other end or design can be called properly theirs; this is that which vindicates their Punishments from the Imputation of Fury * and Tyranny. And if less than Capital will doe it, as Men and Christians, they ought to be sparing of bloud, and as Politicians where the Countrey hath not too many Inhabitants. Therefore slavery, rowing in Gallies and digging in Mines, most Nations anciently preferred before Capital Executions, as those which would more terrifie than death it self, especially high spirited Fellows, such as have spent their Fortunes, and whom shame of begging provokes to rob upon the High-ways. This was so much practised in the middle Ages, that the Law of the *Boii* tells us, that *No offence is so great, but Life may be granted for the Fear of God.* Amongst others the ancient *Germans*, and other Northern People who afterward gave Laws to *Europe*, punished the greater sort of Crimes and Homicide amongst the rest with Fines or Mulcts. For the *Germans*, *Tacitus* witnesseth, who writes that Homicide was expiated by a certain Number of Cattel, whereby all the House received satisfaction. For the *Cimbri* and *Danes* even till the time of *Christian* the third, *Crantzius* produceth evidence. Our *Saxon* Ancestours as well as others, as we have seen by some of their Laws, deprived Persons of Liberty, and Mulcts generally they used, not commonly inflicting death upon Offenders, but where the value of the Head could not be paid, for the Murtherer was bound to pay the value not of his own Head but of him he had slain, and according to the Crime sometimes a double, treble, nay nine or eighteen values. Their Mulcts or Fines were either greater or lesser. The Greater took away all or much of their substance, being the same with that which we call the valuation of the Head by them called *Were*, which word originally signifieth a Man, and this valuation or payment secondarily, and by way of Translation. The lesser sort of Mulcts they called *Wite*, which differed from *Were* both in this that it was less, as also in that it was uncertain, sometime more and sometime less, whereas the other was setled and constant, at least for some time. The first answers to the word *Redemption*, or as it's now used in *English*, *Ransome*, and the last to *Fine*, and *Amerciament* properly.

Punishments by Fines and Mulcts not with death.

Two sorts of them.

* *I castighi se non hanno per fine il dar Esempio sono furori enon Castighi. Manzini nell Furori, &c. p. 91.*

Nulla sit culpa tam gravis, ut vita non concedatur propter timorem Dei. Tit. 1. Cap. 7. §. 3.

Lib. de moribus Germanorum.

De bello Rithmar.

Werewulfe, Lycanthropos.

108. But by this *Valuation of the Head* or *Were*, men were distinguished into certain *Classes* or Ranks. Of these there were three, *viz.* The Lowest, the Middle and the Highest. The lowest consisted of such as were valued at two hundred Shillings, thence in *Saxon* called *Twyhyndnemon*, in Latin *Vir Ducentenus*. The middle were of such, whereof each was valued at six hundred shillings, called *Sixhyndnemon* and *Vir Sexcentenus*. The highest comprized those that were valued at twelve hundred shillings apiece, thence termed *Twelfhyndnemon* and *Duodecies Centenus*. In like manner their Wives were termed *Ceorlissa* or *Twyhynda*, (for *Ceorle* and *Twyhyndmon* were the same) as also *Syxhynda* and *Twelfhynda*. Hence comes it to pass, that from these *Classes*, going by Hundreds, the word *Hyndene* is interpreted

Men distinguished by *Were.*

tpyhynonemon.

rixhynonemon.

tpelfhynonemon.

Þyndane *Societas Lambardo.*

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According to the degrees of valuation their Oaths were more valid.

terpreted a Society of Men. According to the degrees of the valuation of Mens Heads, they were to purge themselves of Crimes by such and so many Compurgatours. Herein he that was richer was thought more worthy of Credit, and his Oath was the sooner taken, and therefore we reade that the Oath of a *Thane* was equivalent to the Oaths of six Countreymen or *Ceorles*. As a Man's Value or his Wealth was more or less, so he might be a Purgatour for, or purge lesser or greater Crimes, and therefore do we hear so often of *Purgation according to the rate of twelve Hides of Land or more or fewer*. For there it's observable, from the late mentioned Laws, that if a man was slain, his Kindred sometime received the value of his Head, which payment was called *Mægbote*. In like manner were they bound on the other side to pay the value of the Head of one slain by their Kinsman, in case he became not responsible, and that to the Kindred of the slain party, which in the *Saxon* Tongue they termed *Cynegild* and *Cynebote*, the same in signification as *Mægbote*, now mentioned.

Megbote what.

Cynegild.

Mæg *cognatus progenies*, bote *compensatio*. Cyne *cognatio* gild *solutio*.

109. Thus was the Offender variously punished both in himself and Kindred for the same Offence, which punishment was sometimes so heavy, that not able to undergoe it, though Pecuniary, his life was taken for satisfaction. Part of the *Were* or valuation the Kindred received, so called as we have now said; another part was paid to the Lord for the loss of his Vassal, which they called *Manbote*; and a third Mulct was paid to the King for the breach of his Peace, called *Fridwile* and *Fridgild*. This latter was in use with the ancient *Franks*, who termed it *Fredus* and *Fredum*, as appears both from *Gregory* * *Turonensis*, and the *Salick* † Laws. As to the *Cynegild* or *Mægbote*, it appears also from *Tacitus*, that the whole Family received satisfaction for a Kinsman slain. And the Custome might seem to be taken from *Moses* his Law, who saith, *That in case a price of blood be required of him that had killed a Man, he should give whatsoever was laid upon him.* But thus much concerning the valuation of Heads, called *Weres*, the payment whereof they termed *Weregild*, to which we shall onely add, that these valuations by King *Æthelstan* were very moderate, and that was the reason why many *Weregilds* were by after Laws put upon Offenders; sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes nine. Therefore in the Charter of Liberties to the City of *London* did *Henry* the first grant as a Privilege, that a Citizen should be but taxed or judged at one *Were* or *an hundred Shillings*, at which value he set a *Londoner*. And that in his days *Weres* also were moderate, appears from this, in that he ordained that whoso broke or set at naught a Law, for the first Offence should pay his *Were*; for the second Offence double his *Were*, and in case he the third time offended, should forfeit all he had. This is certain, that in the times of the *English Norman* Princes *Weres* and *Weregilds* were in fashion. They grew obsolete by degrees, but when utterly laid aside it is not certain. And the word *Fredum* (which was never in use with our Writers) grew also obsolete abroad after the Age of the Emperour *Frederick* the Second.

Satisfaction was made to three sorts of People. To the Kindred. To the Lord. To the King.

Man famulus Servus Vassallus.

Frioe pax. *Germ. Frid.*

* *De Mirac. St. Martini. lib. 4. c. 26.*
† *Tit. 55. §. 2. Recipisque satisfactionem universa domus.*

Exod. 21. 30.

Which was called *Weregild.*

The value of a *Londoner.*

LL. Henr. I. c. 13. Qui legem apostabit Weræ suæ sit reus prima vice; Si secundo fecerit, reddat bis Weram suam; qui tertio præsumat, perdat quicquid habet.

110. We have the History of the *Valuation of Heads* or *Weres*, but still shall we be in the dark if we know not the price, and that cannot be, except we something understand the value of these *Thrymses*, by which they are rated in *Æthelstan's* Laws. That the word *Thrymsa* comes from the *Saxon* word *Threo*, the same with our present *Three* is agreed, but in what respect it answered to Three is a little controverted. One was of opinion that it contained the third part of a *German* shilling, answering to their *Tremissis*. Another thought it to contain three Pennies; but most probable it is, that it contained *Three Shillings English Saxon*, without any relation to *German* or Foreign Money, although the *Mercians* seem to have differed from the other *English* in its value. As for the other sorts of Money; five Pennies in those days made a Shilling, and thirty Pennies made a *Mancs* (in Latin *Mancusa*) as *Ælfric* tells us in his *Saxon* Grammar. Of those Pence two hundred and forty made a Pound, which consisted of forty eight of their Shillings; and then as Mr. *Lambard* observed from some Silver Pence of King *Ethelred*, which he saw, two hundred and forty Pence equalled a pound in weight, that which seven hundred and twenty of ours now will not doe, although two hundred and twenty of our Pence also make

The value of *Thrymsa.*

Selden. Somner. Lambard.

And other *Saxon* Money.

Libra on leden ᵹ Punðon englisc. ᵹif peningaᵹ ᵹemaciᵹaþ ænne ᵹcilinge ⁊ XXX penega ænne mancᵹ ⁊ *in extremo fine Gram.*

a

a Pound in value. The Word to express the most Money in those days was the *Sceate* or *Scate*, which according to Mr. *Lambard* contained a vast sum, to the value of five thousand Pounds of Silver. Some are of opinion that it signified also a small piece of money to the value of an Half-penny. Besides this Half-penny (if an Half-penny they had) they had also the *Feorthing*, *Feorthling*, or *Farthing* containing the fourth part of a Penny as we may suppose. In short, we are told, that these several sorts and sums of Money were in use amongst our *English Saxon* Ancestours, *viz. Feorthling*, *Peneg*, *Ofe*, *Scæt*, *Scilling*, *Thrymsa*, and *Pund*. Concerning *Ofe* I have hitherto read nothing, but suppose *Ore* is meant, which was worth *sixteen pence*. Fifteen *Ores* also in a Book seen by Sir *H. Spelman*, was put for a Pound, and from a Manuscript Register of the Abby of *Burton* in *Leicestershire*, he observed that the word *Ora* signified the same as *Uncia*. From that time the value of it was reckoned for *sixteen pence*, and sometimes for *twenty pence*, whence proceeded the difference of having *Ora* for twenty pence so often in Doomsday Book.

Sceat *nummum in genere significat ut Belgis Schat Schot. in Borealibus etiam Angliæ partibus* Shot *adhuc usurpatur pro potus, puta Cerevisiæ, pretio. Etiam* Shot-pot.

ꝥeoꝑðling, þeneg, o�Ᵹe, ꝥcætta, ꝥilling, þꝥymꝥa, ꝑund.

111. To proceed with our Laws, all that we find of King *Æthelstan*'s in the *Saxon* Edition of Mr. *Lambard* we have already related, there are others, though not in the *Saxon* Language, to be seen in the Chronicon of *John Bromton* the Abbat of *Jornal*, of which also we must make mention, such especially as we judge most convenient to be known. The first Catalogue we meet with consists of nine several Laws, whereof the First *shews how the Court of the Hundred ought to be kept, declaring, that to the number of four Abbats meet, and that Right be done to all men in that Court.* 1. The second appoints *how a Thief is to be prosecuted from the Hundred to the Tithing.* 2. The third *imposes upon him that shall reject the Sentence or Judgment of the Hundred, so that it passeth against him the second time, for the first offence the fine of thirty Pence to the Hundred, for the second offence sixty Pence, whereof one half to the Hundred and the other half to the Lord. For the third offence the loss of all he hath, and be Banished, except the King otherwise dispense with him.* 3. The fourth confirms what had been said concerning stray Cattel, *that no man should keep them without the knowledge and Testimony of an Hundred or Tything man, otherwise no benefit of Vouching should be allowed him.* 4. The fifth requires, That *when one Hundred makes Hue and Cry, or pursues Cattel into another Hundred, this Hundred doe the like or forfeit thirty Shillings to the King.* 5. The sixth requires, That *if any one decline the Law or make any escape, he that was the Procurer shall pay the value of the thing in question.* 6. The seventh again commands, That *right and publick Justice be done in the Hundred, and in every other publick Meeting, and that a day be prefixed for every business, which whosoever transgresses, except hindred by the Command or Order of ones Lord, or by visible Infirmity shall forfeit thirty Shillings, and yet be obliged to doe what he ought to have done at another appointed time.* 7. The * eighth is very hard to be explained, and the Kernell not worth the labour of cracking the Nut. 8. And the last is concerning *Ordeal*, of which in another place. 9.

* *Pecoris ticinum & canis blanhornum & de quibus sic Sommerus in Glossar. Locus mirè enigmaticus & meliori Oedipo relinquendus.* Oppa &

112. After this follow certain *Judgments*, as they are termed, which Wisemen are said to have ordained at *Exeter* by the Council of King *Æthelstan*, which were afterward confirmed both at *Feversham* a Town in *Kent*, and at *Thundresfeld*. Herein first *are reinforced all the Laws formerly made at* Greatley, *except what concerned the Market of the City and the Lord's day.* The rest *contain severe Animadversions upon Thieves and such as receive them*, viz. " Confinement into some place " of the Kingdom which the King shall chuse. Nay, if one that stole after the " Assembly held at *Thundresfeld* steal again, let he or she be what they will, " they are condemned to death, together with such as harbour, or spare them if " they meet them. And as to the manner of their death here are certain odd " Circumstances. If she was a Free Woman that stole, she should be cast down " from an high Cliff or Hill, or else drowned. If a Slave, he should be stoned " by twenty of like condition; and in case any one's blow thrice failed he should " so many times be beaten. And when the Thief was dead, every one of these " Slaves or Servants should pay three Pence to his Lord. If the Thief was a She-

" slave

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113. Theſe Judgments or Ordinances bear not the Name of the King himſelf, but of the Wiſemen of *Exeter*, who deviſed them there by the King's Advice or Conſent, whoſe allowance gave them the Power and force of Laws, and thoſe were the Wiſemen whom he mentions in the Preface of other Laws to have been with him at that City in *Chriſtmas* Holydays. Theſe were alſo confirmed at *Feverſham* and at a place called *Thundresfeld.* From theſe and other Paſſages it is evident, that in the days of this King *Æthelſtan*, the Wiſemen, or knowing Perſons of particular Countries, Provinces and Cities, by the King's conſent and allowance were wont to aſſemble and lay their Heads together, for the framing of ſuch Ordinances as ſhould be moſt convenient for the government of their particular Countries, and ſecurity of their Eſtates, and for the receiving what was enacted at the General Aſſembly of the Eſtates for the whole Kingdom; as in matters Eccleſiaſtical the Decrees of General Councils were wont to be received, or (as the Word was) confirmed in particular *Synods*, although of ſufficient authority in themſelves. And where in the particular Shires or Provinces ſuch knowing men might be wanting, or for other reaſons the King ſometimes ſent down certain from himſelf to conſult with the Bodies of the Shires and Cities as well Noble, as Ignoble, and to convey to them ſuch Ordinances or Laws as were thought moſt fitting for them. A notable acknowledgement hereof we have of the County of *Kent* in an Addreſs made to the King, wherein with much Humility and thankfulneſs they make mention of certain Laws he had ſent them; and teſtifie their acceptance of them. This becauſe of the Rarity of the thing, and for that it makes very much for the knowledge of the Mode of Addreſs of that Age, and illuſtrates the Polity or manner of the *Engliſh Saxon* Government, as well as confers to the farther knowledge of their Laws, we ſhall as well as we can tranſlate from the difficult Latin of the Abbat *Bromton.*

Wiſe men appointed by the King to manage the Government in particular Counties.

The form of a Saxon Addreſs.

114. *Moſt dear, your Biſhops of* Kent *with all* Kentſhire, *Thanes, Counts, and Countreymen, give thanks to you their moſt beloved Lord, for that you were pleaſed to give us orders concerning our Peace, and inquire and conſult concerning our Advantage in a matter of ſuch conſequence to us both Rich and Poor. And this we have faln upon with all the diligence we could, by the advice of thoſe Wiſemen, whom you ſent to us. And, moſt Dear Lord, the Firſt is concerning our Tithe, to the which we are very deſirous and ready to conform our ſelves, giving you moſt humble thanks for your Admonition. The ſecond is concerning our Peace, which all your People deſires may be obſerved as your Wiſemen propounded at* Greatley, *and as now is appointed in the Council held at* Fefreſham. *The third is, that all are very thankfull for the grace you were pleaſed to beſtow on guilty Perſons, in that all Forfeitures are pardoned, for ſuch Thefts as were committed before the Aſſembly held at* Fefreſham, *on condition that they commit no offence hereafter, and confeſs all their Robberies and ſatisfie your Majeſty. The fourth, that none receive another Man's Servant without his leave, to whom he formerly * belonged, neither within nor without the Limits. As alſo that a Lord deny not a Freeman his* Hlafordſocna, *that is, his Defence or Protection, in caſe he have been faithfull to him. The fifth thing is, that he that acts contrary to this is worthy of thoſe puniſhments which are preſcribed in the Inſtrument of Peace drawn up at* Greatley. *The ſixth, that if ſo be a man be ſo Rich, and of ſuch Alliance that he cannot be chaſtized, and will not ceaſe to commit his former Outrages, that you will cauſe him to be taken away and removed into ſome other quarter of your Kingdom, as it is ſaid in the Weſtern Parts, let him be what he will Alderman (or Count) or Countreyman. The ſeventh, that every one hold all his men in his own Warranty againſt all Theft. If any there be that hath ſo many*

Kariſſime, Epiſcopi tui de Kent, & omnis Kenteſcire, Thayni, Comites & Villani tibi domino dilectiſſimo ſuo gratias agunt quod nobis de pace noſtra præcipere, &c.

* *Cui prius folgavit nec intra Marcam nec extra. Folgare eſt tradere ſe alicui in Clientelam, ſervire, ſequi, ſectari, ut olim ſolebant ii qui Anglis dicebantur* Reteiners. *Saxonice* folgian *unde noſtrum hodiernum* to follow, g (*ut ſæpe*) *in u vel w mutato. Hinc etiam Folgarius, pro Cliente ſectatore,* a Reteiner. *Marca propriè ſignum eſt veterioris limitis à Saxon.* Meapc *hodie* Marke.

ny men that he cannot keep them all, let him appoint an Overseer in every of his Villages, whom he can trust, and who will trust his men. And in case this Overseer dare not trust some of his men, let these men find out twelve Persons of their Kindred who will be security for them. And in case the Lord or Overseer, or any other infringe this Ordinance, or depart from hence, let him be thought worthy of what was agreed on at Greatley, *except any other kind of Justice better please the King. The eighth is, that what you said concerning the working of Shields contenteth all. Our Lord we beseech you of your mercifulness, that if we have in this matter either exceeded or been defective, you will order it to be amended, as you your self shall think convenient. And we are devoutly prepared for all things which you shall please to command us, and which any way lie in our power to perform.* Sect. 12.

115. Next after this follow some other Articles, which are said to have been devised by the Bishops and Officers belonging to the Court of *London*, by them published, and confirmed by the Oaths of the Ealdormen (or Counts, he terms them *Comites*) and Countreymen, or the ordinary sort of men in their *Fridgild*, *Association*, or *Publick Meeting*, with the addition of those Laws or Judgments which were first ordained at *Greatley*, and afterward confirmed at *Exeter* and *Thundresfeld*. All these Articles now agreed on tend to the prevention of Theft by the punishment of Thieves and such as harbour or protect them. Theft is now confirmed to be Capital, and not onely Associations are allowed and incouraged but also the raising of publick stocks for defraying the Charges of prosecution, and the Incouragement of such as should shew themselves industrious in that behalf. We cannot but here suggest to the Reader what Remark he ought to make of these times, how the Crime of stealing, which generally indeed is taken notice most of in all the *Saxon* Laws, and most care taken for the prevention of it, grew more common than ever in the days of *Æthelstan*; the *English* having, as *Ingulphus* observes, in the days of *Alfred* imitated the Example of the *Danes*, and because they thought the blame would still be laid upon the *Danes* given themselves to Robbing: For by the strength and sharpness of the Remedy we may judge of the violence of the Disease. But formerly a *Wite or Were*, a Fine or value of the Head would serve for the Punishment, now nothing but death it self, to be inflicted both on the Malefactours themselves, and those that abetted, received, or would not kill them if they met them. And whereas *Gilds*, *Associations*, or *Societies* were in use among Free People, whereby the Company in general was responsible for each number in particular; the like for prevention of Theft must be erected even amongst Servants and Slaves of both Sexes, they being both condemned to execute one another by the cruel Deaths of stoning and burning, and also to pay Money, as it were a Fine to the endamaged Party, as if bound to be Sureties for one another. We see what a necessity of shewing an Example and Prevention can make lawfull as to punishments; and may hence take an account of the severity of our modern Customs in particular Towns, and of the Publick Laws against *Theft* and *Robbing*. If we in *England* be more severe against Thieves than in other Countries, and make smaller Offences Capital, it is because our Legislatours saw the great proneness of the Natives to this Crime, and in their Judgments this way of punishment seemed more terrible than any other, (and perhaps more than later Ages have found it) and consequently the best way for prevention. Yet cannot I see why, of those two ill qualities which are ascribed to Islanders, from the condition of their Habitation, inclination to Theft should be as proper and Connatural as Inconstancy.

Theft made Capital.

Exemplo namque Danorúmque colore etiam quidam indigenarum latrociniis ac rapinis incendere cœperant.

116. The next Legislatour after *Æthelstan* was King *Edmund* his Brother and immediate Successour both in the Kingdom and in the practice of making Laws. We are told that in the solemn Feast of *Easter* (but not in what year) he held a great Council at *London*, as well of Ecclesiasticks as Seculars, where was present *Oda* and *Wulstan* the Archbishops with many other Bishops to consult for the good of their own Souls, and of those that were under their care and Government. At this Council were enacted several Laws, which being six in number are of Ecclesiastical Concernment, and amongst such matters must be remembred. These are found both in the *Saxon* Copy published by *Lambard*, and in the Latin of *Bromton*; but in *Bromton's* Book follow seven others of Civil Concernment, said to have been made by the King, his Bishops, and Wisemen at *Culinton*, which are not extant in the *Saxon* Edition. The first of these *requires an Oath of Fidelity to King* Edmund *to be taken by all, in like manner as a Man ought to be faithfull to his Lord without all controversie or sedition both in publick and in private, in loving what he shall love, and rejecting what he shall reject, and before the Oath be given, that no man conceal this matter no more in his Brother or Neighbour* 1.

Edmund the next Legislatour.

Sect. 12. *Neighbour than in a Stranger.* The second concerning *apprehension of Thieves*, enjoyns, That *if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the* Twelfhindi *and* Twifhindi *unite together and take him either alive or dead. In case any one take up Mortal Feud against any one of them for so doing, he is to be esteemed as the Enemy of the King and all his Friends. And if any refuse to assist in the apprehension, he shall forfeit to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, and to the Hundred, thirty Shillings.* The third, as several before, *forbids the receiving of another man's Servant that hath injured any man till he have done the injured party right, on pain of making amends himself.* The fourth enjoyns, That *if several Thieves do steal, the Eldest of them be taken and killed or hanged, and each of the rest beaten thrice, Racked, and for an Example have his Little Finger cut off.* The fifth *forbids the buying or receiving of strange Cattel, without the Testimony of the Chief Officer, Priest, the Ordeale or the Portreeve.* The sixth injoyns *the prosecution or search of Cattel from place to place. He with whom they are found shall restore the Beast and pay to the King an hundred and twenty Shillings, which fine he shall also incur that resists and refuseth to doe right.* The seventh and last requires, That *every person make his Servants and all that live in his Peace and his Lands to be trusted. That all such as have ill Names and be loaded with Accusations have security given for them. And whatsoever Officer, Thane, Alderman, or Countreyman he be that refuseth to doe accordingly shall forfeit an hundred and twenty Shillings, and farther, be thought worthy of such punishments as have been before mentioned.* 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

117. After these follow seven other Laws of King *Edmund*, which are found both in the Copies of *Bromton* and of *Lambard*. Before them we find a Preface wherein the King signifies to all his Subjects, both old and young, that he had most studiously inquired in a solemn Assembly both of Ecclesiasticks and Laicks, by what means Christian Faith might best be propagated. And that it seemed most convenient to them all that he should cherish and procure love and mutual friendship through all his Dominions. For they were much troubled at the unjust Contentions that were among them, and therefore he and they did ordain. First, That *if hereafter one man kill another, that he alone take up Deadly Feud or Enmity with the Kindred of the slain, unless within twelve Months, by the assistence of his own Kindred, he pay the Weregild or value of the slain man's Head, of what condition soever he was. In case his Kinsfolks forsake him, and will pay nothing for him, he alone shall bear the Quarrel, and they shall not be taken for Enemies. But they in the mean time shall not relieve him, nor have peace with him, which if they doe or have, they shall forfeit all they have to the King, and he that first forsook his Kinsman shall be taken as an Enemy by the Kindred of the slain, and bear deadly Feud against them. And if any shall revenge himself upon or prosecute any other of the Kindred beside the Killer himself, he shall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all that love him.* The second denounces, That *if a man flie to a Church or the King's * Town, and there any one set upon him or doe him any harm he shall be punished in the same manner.* By the third *the King expresly forbids that any* Fyhtwite *or* Manbote, *that is, any fine for Fighting or Killing be remitted.* By the fourth *he openly signifies, that his House shall afford no shelter to him that hath shed bloud, except he have first made satisfaction to God and the Kindred of the slain, and have done whatsoever was enjoyned him by the Bishop in whose Diocese the Fact was committed.* By the fifth *he gives hearty thanks to God and them all who had assisted him in making this Law of Peace for the restraining of Thieves, and he trusts that they will be the more ready for the time to come to assist him by how much more necessary they see the Law is to be observed.* The sixth injoyns, That *he that breaks the Peace, and sets upon a man in his own House, forfeit all he hath, and his life be at the King's disposal.*

C. 1. *Saxon.* Be manslhte. *Apud Jornal.* c. 1.

C. 2. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon oþenne on Cynicean geriece. Oþþe on Cyninger burh 7 *Apud Jornal.* c. 11.

* Mine burh.

C. 3. *Sax.* Be fyhtwite 7 manbote. *Jornal.* c. III.

C. 4 *Saxonic.* Be blodgeote. C. IV. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 5. *Saxon.* Ðæncunge ðam ðe þis ðyrfte fyrtaþ. C. V. *Apud Jornal.*

C. 6. *Saxon.* Be mundbryce 7 hamrocne. C. VI. *Apud Jornal.*

118. The Seventh and last of these Laws is concerning *Enmities* or *deadly Feuds*, declaring that *it's the duty of Wisemen to suppress them*, and prescribing the way after this manner. *First, as the Law is, every where a Mediatour is to be sent before to the Kindred of the slain man, who is to signifie to them that he that killed him will make satisfaction, then into the Hands of this Mediatour the Manslayer is to be delivered, that he may quietly appear and give Caution for the payment of the value of the dead man's Head; which as soon as he hath done, the King's Peace is to be made*

C. 7. *Saxon.* Be fæhde. C. VII. *apud Jornal.*

made betwixt them. One and twenty days ended let him pay Halsfage, (as the Abbat *Bromton* hath it) or as the *Saxon* Text *Healsfange*, that is (as Mr. *Lambard* rightly interprets it, *that which was paid in way of Commutation for the punishment of tying by the Neck to the King or Lord. Within one and twenty days after* (*or Nights* as the Text hath it) *let him pay Maubot or Money for the Servants death due to the Lord*, as we have formerly explain'd it; *and within one and twenty more the Weregild or value of the slain Parties Head*, as *Bromton* hath it, *or*, rather as the *Saxon* Text, *the first portion of the Payment.* As for these Capital Enmities or Deadly Feuds the Reader must understand they were ordinary among the *Germans* and Barbarous Northern Nations, who ordinarily maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendring their Fewds as it were Patrimonial and Hereditary. So *Tacitus* writes concerning the *Germans*, that *they were constrained to take up the Quarrels and Friendships of their Fathers and Kinsmen.* There was necessity of it, Murthers and Homicides not being censured by the Sentence of the Judge, but, as one expresseth, by the hands and fury of the Kindred of the slain, who in punishing used their own Methods and Measures as they listed. The custome as the Northern People used in their own Countries when transplanted into more Southern Soils they would not leave off no more than several others, no not when their Principles should have been bettered by Christianity. But whatever Princes or Laws could doe, those Enmities they still maintained, so that Legislatours by degrees could scarcely get ground upon them, not daring to forbid the whole business, but regulating it as we see King *Edmund* doth by these two Laws, in the one prescribing the manner of carrying on these Deadly Quarrels, in the other the method of compounding them. Amongst the *Salique* Laws also, those of the *Lombards*, *Franks*, and other Obsolete Constitutions, as well as in the *Capitula* of *Charles* and *Ludovic*, are there many Laws concerning this Subject. The Capitulary of *Charles* the Great calls this Enmity *Faida*, in *German* it's *Fhede* and *Feido*, which seem to be derived from no other than the *Saxon* ꝼah, now in *English Foe*, otherwise an *Enemy.* Our *Saxon* Ancestours termed it ꝼeþh from the same Original, and hence we may well derive the present word *Fewd*, and give these the Name of *Deadly Fewds.* Mr. *Lambard* was of opinion that to these Deadly Fewds succeeded that Action in Law granted to the next akin to the Party slain, called *Appeal de mort.* But the cruel Custome of the *Fewds* themselves continued till the *Norman* times and longer, as appears by that * Law of King *Edward the Confessour*, revised and confirmed both by *William the Conquerour*, and by *Henry* the second, as *Hoveden* tells us.

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ðæꝼ ꝼeþeꝼ þ ꝼnumꝺlꝺ ꝼnum *autem significat principium, originem,* ꝺlꝺ *ut antea.*

A Sax. ꝼah & habe, *junioribus* hode & hood, *Germ.* heyd, heit, hat, *quod in vocum terminatione ut suprà monuimus conditionem vel qualitatem denotat.*

*C. 12. *Parentibus occisi* (*i.e. cognatis more Francorum*) *fiat emendatio, vel guerra eorum portetur. Unde Anglicè proverbium habetur.* Byhe ꝼreaꝼe oꝼ ꝼee oꝺꝺe bæꝼ. *i. e. Eme lanceam à latere aut fer.*

119. Besides these Laws before mentioned, there is a certain Constitution ascribed to this same King *Edmund*, by *Bromton*, concerning the manner and Rites of Marriage. The same was found by Sir *Henry Spelman*, in *Saxon*, in a Book belonging to *Corpus Christi College in Cambridge*, joyned to the Laws of King *Alfred*, but in the Margent is noted, by some observer, that the same constitution was found amongst the Laws of King *Edmund*, as *Bromton* the Abbat of *Jerval* hath it. The Tenour of it is thus. 1. *If one purpose to marry a Virgin or a Woman* (*a Widow* Bromton *hath it*) *she and her friends consenting, the Bridegroom both by the Law of God and Man ought to give caution for the fulfilling of what Covenants made before, as also that his purpose is, and his desire to have her as a Wife, according to the law of God, and no otherwise, and for this his friends must also ingage.* 2. *The second thing must be to take care of their maintenance, and it must be known who shall maintain them, and for this, both the Bridegroom and his friends must ingage.*

The manner and Rites of Marriage.

Suscipere tam inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias necesse est.

Vide Lambardi Glossar. in voc. Capitales inimicitiæ.

Spelman. in voc. Faida.

Spelman. Concil. p. 425,

þu man mæden ꝼeþbian ꝼceal. ⁊ hþylce ꝼoꝼeꝼaꝼþe þæꝼaȝhon to beon ⁊

Jornal. in leg. Edmundi & Wheloeus in Editione nova legum Lambardi Saxonic. p. 60.

Saxonicam autem versionem interpretati sumus secundum quod monuit Somnerus, in lib. de Gavelkind. c. 3. *Constitutionem enim hanc a Spelmanno Editam ætatis varii inquinatam observavit.*

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*gage. 3. Then after that, let the * Bridegroom declare what he will give his Bride, besides that which she formerly made choice of with his good liking in case she overlive him. 4. In case they so agree, it's fit she have the one half of all his Estate, and if they have a Child betwixt them, the whole Estate till such time as she marry again. 5. What the Bridegroom hath promised, let him confirm by giving caution, let him carefully observe it, and his friends engage on his behalf. 6. If they be now agreed on all things, let the Kindred of the Bride contract her to him as a Wife, and ingage for her honesty, and then let caution be given for celebration of the Marriage. 7. If afterwards her Husband carry her out of the Territory of the Thane or Baron where she was bred, into the District of another Thane, let caution be given to her friends that she shall receive injury from no Man. And in case she her self doe any ill thing, let her friends be ready to make satisfaction to her Husband, if she have not wherewith to doe it. 8. At the bestowing of her in Marriage a Priest must be present, who of right, with the Blessing of God, shall promote their Conjunction to the attainment of all Felicity. 9. Lastly, There must be good heed and assurance had, that there be no Impediment of Consanguinity betwixt them, lest afterward they be justly separated, who were unjustly joyned together.*

* Bnıꝺguma a bryde *sponsa &* ꝺuma aꝺymon *curare, unde forte* ꝺymunꝺ *Nuptiæ.* Bridegroom *nunc dicimus corruptè pro Bridegume, quasi scil. Sponsus est sponsæ famulus vel servus die Nuptiarum.* The Bride's Groom, *ita popellus sibi imponit.*

The form of Endowing.

120. To the fourth Article of this Constitution, Sr. *Henry Spelman*, in the Margent sets this Note; *The ancient form of Endowing*, as hinting that it was the Custome amongst the *English Saxons*; for the Wife that overlived her Husband, to have half his Estate, and in case she had a Child by him, the whole till such time as she Marry another Husband. Accordingly he Interprets the *Saxon* words, ꝺıꝼ hıt ꝥꝥa geꝺoꝼꝼoꝥ bıþ. *Quod siquidem eveniat; If it so come to pass*, viz. that she overlive him. But Mr. *Somner* who hath discovered other faults in this Edition of Sr. *Henry*, Interprets the words, *si sic conveniat*, viz. *If they so agree*; the King thinks it just that she have the half if she outlive her Husband, &c. This Endowing, being that which they call *Dotarium* or *Donarium*, according to this best Interpretation of the words, was not then necessary, or by compulsion, but so as was thought fit, if it was so agreed before the Marriage: but whereas Mr. *Somner* in his Glossary, thinks it the same with the maintenance mentioned in the Second Article, by our *Saxon* Ancestours (as in that Article) termed *Fosterlean*, his own Interpretation of the other words seems to confute him. For that maintenance or *Fosterlean* hath relation to their joynt condition during Marriage, or as now we say, whilst *under coverture*, the *victus* as they interpret it, after which follows, *who shall maintain them?* The one being necessary, but the other uncertain, and according as he himself will have it, to agreement. Besides this Endowing this *Dotalitium* or *Donarium*, there was that which our *Saxon* Ancestours called *Morgangife*, the *Lombards Morgangap*, the *Burgundians*, *Alamans*, and others *Morgengeba*, and some *Morgingab*, so called (for all these amount to one) because it *was a gift bestowed by the Bridegroom on the Bride*, that morning they were to be Married. Yet doth * *Gregory Turonensis* distinguish it *à Dote* from the ordinary *Endowing*. It seems to have been some special thing given to the Bride, as an especial mark of the Bridegroom's favour. Some think it to correspond or have some affinity with the *English* Custome of Endowing or Enfeoffing *at the Church Door*, as they term it. Whereby the Bridegroom, when in the morning he is about to enter the Church to be Married, makes a present, as it were, to his Bride of some piece of Land.

Prisca dotationis formula.

The Antiquity of *Gavelkind.* C. 3. p. 76.

A Saxon. ꝼoꝥꝼeꝼ *i. e. victus, cibaria unde hodiernum nostrum to* Foster *nutrire, &* lean *exhibere.*

In leg. Canuti. c. 71.

Morgan gıꝼe *matutinum donum, sic etiam Germanicè* Morgin *significat mane &* Gab *donatio.*

* *Lib. 9. c. 10. Hist. Tam in dote quam in Morgangiba.*

Ad ostium Ecclesiæ.

121. But these Gifts and Endowings are quite contrary to the Laws and Customs of the *Romans*, with whom, *Dos*, properly signifieth that Portion which the Husband receiveth with his Wife. They were not wont to give their Wives any thing back, and therefore have no proper word whereby to express such a Gift (Donations betwixt Man and Wife being carefully in their Laws forbidden) which we in *English* call *Dower*, answering properly to *Dotarium Donarium*, (*a*) and the like. *Tacitus* admires the thing it self, amongst the *Germans* expressing it thus. *The* (*b*) *Wife brings no Portion* (Dotem) *to the Husband, but the Husband* (Dower) *to the Wife.* Yet the *Greeks* most

(*a*) *Vocatur etiam Donarium Dodarium Dotalitium.*

(*b*) *Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus affert.*

anciently

anciently as they had (c) words to express both *Portion* and *Dower*, were wont thus also to provide for their Wives. *Homer* feigns *Vulcan*, to have endowed *Venus*, and to have demanded back the *Dower* after that she was taken in Adultery with *Mars*; and in like manner, *Claudian* feigns the same thing to have been done by *Pluto* to *Proserpina*. For the *Galls*, *Cæsar* testifies that the Husband was wont to return the value of what he received in Portion with his Wife. *Strabo* writes of the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*, that they also Endowed their Wives, and left their Daughters their Heirs, which thing he dislikes, as giving Women power over Men. To be sure the *Teutonick* and Northern Nations, practised this course, as is evident from *Gregory* of *Tours*, concerning the *Franks* in *Gall*, and concerning the *Goths*, *Saxons* and *Lombards*, their several Laws. In some places half the Lands, and some a third part went in Dower, and in others Money. In other places it was left to the discretion of the Man to give what he pleased. The *English* and *Scots* have in later Ages, after the Fashion of the *Sicilians*, alotted the third Part; though *Kent* and some Boroughs, one half part, as also some Towns in *France*. But this Custome hath farther to plead for it, that it had the *Hebrews* also for its practisers, as appears from that place which saith, *a Man shall Endow a Woman, and take her for his Wife*. And *Sichem* being begging to Marry *Dina*, *bids them ask what Dower they would, and he would grant it*.

(c) *Dotem φερνὴν & προίκα vocant antidotem vero ut ita dicamus, ἀντιφέρναν, ἕδνον & ὑποίδολον.*

Lib. 6. de bello Gall. co.

Geograph. l. 3.

Hist. l. 9. c. 20.

Vid Spelman. Glossar. in voc. Doarium.

Exod. 20. 16.

Gen. 34. 12.

How much was assigned for *Dover*.

122. So much is fit to be pleaded for our Custome, and in favour of the other Sex against the *Romans*, who yet were so just, as when they put away their Wives, *bid them take what they brought along with them*; which words were used expresly, to signifie a Divorce. Our *English Saxon* Ancestours were both carefull for the main Chance, not to have nothing with their Wives, because meat cannot be bought in the Market without Money, and yet were both so just and kind as to provide for their Wives by way of Dowry when they Married, that they might be able to Live when they were Dead, and were content to be bound up for performance, and not to be left to their own discretions what they would doe after Marriage, or at their Deaths. By King *Edmund*'s Constitutions we have seen their care on one side, and that they were not heedless on the other appears by an ancient *Saxon* Monument, or a Tripartite Writing, concerning a Marriage made in the Days of King *Cnute*, which here for Illustration of this Subject we shall Exemplify as we have it published by Mr. *Sumner*. *Here appeareth in this Writing the Agreement that* Godwin made *with* Byrhtric *when he Woed his Daughter. That is, first he gives her one pound weight of Gold on condition that she stand to the Agreement, and he giveth her these Lands at* Strete, *with all that thereto appertaineth, and in* Burware *Marsh one hundred and fifty Acres; withall, thirty Oxen, twenty Cows, ten Horses, and ten Theowmen or Bondmen. This was agreed at* Kingston *before King* Cnute, *in the presence of* Living *the Archbishop, as also in the Covents at* Christ Church, *of* Ælfmere *the Abbat, the Covents at St.* Augustin's; *of* Æthelwin *the Sheriff*, Sired *the Elder*, Godwin, Wulfey's *Son*; Eadmer *at* Burham; Godwine, Wulstan's *Son*; *and* Charles, *the King's Servant. And when this Maid was fetch'd to* Brightling, *then went off all these for Sureties*, Ælgar, *the Son of* Sired; Frerth, *Priest of* Folcston; Leofwine, *Priest of* Dover; Wulfey *a Priest*; Eadred *the Son of* Eadelm; Leofwine, *the Son of* Warelm; Cenwold Rust; Leofwine, Godwin's *Son* at Horton; Leofwine *the Red*; Godwine *the Son of* Eadgife, *and* Leofsun *his Brother. And which of them longest liveth shall have all the Possessions, aswell that Land which I give them, as every thing. This thing is known to all* * *Doughty, or Valiant Men in* Kent; *and in* Sussex *both Thanes and Churles, or Countreymen. And this Writing is Tripartite, one is at* Christ Church, *a second at St.* Augustin's, *and the third hath* Byrhtric *himself*. See here the manner of Marriage, and settling matters thereto belonging in those ancient Times. And take notice by this Instrument, as also all along by the Laws how cautious they were in all respects, scarcely transacting any thing but by the Intervention of Suretyship.

Suas sibi res habere jusserunt.

The Settlement given to Wives.

Þen ꝥrutelaþ on þyran ȝeþrito þa ꝥoreþanðe, *&c. In Appendic. ad Tractat. de Gavelkind Scriptura* 17. *p.* 196.

* Ðyrra þinga ꝥ ȝecnæþe ælc ðohtiȝ man on Kænt, *&c.*

123. To return, The next Legislatour after *Edmund*, was King *Edgar* his Son, who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLIX. and ended it in the year DCCCCLXXV. He amongst many Laws and Canons of Ecclesiastical Concernment, published also some which respected the Civil State of his Kingdom; or, as he terms it, to the People, to be observed by them, whereof this is

Sect. 12 the first, whereby He enjoyns, that " Every Man, Poor or Rich, enjoy the " benefit of the Law, and have Justice done him. And for Punishments, he " would have them so moderated, that thereby, being accommodated to Divine " Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto Men. The second forbids " Appeals to the King in Suits, except Justice cannot otherwise be obtained. If " a Man be oppressed, he may betake himself to the King for relief. And in " case a pecuniary Mulct be inflicted for a fault, it must not exceed the va- " lue of the Man's Head. The third imposes a Mulct upon a Judge that pas- " ses an unjust Sentence against any Man, of an hundred and twenty shillings " to the King, except such Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of " any malice, but onely it happened by errour and unskilfulness: in such case " let him be removed from his place, except he can obtain favour of the King " to keep it: and let the Bishop of the Diocese convey the Mulct that is " imposed upon him to the King's Treasury. The fourth ordains, that Whoso- " ever malitiously defames another Man, whereby he receives any damage ei- " ther in his Body or Estate, in case the defamed Person can wipe off those Re- " ports, and prove them false, the Defamer's Tongue shall either be cut out, or " he shall redeem it with the value of his Head. The fifth is that which we " have formerly cited, which Commands every one to be present at the Ge- " mote or Assembly of the Hundred; ordains that the Burhgemote or Assem- " bly of the Towns or Cities be held thrice a year; and the Shiregemote or Meet- " ing of the County twice; whereat are to be present the Bishop and the " Ealdorman, the one to teach the People God's Law, and the other Man's. " The sixth requires, that Every Man find sureties for his just behaviour. In case " any one commit a crime and fly for it, let the Sureties undergoe what should " have been laid upon him. If so be he stole any thing and be taken within a " twelvemonth, let him be brought to Justice, and then let them receive back " what they had forfeited on his behalf. The seventh orders, When any one " being of evil report and again accused of some crime, absents himself from the " Gemotes or Publick Meeting, some of the Court to go where he dwells, " and take Sureties for his appearance, if they may be had; if they cannot get " them, let them take him alive or dead, and seize on all his Estate, whereof " the complaining Party having had such share as may satisfie him, let the one " half of the remainder go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the " Hundred. And if any of that Court, being either a Kin to him, or a Stran- " ger to his Bloud, refuse to go to put this in execution, let him forfeit an " hundred and twenty shillings to the King. Farther, let not such as are taken " in the manner of stealing or betraying their Masters obtain pardon of their " Lives. The eighth and last ordains, that One and the same Money be cur- " rent throughout the King's Dominions, which no Man must refuse. That " the Measure of *Winchester* be the Standard. And that a Way, or Weigh of " Wool be sold for half a Pound value of Money, and no more.

C. 1. *Sax.* Peopulcunb ȝenæhnyrre. *c.* 7. *apud Jornal.*
C. 2. *Sax.* Be ðonne ðe mon cyng ȝe rece. ⁊ Be ðæm þeþe. *c.* 7. *adhuc apud Jorn.*
C. 3. *Sax.* Be unþihtum bome. *c.* 8. *apud. Jornal.*
C. 4. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon oþeþne þoþfecȝaþ. *c.* 9. *apud Jornal.*
C. 5. *Sax.* Be ȝemotum. *c.* 10. *apud Jornal.*
C. 6. *Sax.* Be boþȝum. *c.* 11. *apud Jornal.*
C. 7. *Sax.* Be tyhtbýriȝum. *c.* 12 *apud Jornal.*
C. 8. *Sax.* Be mynetum ⁊ ȝemetum. *c.* 13. *apud. Jornal.*

124. The next Legislatour after *Edgar* was King *Ethelred*, his Younger Son, who began his Reign in the year of our Lord DCCCCLXXIX. and ended it in the year MXVI. *Brompton* the Abbat of *Jorval* presents us with four several Bodies of Laws of this King, made at several times, and in divers places, whereof there is onely two extant among the *Saxon* Laws, published by *Lambard*. The Laws comprized in the first Body are six, and said to have been made at *Woodstock* in *Mercia*, according to the Laws of the *English*, in a Council of Wisemen, held there by King *Ethelred* for the Promotion of Peace. The first of these, as the sixth of King *Edgar*, requires, that " Every Free-man have his " trusty Sureties, who shall be bound for him, that he shall be ready to doe every " Man right in case he be questioned. If one be often accused and made infamous " let him undergoe the scrutiny of threefold Ordeal. But in case such an one's " Lord contend, and affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor been " cast by the Jugement of Ordeal after the Council held at *Bromdune*, let " his Lord call to him out of that Hundred one or two *Thanes*, who together " with him shall confirm by Oath that this Servant neither ever forswore " himself, nor paid never any thing upon the account of Theft, except he have " some Officer, who (according to his Right) may doe it without Swearing. " In case they made Oath let the Accused Party chuse whether he will under- " goe the tryal of single Ordeal, or make an Oath in three several Hundreds, " which shall answer to one pound and thirty pence in equal proportion. But " in case they refuse to swear, let the Accused undergoe the tryal of threefold " Ordeal:

ſet puse ſtoce on Myncena land æftep ſtngla lage. C. 1. *Sax.* Be boþȝum. *c.* 1. *apud Jornal.*

" Ordeal: and if so be that he appears a Condemned Man, let him restore " twofold to the Complainant, and pay the value of his Head to the Lord, " and find Sureties for his good behaviour for the time to come. If he offend " the second time, let it cost him his Life. In case he refuse to be Tryed by " the Ordeal, and fly for it, his Sureties shall pay the just value of the thing " to the Injured Party, and to his Lord the value of his Head, if he have so " carried himself as to be worthy of it. But if it be objected against his Lord, " that after the Fact, committed by his advice and assistence, his Servant fled " away, he shall take to him five Thanes, and thereof purge himself; which " if he doe, he hath shewn himself to be worthy of the *Were*, if he doe not " the King shall have the *Were* or value of the Head, and the Thief shall be " made incapable of any benefit of the Law. The Lord shall answer for his " whole Family, and be Surety for the appearance of every person in it. And " if any of his Servants being accused, run away, his Master shall pay his " Man's *Were* to the King. And if the Master be Accused as the Advizer to " the escape, he shall purge himself by the assistence of five *Thanes*. If he doe " it not, he shall pay to the King his *Were*; and his Man shall be an Out-" law.

125. The second " Appropriates the mulct which is laid upon any Man " that possesseth *Bockland*, for any fault by him committed, to the King; and " forbids any compensation to be made for any Accusation, but in presence of " the King's Reeve or Officer. The third ordains, that A Bond-man being " Cast by the Ordeal, be marked with an hot Iron for the first offence; and " being Cast the second time in the same manner, by all means to be put to " Death; which Law bears some resemblance to our present Law or Cus-" tome, where Clergy is allowed for the first crime committed. The fourth " Forbids all Buying and Chaffering without Suretyship and Witness. If it hap-" pen otherwise, the Lord of the Soil is to have the thing in his custody till " such time as it appear to whom of Right it belongs. By the fifth, The " King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour " of such as are of ill fame amongst all Men, which if such an one do not " give he is to be put to Death, and Buried in a profane place with Malefac-" tours. And if any make resistence in his behalf, he is to undergoe the same punishment. The sixth, after *Brompton*, but which hath neither Title nor Number in the *Saxon*, concludes it thus. " And whosoever neglects or doth " not promote what we have ordained, according to the Sentence and Judgment " of us all, shall forfeit an hundred and twenty shillings to the King.

C. 2. *Sax.* c. 2. *apud Fornal.* C. 3. *Sax.* Be ðeop-men ðe full ryne. c. 3. *apud Fornal.* C. 4. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon ne ce-aþigeburon ðeþitnerre, c. 4. *apud Fornal.* C. 5. *Sax.* Be ðæm men ðe e-allumpolc unðetnipe ry. c. 4. *apud Fornal.* 6.

126. The next Body of Laws made by King *Ethelred*, as *Brompton* ranks them, are said to have been made at *Venetyng*, or *Wanating*, now *Wantage* in *Berkshire*, the Birth place of the glorious King *Alfred*. They are thirty in number, and were made by King *Ethelred* and his Wisemen for the encrease of Peace and Felicity. The first of them is concerning the *Keeping of the King's Peace as it was in the days of his Predecessours, and for the punishment of the Breach of it, as that in a Gemote of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five pounds, in one Borough by seven hundred (shillings are meant) in a Wapentack by one hundred; and in an Ale-house if a man be killed, with six half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve Ores.* Hence (but especially from the Laws of *Ina*) we may observe how ancient the Liquour of Ale, and Houses designed to the sale and drinking of it have been in *England*; how ancient also Quarreling and breaking of the Peace in such places. But much more ancient have all these been than the continuance of the *English Saxons* in this Countrey; they were too much in fashion with these Northern Nations in those Days of *Tacitus*, as appears from what he writes of the *Germans*; so that what Mr. *Cambden* writes in his Annals, of Drunkenness being first brought into this Countrey by the Souldiers that served in the Low Countries under the Earl of *Leicester*, and that then Laws were first made against this Vice, is to be understood with an exception of this Antiquity; for when the *English Saxons* came first into the Island, they brought Drunkenness along with them out of the *Chersonesus* of *Germany*. For of the ancient *Germans Tacitus* reports, that " To pass a day " and night in Drinking was no disgrace at all. Being Drunk they would quar-" rel, and often wound and kill one another. Yet most commonly (saith he) " they consult in their Feasts and Banquets concerning Reconciling of Enemies, " making Affinities, chusing Magistrates, even of Peace and War: as if at no " other time the mind was fitter either to entertain plain thoughts or heat upon

Ale and Ale-houses among the *English Saxons.*

" great

Sect. 12. " great Conceptions. *Quintilian* alſo aſſures us, that in ancient times, ſuch as had Fought in the Field againſt one another,' would be Friendly at an Entertainment at the Table. In *Germany* this Cuſtome, we are told, ſtill continues; and here in *England* at our *Ales* and *Wakes*, Controverſies and Quarrels were wont to be heard and compounded. As to Drinking and Drinking Houſes, the preſent Age can ſhew and ſay as much or more than any other, both as to quarrels, and as to the doing of buſineſs, for no buſineſs now is to be done, but in a Drinking Houſe. But in our Greater Towns and Cities, the Scene of theſe too often tragical Meetings is removed from *Germany* and *England*, to *France* and *Spain*; or if it be ſtill in *Germany*, it's removed cloſe to the *Rhine*. The Grape hath got the advantage of the Barley: and *Bacchus* (if ever) may now ſeem a Deity, nay above all the reſt, having (by *Vulcan*'s means) in the Capital City lately turned his Houſes into ſumptuous Palaces, the moſt ſumptuous there to be ſeen; and in the adjoyning Parts juſtled ſeveral Gentlemen out of their Habitations.

127. The ſecond Law *requires credit to be given concerning either quick or dead, according to legal Teſtimony which it will have all Perſons, free to make aſwell as to ſwear.* The third conſiſts of ſuch Terms as certainly cannot be explained. The fourth commands that *The publick Meetings be obſerved in every Hundred or Wapentake, and that twelve Thanes* (*ſaith* Bromton) *or twelve men of free Condition* (*as* Lambards *reades it*) *being elderly men, together with their* Præpoſitus *or Overſeer, ſwear over Goſpels or Sacred things, that they will neither condemn an innocent Perſon, nor acquit a guilty.* From this Law as well as other Circumſtances it appears, that the way of trial by twelve men, that we now call a Jury was in uſe with the *Engliſh Saxons* before the Conqueſt, and not introduced by *William the Conquerour*, as *Polydore Virgil* an *Italian*, and not much skilled in the Antiquities of this Iſland hath delivered in writing. To confirm what we have ſaid, the third Chapter of the League, betwixt King *Alfred* and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, very much maketh, which orders that *If the King's Thane or Miniſter be accuſed of Homicide he ſhall purge himſelf if he dare by twelve other Thanes or Miniſters. And in caſe he be in degree inferiour to the King's Thane he ſhall take Eleven of his Equals, and one of the King's Thanes or Miniſters, and ſo purge himſelf from all ſuſpicion. The like is here ordered to be obſerved in all ſuits, exceeding four Mancuſes or Marks. And in caſe one be afraid ſo to clear himſelf, he ſhall pay the treble value of the thing in queſtion.* Beſides theſe throughout the *Saxon* Laws as the Reader may obſerve, there is frequent mention of clearing, and purging by ſo many Men called together, ſometimes of * twelve, ſometimes of † fewer, and the more common and ordinary had this courſe been even in thoſe times, but for the *Ordeal* ſo much in repute, which alſo got more ſtrength and reputation toward the Days of *Ethelred*, and the Concluſion of the *Engliſh Saxon Monarchy*. Amongſt the ancient Charters of Kings publiſhed by *Ingulphus*, are alſo Footſteps of this Cuſtome though but in its youth as it were, or growing up do appear. As in that of *Withlaf*, where puniſhment is to be inflicted upon a Fugitive from the Monaſtery of *Croyland*, his Flight is to be found by ſix men that muſt be ſworn, ſo in the Charter of Confirmation granted by *Edrede*, ſuch as injured the Monks, or infringed the Liberties thereby confirmed to the Monaſtery, are to make ſatisfaction for all Damages ſuſtained, which are to be taxed by the Oaths of four or five ſufficient creditable Men, by whom the Truth of the matter may be the better made out, before his Judges or thoſe of his Heirs and Succeſſours. Therefore neither did *Edward the Confeſſour* firſt bring up this Cuſtome of Juries, or deciding Controverſies civil or criminal by twelve or other Number of Perſons, though he might introduce the Cuſtome into *Normandy*, where he long ſojourn'd as one of that Countrey hath written. But the Cuſtome of trying Criminals even by twelve Men, was frequent amongſt the *Franks*, *Burgundians*, *Boii*, and where the Cuſtome of Fees took place, as appears ſufficiently from the ancient Laws of theſe Nations.

C. 2. C. 3. C. 4.

Juries in uſe.

* *Vide Æthelſtani. L.* 12.
† *Ejuſdem. L.* 9.

P. 155.

P. 876.

Vide Spelmanni Gloſſar.

128. The Laws of King *Ethelred* made at *Wantage*, have many of them relation to the Trial by *Ordeal*, and contain many obſcure terms, *Bromton*, or whoever he was that made them *Latin*, being a very unprofitable Tranſlatour. Others of them are reſervable to other former Laws, and therefore we ſhall onely pick out from amongſt them, ſuch as are moſt worthy to be taken notice of. The Eleventh makes *The adulterating of Coin a Capital Crime.* The twelfth *Forbids any Cattel to be bought but with two Witneſſes, requiring that the Skin and Head be kept three Nights, as alſo that of a ſheep; and in caſe any one ſell the Skin*

11. 12.

Skin before three Nights be over, he is to forfeit twenty Ores. The twentieth *Declares how far the King's Peace shall extend from his Gate every way, that is three Miles and three Quarters, and three Acres in breadth, nine Feet and nine Barley Corns.* The two and twentieth directs that *Aldredesgate and Cirgelegate* (so they are called) have their Keepers or Porters. The twenty third declares, that *If a small Vessel came to* Bilynggesgate, *an half Penny was wont to be given for toll; if a greater bearing sails, a Penny. If a Keel or Hulk, being a long and large capacious sort of Vessel, four Pence are to be given. Out of a ship laden with wood one Piece for Toll. Thrice a Week toll of bread is to be paid,* viz. *on the Lord's Day,* Tuesday *and* Thursday. *If a Boat arrive with Fish, it is to pay an half penny, if it be a bigger Boat a penny. Those of* Rouen *in* Normandy, *that came with Wine or Grampois, those of* Flanders *and* Ponthieu, *and others from* Normandy *and* France, *were wont to open their wares and free them from Toll. Such as came from* Liege *and other Places, travelling by Land opened their wares and paid Toll. The Emperour's men coming with their ships were accounted worthy of good Laws, as we also to buy in their ships. And it was not lawfull for them to forestall the Market from the Burghers of* London. *They were to pay Toll, and at* Christmas *two gray Cloths, and one brown coloured with ten Pounds of Pepper, and five pair of Gloves with two Vessels of Vinegar, and as many at* Easter. *From Panniers that come with Hens, one Hen for Toll. Those that trade in Butter and Cheese fourteen days before* Christmas, *must pay a penny for Toll, and another penny seven days after that Festival.* The twenty sixth *Imposes the same Punishment upon such as wittingly receive, as they that make bad money.* The twenty eighth *Puts it into the King's Power whether to fine, or put to death such Merchants as import counterfeit bad money, and imposeth upon Portreeves that shall be accessory, the same Punishment as lies upon those that Coin false money, except the King think fit to pardon them.* The last, *That there may be fewer Minters than formerly, ordains that there be three in every great Port Town, and in every other Port one with their underworkmen. And the Governours of these Ports are required, as they will avoid the charge of Contumacy against the King, to see to the weight, and that the pieces be so stampt, that fifteen Ores may make a Pound.*

Sect. 12. 20. 22. 23. 26. 28.

Unum monetarium in Stanford in perpetuam libertatem concedimus inquit Rex Edgarus scil. Monasterio Croyland. Ingulph. p. 884.

The League twixt *Ethelred* and the *Danish* Army.

129. After these Laws in *Bromton* follows the League, which was made betwixt King *Ethelred* and the Army of *Anlaf, Justin,* and *Guthmund* the Son of *Stegete.* The first Article hereof, *Establisheth a Peace betwixt the King and his People, and this Army which the King supplied with money, according to the Form of the Agreement, made by* Sigeric *the Archbishop, and* Æthelward *and* Alfric *Alderman, when they obtained first of the King leave to buy the peace of these Countries, which they governed. If therefore hereafter any violence be offered to* England *by Sea, this Army, saith the King, is to assist us, and we will prepare all necessaries for its subsistence, as long as it shall continue faithfull. And if so be that any Foreign Nation make Friendship with them that doe the said violence, both we and the Army shall account of them as Enemies.* The Second Article, *Gives freedom to come into Port though belonging to the Enemy, whether driven thither by Tempest or otherwise.* The third, *To all their Friends and Allies confirms Peace and Security both at Sea and Land, though they be met in an Enemies Country. In case such a Friend convey his Goods into an Enemies House, he shall lose the Goods, but go free himself. But if he either flye or make resistence, or do not make known himself and be slain, no satisfaction is to be made for him.* The fourth requires that *If a man be robbed in a ship the Master thereof is to make satisfaction, or by four others taken to him make faith that he came lawfully to the Goods that are challenged.* The next Article *imposes a Mulct of twenty five pounds upon a free* Englishman, *that kills a* Dane *of free Condition, except the Murtherer yield up himself: the same forfeiture a* Dane *incurs if he slay an* Englishman. *If an* Englishman *kill a* Dane *of servile condition he shall pay one pound; and the like a* Dane *if he kill an* English *man. If so be that eight Persons be slain, the League shall be accounted violated, but if under this Number, Compensation shall be made according to the value of the particular Persons.*

C. 1. *Sax.* C. 1. *apud Jornal.* C. 2. *Sax.* Ba ceapryypum; C. 2. *apud Jornal.* C. 3. *Sax.* Be ðær cyninger frioðmannum 7 C. 3. *apud Jornal.* C. 4. *Saxon.* Be ðon ðemon reipe heperaop ry 7 C. 4. *apud Jornal.* C. 5. *Saxonica.* Be monslege 7 C. 5. 6. *apud Jornal.*

130. *If this happen in a Town the Townsmen are to take the Murtherers alive or dead, at least their next Kinsman is to surrender them Man for Man, which if they refuse to doe,* C. 6. *Sax.* Be friðbnec binnan byrig 7. C. 8. *apud Jornal.*

the

Sect. 12. *the Ealdorman must doe it, if he doe it not the King; if the King refuse, that Countrey must be accounted out of the League.* The Seventh Article, *indemnifies both sides, for all Murthers and Plunderings before this League. The one side is not to receive the Servant, Robbers or Enemies of the other.* That which follows *Condemns a Countreyman, that shall plunder or kill, if it be affirmed by a Seaman and a Land man. If he kill their Cattel, he shall be taken both by the King's Party, and the Army for an Outlaw without admission of any Excuse. And afterward it declares that the* English *purchased peace of the Army with two and twenty thousand pounds of Gold and Silver.* The ninth directs that *If a Man find his Goods in another Man's Hands, he with whom they are found tell where he had them, and give security to produce his Voucher. In this case if he be to send for a Man out of another Shire, he shall have convenient time to doe it. If upon offer he take the thing upon him, the other shall be acquitted with whom the Goods were found. This Voucher must then produce his, and if he live in another Shire, have a Weeks time given him to produce him; if he live beyond two Counties, a Fortnight, if beyond three, three Weeks, or a Week to be allowed for every County. But all of them must come to the place where the Goods were found.* The tenth and last concerning *vouching*, tells us that *in times past it was the Custome with whom a thing was found, that he should thrice produce Vouchers, and then they should go to the place where the Voucher lived. Now to Wisemen it seems more reasonable, that in the place where the thing is found, the Vouchery proceed till it come to a Period, lest that those who are not so able to bear it in seeking for their own be tired out with the length of the way, and time, whereas it's most just, that the trouble should be imposed upon the unjust Possessour. But he that finds his Goods is to beware, that he with whom he hath found them find sufficient security, to produce those that will save him harmless, and lest he make any unjust challenge, lest indeavouring to trouble others he himself be imbroyled in intricate Affairs. If there be any have challenged one that's now dead, and hath no Heirs to purge him, let him if he can, prove by Witness that he did so challenge him, and thereupon he being discharged of the Guilt, let the blame lye upon the dead Party, except he have Friends that will legally purge him as if he had been alive. In such case he is to be taken as clear, and he is be accounted guilty of the Theft with whom the Goods were found, forasmuch as* Denial is of more weight than affirmation. *Lastly, if any one in this matter of vouching, refuse to proceed any farther, but contends that the Goods were his own, he may be at his choice if he can ascertain his propriety by credible witness.* For, if it do not otherwise appear, Propriety is presumed to be rather in the Possessour than in the Pretender.

C. 7. *Saxon.* C. 8. *apud Jorn.*

C. 8. *Saxonic.* Be lanter manner tyhte ⁊ C. 9. *apud Jornal.*

C. 9. *Sax.* Be ðon ðe mon gefes ðe him loyoð þæt ⁊ C. 10. *apud Jornal.*

C. 10. *Saxon.* Be te amurn ⁊ C. 11. *apud Jornal.*

131. The next Body of Laws which follows in *Bromton*, and was made at a place called *Habe*, are all of Ecclesiastical concernment purely except it be the fifth, *which prohibits any man to be sold out of his Countrey.* But there is published by Sir *Henry Spelman* the Acts of another Council held by this same King *Ethelred* at a Place called *Æxham*, amongst which are some that relate to the Civil State. The sixth *prohibits also the sale of a Man out of his own Countrey, especially into the service of a Pagan.* The seventh *will have no man put to death for a small fault, but inculcates mercy.* The nineteenth *forbids a Widow to marry within a twelve month at least.* The two and twentieth *takes care for preserving the Peace, and keeping the Coin uncorrupt, that one and the same go throughout the Land. The like for just weights and measures, the reparation of Cities, Towns, Castles and Bridges, and warlike expeditions, both by Sea and Land.* The twenty third *takes care that presently after* Easter, *the Annual expedition by Sea be hastened, and ordains that if any Man doe any hurt to a ship designed for the service of the State, he both make satisfaction for the Damage, and be punished as a Breaker of the King's Peace. And if he utterly spoil the Vessel so as she be made unserviceable, he shall make full amends for the Damage, and farther, be taken as guilty of High Treason.* The twenty fourth *Deprives that Man of all his Fortunes, who deserts the Expedition whereat the King himself is present.* The next *Deprives him that hath killed a Man, or forsworn himself, of all his fortunes; also if he offer to come into the King's presence before he hath made satisfaction, except the King will dispence with him.* The twenty sixth *Deprives him both of Life and Fortunes that Conspires against the Life of the King. If he deny it, he must purge himself by the most solemn Oath, or*

Concil. p. 513.

6. 7. 19. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

or by treble Ordeal according to the Law of the English, *or after the Danish Law, as it appoints.* That which follows *ordains, that if any openly set himself to oppose the Laws of Christ or the King, he be punished either by paying the value of his Head, or otherwise according to the quality of the offence; and if he procure his own death by making resistence, he must lye unrevenged.* These are the Laws of King *Ethelred*, which respect the civil State, made as we have distinguished them at several times and places, but what these times were we are uncertain, though we be sure the Laws were made during his Reign. Sect. 12. 27.

132. There are others which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the General conjecture be that they were, and these are comprized in an Agreement or Act, which the Wisemen of *England* and the Councellours of *Wales*, made concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey. The first Article of this *Senatusconsultum*, as they call it, *prescribes the pursuit after Cattel, by the Footsteps from one place to another.* The second wills that *Within nine or ten days, the one Countreyman do write to the other whether it be in purging themselves, or in any other matter which is in Controversie. But in all Accusations betwixt* English *and* Welsh *men, they shall clear themselves onely by Ordeal, except the Accuser permit it. And each of them if they cannot otherwise have their right, may lawfully take away pledges one from another.* The third gives order that *If any one be injured and have taken a pledge from him that did the fact, he that gave the offence shall redeem it, or so much of his Goods as it amounts to be seized. That he who refuses to doe Justice, may be compelled to doe it. Here twelve men, six* English, *and as many* Welsh, *shall administer Justice to those of both Nations: who in case they do not doe right shall forfeit all they have, except they excuse themselves by their Ignorance of the Law.* Here behold another pattern of a Jury, and of that which we call *Medietas Linguæ*, viz. when a stranger is to be tried, six *English*, and as many of the Parties own Countrey, at least, strangers are impanelled to judge as to matter of fact, and according to their evidence give in their Verdict. The fourth Article wills, *That when an* English *or* Welsh *man is accused of Theft and cast in the Trial, he shall onely pay the forfeit due for the Theft, and no other mulct or any thing besides.* The fifth, *Exacts but half of the Value of the Head, in case a* Welsh *man kill an* English *man, or an* English *man a* Welsh *man, of what Family soever the slain Party was.*

C. 1. Be þrose gerrolenes ynrest 7

C. 2. Be þihter reonce betreon ȝealum 7 Englum 7

C. 3. Be baðum 7

Another Pattern of a Jury, *Per medietatem linguæ.*

C. 4. Be ðone ðe laðreonie 7

C. 5. Be manslihte.

133. The sixth Article, *Forbids the* Welsh *to come into* England, *or the* English *to enter* Wales, *except received at the other Bank by the Borderers, who shall take care for their safe Conduct and Return. And in case any Borderer be accused of false dealing herein, and cannot by witness disprove it, let him be fin'd. In the same manner, if any one procure that any stranger doe any damage to a Man of the Place, and be suspected to have been privy to the Fact, with respect had to the Damage he shall purge himself by the Oaths of Select men. First the Accuser shall make his Accusation by Oath; and then if the accused Party be cast in his Trial, he shall pay double Damages to the Plaintiff, and a Mulct to the Lord.* The seventh Article *sets the value of an Horse, that miscarries at thirty Shillings, and if it be pretended that there was no fault in the Person accused, the Purgation shall be according to that rate, and so for the rest the value of a Mare, and a yearling Colt at twenty Shillings: A wild Asses Colt at twelve Shillings: An Ox at thirty Pence, a Cow at twenty four Pence, a Swine at eight Pence, a Sheep one Shilling, a Goat at two Pence. Any other thing unseen must be valued by Oath, and recompence made accordingly.* The Eighth directs that *If one find his Goods with another man, and he challenges to avowry one that lives beyond the water, then that the Controversie may come to an end, shall he give sufficient Caution. And he that finds the Goods shall by the Oaths of six men make it good, that he justly lays challenge to the thing that was stoln. But he that goes to avowry must swear alone, that he doth rightly doe it. And in case any beyond the River contend, that the thing questioned is of his own proper goods, he must make it evident by the Judgment of Ordeal.* The ninth declares that *Wentsæte* (by which some understand *Southwales*, but others more probably *Monmouthshire* being anciently called *Guent*, *Went*, *Wentset* and *Wentsland*, so named from its chief City which of old, had the Name of *Venta Silurum*) *Sometimes was subject to the* Dunsætes *or* Mountainers, *but seems rather to belong to the West* Saxons. *And thither they must send Tribute and Hostages of Peace. As also that it's meet, that the* Mountainers *send Hostages if the King think it fitting.*

C. 6. Be ðon ðe Englisce on þýlisclande rade.

C. 7. Be ælces nytenes þeonþe. ȝif. hiloriaþ.

C. 8. Be onþ oþer þtream beþangenum.

C. 9. Be þentretum 7 ðunretum.

Sect. 12. 134. These were the Laws made by the *English Saxon* Kings, before the *Danes* established their Monarchy throughout the Land, which Laws King *Cnute* after his return from *Rome*, commanded strictly to be observed, especially those made by the late King *Ethelred*. And being now at leisure from War, and applying himself to the good usage of what he had ill got, he made Laws of his own, respecting both the Ecclesiastical and Civil State, reinforcing some old Laws, and altering and adding others, as he found occasion, in all which, as he tells us in his Preface, he used the Council of his Wisemen, and commands those his Laws to be observed throughout *England*. " The first of Civil " Concernment commands Justice to be faithfully and in- C. 1. *Sax.* " differently administred both to Poor and Rich, and abo- " lisheth all unjust Laws. The second commands Mercy C. 2. *Sax.* c 25. *Apud Jornal.* " to be used, and that no man be put to death for a small " Offence. The third prohibits a Christian to be sold out C. 3. *Sax.* c. 20. *Apud Jornal.* " of the Kingdom, especially to Unbelievers. The fourth " Banishes or Condemns to Death, Witches, Sorceresses C. 4. *Sax.* c. 26. *Apud Jornal.* " and Whores; and threatens Thieves and such as injure " and doe violence to the People. The fifth forbids the C. 5. *Sax.* c. 27. *Apud Jornal.* " Superstitions of Pagans, with Inchantments and Delusi- " ons. The sixth expells Murtherers, perjured Persons, C. 6. *Sax.* c. 28. *Apud Jornal.* " and Adulterers out of the Land except they speedily re- " pent. The seventh exhorts all men to beware of these C. 7. *Sax.* c. 29. *Apud Jornal.* " Crimes and suppress all Flatterers, Lyers, Robbers, " Thieves. The eighth commends to all People the keep- C. 8. *Sax.* C. c. 29. & 30. " ing of the Peace, orders one and the same good Money *Apud Jornal.* " to be current, and no man to refuse it. If any one im- " base the Money, his Hands are to be cut off without any redemption. And if " a Reeve or Governour be accused that it was done by his consent, he shall purge " himself by a treble purgation, and if he be cast incur the same punishment. " The ninth enjoyns a due care to be had of just Weights and Measures. The C. 9. *Sax.* c. 31. *Apud Jornal.* tenth commands as the Law of *Ethelred* (for these are but as repetitions of his C. 10. *Sax.* Laws) that " Towns and Bridges be well looked to, and that the Militia both by " Sea and Land be inforced according as the necessity of the Commonwealth re- " quires. By the eleventh he promises to use and entertain such Councils as may C. 11. *Sax.* c. 31. " tend to the promotion of Justice, the profit of the State, and the advancement *Apud Jornal.* " of Christian Piety.

Of Forfeitures incurred by the Law.

135. That which follows, being the twelfth, is remarkable for comprizing those *Forfeitures* which the King challenges as due to himself in the Countries of the West *Saxons*, except he please to confer them upon any other, *viz.* " The Pe- C. 12. *Sax.* c. 33. " nalty incurred for breach of the Peace, for breaking into an House, stopping up *Apud Jornal.* " a Passage, and forsaking ones Colours. If also for some Crime a man be Out- " lawed the restitution of him to his former condition belongs to the King. He " also that possesseth Bocland, forfeits to the King, whosoever else may be his " Lord. And whosoever relieves or harbours a Fugitive, except he can plead ig- " norance, shall pay to the King five Pounds. The thirteenth Law makes the C. 13. *Sax.* " same Challenge of all these Mulcts or Forfeitures in *Mercia*. The fourteenth C. 14. *Sax.* " makes the same Challenge in such parts as are governed by the Law of the C. c. 33, 34, " *Danes*, of Mulcts incurred for fighting, refusing to goe out in the Militia, break- & 35. *Apud* " ing the Peace, and violent entry of an House, except he honour any man else, *Jornal.* " by granting these Royalties to him. The like is to be said of such an one as " harbours or relieves one that is made incapable of the King's Peace. If any " Judge have for hatred or lucre perverted Justice, by the Law of the *English* he " is to pay to the King the value of his Head, and also to be removed from his " place, or redeem it as the King shall please, except he plead that what he did " was out of ignorance, and then he must confirm this Assertion by Oath. By " the Law of the *Danes* he is to incur the Mulct of the breach of the Law, ex- " cept he plead Ignorance. In case any oppose or refuse to submit to lawfull " Judgment, let the Mulct be theirs that are concerned. If it belong to the " King the Fine shall be an Hundred Shillings, if to the Earl Sixty Shillings, if " to the Hundred thirty. By the *English* Law, if all be concerned, all are to be " pay'd. But by the Law of the *Danes*, if any one make opposition to the just " administration of the Law, he is to pay *Lahslite*.

136. This

136. This word *Lahslite* is *Danish*, and first found in those *English Danish* Laws. It signifies properly the *Transgression* or *Breach of the Law*, but here secondarily, the *penalty incurred for that breach.* The Reader must take notice, that though the *Danes* mingled here with the *English*, yet both Nations preserved their own common Laws and Customs. The *English* for as much as can be perceived, to every several sort of offences assigned generally their several Mulcts, which they called *Gildwites*. But the *Danes* punished several offences by one sort of Animadversion called *Lahslite*. Therefore in these Laws often occurs, *Let the* English *man be punished with Gildwite*, and *the* Danish *with Lahslite*. But though this one punishment was common with them for several Offences, yet was it various in quantity according to the condition of the Party offending. As, *a man of liberal condition his Lahslite was five Marks, His that possessed Bocland three Marks, that of a Ceorle or Countreyman twelve Ores.* Here we have what answers to the *English Twelfhind*, *Sexhind* and *Twihind* men. Some have imagined, that when *Lahslite* is mentioned in general terms or *Wite* in reference to the *English*, the value of them is *twelve Ores*, because of that Article in the League, renewed betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrun*, which ordains, that if a Priest deny Baptism, where it is requisite, he shall pay *Wite* with the *English*, or *Lahslite* with the *Danes*, that is, saith the Text, *twelve Ores*. But this was the lowest sort of these Mulcts, neither can we imagine that the punishment for breach of all Laws was the same, or not fitted to the height of the Crime.

Ab Anglo Danorum lah, lex, & ſlite *raptio, violationes adhuc dicimus* slit in two.

gilspite mid Englum ⁊ mid Denum lahslite.

Somner. in Glossar. ex Textu Roffensi.

C.3.

137. The fifteenth Law of *Cnute* confirms that of King *Alfred*, " Whereby is " ordained, that he that by defamation does another man damage in his Body " or Fortunes, and is convicted of falshood by the proofs of the Party, have his " Tongue cut out, except he redeem it with the value of his Head. The sixteenth " also, as other Laws before mentioned, will have no Complaints made to the " King, except relief cannot be had in the Hundred, at the Meeting whereof all " are to be present, or be amerced for their absence. The seventeenth requires, " that the Burhgemote be held thrice a year, and the Sciregemote twice or oft- " ner, whereat the Bishop and Alderman are to be present to those purposes as has " been before said. The eighteenth will have no man by taking away Pledges, " or distraining to doe right to himself against any man, except he have four times " dimanded it, and expected right to be done him in vain in the Hundred; then " he has liberty to get his own where he can. The nineteenth commands, that " every one of free condition put himself into some Hundred and Tithing as he " desires, that being in a condition to purge himself he may also be in capacity to " claim from another the value of his Head. Otherwise none that exceeds twelve " years, in case he receive any wrong, shall be capable of enjoying the same Pri- " vilege with a Free man. Be he Master of a Family or a Reteiner, he must be " entred into some Hundred or other, and must have Fidejussours or Sureties for " his appearance in case he be accused of any Crime. Some great men, as they " can doe it, protect their Servants, giving out sometimes, that they are Free, o- " ther times that they are Slaves, but we not induring any such unjust practice, com- " mand, that every one of twelve years of Age give security by Oath, that he " will neither steal himself, nor be accessory to the Theft of any other. Thus doth he revive what King *Alfred* had before cautioned, that no Freeman should be without Society, without Law, or live at randome, without this most Effieacious Curb of Suretyship, by being thus received. And to what was before, adds this Caution of *twelve years*, beyond which for the publick Peace and security none were to live without being admitted and received into some Hundred and Tithing.

C.15. Sax. c.36. Apud Jornal.

C.16. Sax. c.37. Apud Jornal.

C.17. Sax. c.38. Apud Jornal.

C.18. Sax. c.39. Apud Jornal.

C.19. Saxonic. c. 140, 41. Apud Jornal.

ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος. *Ut apud Homerum ait Nestor.*

138. The twentieth Law of King *Canute* " so far indulges a man unblamea- " ble and of good repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, nor was " cast by the Ordeal, that his single purgation be accepted. But a man of the " contrary reputation shall either be compelled to take his single Oath in three " Hundreds, or a threefold one according to the custome of that Court, or be " put to the Ordeal. But a single Purgation is to be made with a threefold " preparatory Oath. A man of good esteem may have some faithfull man in his " stead to be his Prejurour, or else he must doe it himself; for a preparatory " Oath is never to be omitted. The one and twentieth forbids any man to " have the privilege of vouchery, except by sufficient Witness to prove from whom " he

C.20. Sax. c.42. & 43. Apud Jornal.

C.21. Sax. c.43. Apud Jornal.

Sect. 12. " he had the Goods that are found with him. The Witnesses must affirm, as " they love God and their Lords, that they have most religiously born testi- " mony; and that both by their Eyes and Ears they are assured that he rightly " came by the thing in question. The twenty second revives the Laws about " buying without Witness, forbidding any thing to be bought above the value " of four pence without the testimony of four Credible Witnesses. In case any " one buy any thing contrary to this Law, if any one challenge the thing so " bought, the Buyer shall not have the benefit of Vouchery, but restore him " the thing, with the just price of it, and a Mulct to whom of right it belongs. " But if the thing was bought by legal Testimony, he shall have thrice allowed " him the liberty of Vouchery, and the fourth time the thing is to be delive- " red to the Owner, except some other make use of his right in challenging it " to be his. For neither doth it seem fitting to us that any one should chal- " lenge a thing when there are Witnesses to disprove it, and consequently he is " convicted to be guilty of Fraud or Malice; neither that what was stole should " be recovered within a less time than six Months.

C.22. Sax.c.44. Apud Jornal.

139. The twenty third " directs, that if a man of evil report absent himself " from the Publick Meetings thrice, at the fourth time some of that Court go " thither, and if they can get no Sureties for his appearance, to apprehend him " alive or dead, to seize on all he hath, and when the just pretenders have re- " ceived the true value of what they lay claim to, then of that which is left " the Lord shall have one half, and the Hundred the other. If any of the " Court, of Kin or Stranger, refuse to goe, he shall for that fine to the King " in an hundred and twenty Shillings. Of those that are taken in the manner " of stealing, or betraying their Lords, their lives shall in no wise be spared. " The twenty fourth forbids one Accusation to be superseded by another, but " as the Hundreders shall think fit, orders the first to proceed. The next for- " bids also the harbouring of a man above three days, except recommended by " him he formerly served: As also to remove his Servant from his House till he " have purged himself of what is laid to his Charge. That which follows de- " nounceth, that if any one meet a Thief and permit him to pass without dis- " covering him, shall pay the utmost Farthing of the value of the man's head, be " it as much as it will, or by a full and perfect Oath make it good that he knew " nothing of his Theft. And if he cried out against him, and those that heard " him would not pursue the Robber, they shall be punished as contumacious a- " gainst the King, except they make void the suspicion. The twenty seventh, " In case a man be of evil report in the Hundred, and be accused by three se- " veral men, admits of no purgation but by threefold Ordeal. But if his Lord " affirm that he hath neither broken his Oath, nor since the Council held at " *Winchester* been cast by the Ordeal, out of that Hundred the Lord shall " take one or two men of Credit, and with them make Oath, that he neither " hath broken his Faith formerly given, nor been condemned by the Ordeal, " nor paid nothing for stealing; except some Reeve or Officer there be whose " authority may have weight sufficient to clear him without these Oaths. If they " make their Oaths, the Accused shall be at choice whether he will be tryed " by single Ordeal, or make an Oath in three Hundreds, which in proportion " shall answer to one Pound and thirty Pence. But in case they refuse to " swear he shall goe under the Examination of threefold Ordeal after this " manner.

C.23. Sax.c.45. Apud Jornal. & 46.

C.24. Sax.c.47. Apud Jornal.

C.25. Sax.c.48. Apud Jornal.

C.26. Sax.c.49. & 50. Apud Jornal.

C.27. Sax.c.51. Apud Jornal.

The manner of Examination by threefold Ordeal.

140. " The Accuser must find five Persons who shall be Prejurours, and he " himself shall be the sixth. As soon as the Accused is cast, the first time he " shall pay double damages to the Accuser, and to his Lord, if he have shewn " himself worthy of it, the full value of his own Head, and give Sureties that " he will abstain from all Crimes for the time to come. But in case he be cast " the second time, he shall have no liberty of making any Compensation, but " his Hands, or Feet, or both, if the heinousness of the offence require it, shall " be cut off. But if after this he doth not leave off his former Courses but " still commit more Villanies, then as they shall think fit that are concerned, " either his Eyes shall be pull'd out, his Nose cut off, his Ears or his Upper " lip, or his Skin be drawn over his Ears for an Example, with a respect to the " safety of his Soul. If he flie and escape the Judgment of Ordeal, his Sureties " shall make full satisfaction to the Accuser, and to the King or some other that " deserves it, the value of his Head. But if his Lord be accused for having been " accessory to his escape after the Fact committed, with five men of credit he " must purge himself, which if he doe, he shews himself to be worthy of the

" va-

" value of his Servant's Head. If he doe not, the King shall have the value of " the Head, and the Thief shall by all men be taken as excluded from the be- " nefit of the Law. Sect. 12.

141. " The twenty eight will have every Master to be Fidejussour, or respon- " sible for the appearance of all his Family. And if any of his Servants be im- " peached, he shall answer it in that Hundred where the other brings the Action. " In case any of them accused of a Crime run away, his Master shall pay the va- " lue of his Head to the King. If the Master be accused as accessory to his flight, " he shall purge himself by five men of good repute. If he do not acquit " himself he shall pay to the King the value of his Head, and his Servant shall " be Outlaw'd. The twenty ninth enacts, that if a Bondman or Slave be by the " Ordeal condemned, he shall first be marked with an hot Iron, and if cast the " second time, be put to death. The thirtieth ordains, that if a man be of evil re- " port so as no man speaks well of him, the Reeve (the *Sheriff* doubtless is " meant) shall take security for his appearance when he is called, which if he " doe not give, he shall be put to death and buried in a prophane place: And if " any one stand up in his defence, he shall incur the same punishment. And if " any Officer neglect or refuse to put this in Execution, he shall by one univer- " sal Sentence pay an hundred and twenty Shillings to the King. The thirty " first wills the same manner of Purgation of Criminals be used in all Boroughs. " The next directs, that if a man be destitute of all Friends or be a Stranger so " that he hath none to be bound for him, such an one, if accused, shall be sent " into Custody to be examined by the Ordeal. That which follows sentenceth " such as are convicted to have forsworn themselves upon the Gospels or *Sacra*, " to loose their Hands, or to give half the value of their Heads to the Lord and " the Bishop. The thirty fourth accounts it of small moment, that one who has " openly born false Witness have no Credit given to his Testimony for the " time to come; but orders, that he moreover pay to the King or the Lord " the Fine wont to be paid in the room of the Neck being tyed, called " *Healsfange*.

C.28 *Sax.c.52. Apud Jornal.* C.29 *Sax.c.53. Apud Jornal.* C.30 *Sax c.54. Apud Jornal.* 31. 32. 33. 34.

142. The twelve Laws that follow next in course respect Ecclesiastical Matters, and therefore to such we must refer them. " The forty seventh requires, " that Adultery be punished more or less as the Circumstances be, affirming it " bad for a Married Man to lie with a Maid, much more with another Man's " Wife or one in Religion. The forty eight directs, that Incest be punished ei- " ther with the value of the Head, with a Mulct, or the loss of the whole Estate, " there being a difference betwixt abusing ones own Sister and another Kinswo- " man more remote. The next Chastizes him that Ravishes a Widdow or a Vir- " gin with the payment of the value of his own Head. The fiftieth denoun- " ceth, that if a Man's Wife be convicted to have lain with another Man, she " shall for ever be noted as Infamous, and her Husband shall have all that be- " longs to her; besides she shall loose her Nose and her Ears. But if she be " onely accused of Whoredom, and in the Tryal be cast, the Bishop in such case " is to be Judge, and commanded in his Judgment to be severe. As for Married men the next Law enjoyneth, that " if one lie with his own Maid Servant he " forfeit her and make satisfaction both to God and Man: If besides his Wife " he keep a Concubine, the Priest shall deny him all Christian Privileges till he " put her away, and as well by his forbearance for the future as in other things " according to the Bishop's direction, he have made ample satisfaction. That " which follows banishes Strangers with all their Vices and Fortunes out of the " Land if they do not bridle their Lusts. By the fifty third, If a Man upon " premeditated malice kill another, he shall be delivered up to the kindred of the " slain. If he be onely accused of the Murther and be found guilty, the Bishop " in that case shall be his Judge.

C.47 *Sax.c.75. Apud Jornal.* C.48 *Sax.c.76. Apud Jornal.* C.49 *Sax.c.77. Apud Jornal.* C.50 *Sax.c.58. Apud Jornal.* C.51 *Sax.c.79, & 80. Apud Jornal.* C.52 *Sax.c 81. Apud Jornal.* C.57 *Sax.c.82. Apud Jornal.*

143. " By virtue of the fifty fourth Law, whosoever " Conspires against the King, or his Lord shall forfeit Life " and Fortunes, except he purge himself by threefold Or- " deal. By order of the fifty fifth, He that breaks his " Faith given to the King shall forfeit five Pounds; if it " was to an Archbishop or great Nobleman three Pounds, " if to a Bishop or Alderman two. If any fight in the " Court, by the next that follows, it's Capital except the " King will pardon it. The fifty seventh punishes him that " shall disarm a man with that which they call *Heals-*

C. 54 *Sax.c.83. Apud Jornal.* C. 55. *Sax. c.84. Apud Jornal.* C. 56. *Sax. c.85. Apud Jornal.* C. 57. *Sax. c. 86. Apud Jornal.*

" *fange*;

Sect. 12. " *fange*, if he binds him, with half the value of his Head.
" The next restrains the violence of Souldiers, ordaining, C. 58. *Sax. c.* 87. *Apud Jornal.*
" that if in an Expedition any break the Peace he shall ei-
" ther forfeit his life or the value of it; and if he plun-
" der make sufficient Compensation. That which follows, C. 59. *Sax. c.* 88. *Apud Jornal.*
" declares, that he that breaks into another man's House,
" according to the Law of the *English*, is to pay five Pounds to the King; if it
" be done where the Law of the *Danes* obtaineth, he must be punished according
" to their Custome. And if he be justly killed in the Attempt, nothing shall be
" forfeited upon that account. The sixth ordains, That if
" one man rob another of any thing, he restore the thing C. 60. *Sax. c.* 89. *Apud Jornal.*
" together with the value of it and pay the value of his
" Head to the King. The sixty first declares breaking C. 61. *Sax.* Burbnec. ⁊ bænnet
" down and burning of Houses open Theft, manifest Mur- ⁊ open ðyfþ. ⁊ æbenemonþ. ⁊
" thers and betraying of one's Lord, according to humane hlaforðsyce. æftep peonulo laga
" Laws, to be Crimes, for which there is no *bote* or satis- if botleaf. *c.* 90. *Apud Jornal.*
" faction to be made, by way of Mulct or Compensation.
" The next fines such as shall deny to pay toward the Re- C. 62. *Sax. c.* 91. *Apud Jornal.*
" pairing of Towns, or mending of Bridges, as shall refuse
" to go upon the Warlike Expedition, if he be an *English* men, an hundred and
" twenty Shillings to the King; if he be a *Dane*, he is to make satisfaction accor-
" ding to their Custome; or fourteen men are to be named to him, out of which
" number he may make his choice of eleven to purge himself.

144. The sixty third in like manner declares, that "all C. 63. *Sax. c.* 92. *Apud Jornal.*
" ought to contribute to the repairing of the Churches.
" The sixty fourth denounces against such as shall harbour C. 64. *Saxonic. c.c.* 93, 94. *Apud Jornal.*
" Excommunicated or Outlawed Persons, that they shall
" bring them forth to Justice, make satisfaction to those that are concern'd and pay
" the value of their Heads to the King. But in case they will keep and defend
" them, loss of Life and all their Fortunes. The next wills, that Mercy be shewn as C. 65. *Sax. c.* 94.
" much as may be to such as plainly and unfeignedly amend their ways. And by *Apud Jornal.*
" that which follows, the King declares he will put a difference betwixt small C. 66. *Sax. c.* 95.
" and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, Infirm and Healthfull, forasmuch *Apud Jornal.*
" as some men may offend out of a kind of necessity, and a distinction is to be
" made betwixt a forced and a voluntary act. Therefore will he succour where
" there is most need of his Help. The sixty seventh contains an Act of Grace C. 67. *Sax. c.* 96.
" of the King to his Subjects, whereby he relieves such as formerly were oppres- *Apud Jornal.*
" sed. He enjoyns all his Officers, that they make provision for his House out of
" his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compell no man to furnish him with
" any Conveniencies in this kind, upon pein of paying the value of their Heads
" if they impose any Mulcts upon Refusers. The sixty eighth ordains, that in C. 68. *Sax. c.* 97.
" case any man by neglect or by the suddenness of his death depart this World *Apud Jornal.*
" Intestate, his Lord shall take nothing of his Goods but what is due to him as an
" Heriot. But all is to be distributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children,
" and next Kindred justly according to their several right. The sixty ninth in or- C. 69. *Sax. c.* 97.
" der settles the Rates of the Heriots, ordering that the Heriot of every one be ac- *Apud Jornal.*
" cording to his Dignity. As first, that of an Earl eight Horses, whereof four with
" Furniture and four without, four Helmets, as many Corslets, eight Spears, as
" many Shields, four Swords, and two hundred Mancuses of Gold. That of a
" King's chief Thane four Horses, whereof two with Furniture and two with-
" out, two Swords, four Spears, and as many Shields, one Helmet, one Corslet,
" and fifty Mancuses of Gold. The Heriot of an Inferiour Thane an Horse with
" Furniture and Arms, or amongst the West *Saxons* the sum that is paid called
" *Halsfange*, in *Mercia* and East *England* two Pounds; but amongst the *Danes*
" the Heriot of a King's Thane, who has free jurisdiction, is four Pounds. And
" if he be nearer to the King his Heriot is two Horses, whereof the one with Fur-
" niture and the other without, a Sword, two Spears, as many Targets, and fifty
" Mancuses of Gold. But the Heriot of a Thane of the lowest condition is two
" Pounds.

145. This word *Heriot*, or as the true *Saxon* word is, *Heregeate*, signifies Furniture for War, given by the Vassal to his Lord, probably at first de- Ab here *exercitus* *Herezeld*,

& geote à Saxon geotan *fundere & Metaphoricè reddere vel erogare, unde Scoto Britannis q. d. Heregeld, g in z, (ut illis sæpe) transeunte.*

signed

signed for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the *Danish* or Northern Nations so frequently invaded the Land; for though the word *Here* do in the *Saxon* Language signifie an Army, yet is it in our *Saxon* Authours (when without composition) generally taken in the worst sense, for Invaders and Spoilers, a lawfull Army collected by the King for the Defence of the Nation, being called by the Name of *Fyrd*. Sir *Henry Spelman* fetches the Original of the thing from *Clodonee* King of the *Franks*, who having about the Year of Our Lord DXI. given the *Alamans* a very great overthrow, and deprived them of all Honour and Liberty, assigned them as Vassals, some to his Treasury, and some to the Church, the former being termed *Servi Fiscalini* and *Fiscales*, and these *Servi Ecclesiastici*. He ordained, that when any Master of a Family Died, the Officer of the King, or Bishop should seize upon the best Horse he had, or the Cloths of most value. Some are of opinion, that to this *Heriot* succeeded what was afterward called *Relief*; but that these were several is manifest in this, that sometimes both an *Heriot* and *Relief* were paid from the same Lands, and an *Heriot* had place where an Heir did not succeed in the Patrimony, which *Relief* never had. Mr. *Lambard* thought that the *Normans* when they Conquered the Land, and spoiled the inhabitants of all their Arms and furniture for War, remitted the *Heriot*, and took Money in its stead. Most probable it is, that *Heriot* and *Relief* were different, and that Vassals in the *English Saxon* times contributed those Habiliments of War to their Lords, towards the Expulsion of those Northern Thieves and Invaders, as we said. Their Land they held on that condition with that burthen and service, and therefore they held them as Feudataries. *Heriots* were in use in the Infancy of *Fees*, when *Fees* were held in a more general and Law sense, as we have already demonstrated. *Relief* succeeded when they were grown up to more regulation and certainty, clothed with new circumstances, of Succession, and the like. The giving of Horses and Arms by Vassals to their Lord, was a thing also practised by the *Germans* and *Italians*.

Sect. 12.

Fyrd. *In voc. Heriotum.*

Temp. Conradi primi vide Sigonium de Reg. Italiæ. lib. 8.

146. To make an end of King *Cnute* his Laws, The seventieth " Confirms " to a Woman and her Children the Seat and Habitation which her Husband enjoyed. But if there were any Suits commenced against the Man " when living, his Heir must answer them. The seventy first Requires Widows to continue in Widowhood twelve months, and then permits them " to Marry. If a Woman Marry before her twelve months be out, she is " to loose her Dower, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come, " in such case, to the next akin; and he that Marries her shall pay the value " of his Head to the King, or whomsoever he assigns it. Nay, although she " was taken by force she shall loose all she had, except she depart and return " no more to this Husband. Widows are not suddenly to enter into Religion; " Widows shall not be compelled to pay their *Heriots* till twelve months be " over, especially if not able to pay before. A Woman, by the seventy second " Law, is not to be compelled to Marry against her will, nor sold, except " the Man voluntarily will give something. The next confirms what had been " formerly enacted, Concerning a Man's leaving his Weapon at another Man's " Door, and another's making ill use of it. That which follows in like manner " confirms what was Law before, Concerning a Woman's not being accessory to the Theft of her Husband. First, If a Man be convicted to have " brought stoln Goods into his House, it's the same thing as if he stole them; " but his Wife shall not be accounted guilty of Theft, except she kept it under Lock and Key. Now the Wife ought to keep the Keys of these things, " *viz.* of the Store-house, of the Chest of Cloths, and her Coffer; in any of " which if she lock up any thing, she is to be accounted guilty of Theft. " Otherwise the Wife cannot hinder her Husband from bringing any thing into " his House. It was the custome (such is the avarice of Men) for the Child " which lay in the Cradle, and never yet had eaten Meat, yea though it was " asleep, to be accounted as guilty of this Crime as if it had had understanding. *But I* (saith the King) *absolutely forbid that, with some other things that are odious to God Almighty.* Here Mr. *Selden* demandeth if from any other Fountain than this can be derived what *Henry de Bracton* and other *English* Lawyers deliver, concerning a Man's Wife being accessory to his Theft.

C. 70. Sax. c. 98. apud Jornal.

C. 71. Sax. c. 99. apud Jornal.

C. 72. Sax. c. 101. apud Jornal.

C. 73. Sax. c. 102. apud Jornal.

C. 74. Sax. c. 103. apud Jornal.

In Jan. Anglorum.

147. The seventy fifth Law " Deprives him of Life and Estate, who either " in an Expedition by Land or Sea deserts his Lord, or his Fellow Souldier; " and in such case the Lord is to have back the Land he gave him; or if it

C. 75. Sax. c. 104. apud Jornal. & 105.

was

Sect. 12. " was *Becland* it goes to the King. But in case any one dye in a Fight in the " presence of his Lord, either at home or abroad, his *Heriot* shall be remitted, " and his Children shall succeed both to his Goods and Lands, and rightly di- " vide them. The seventy sixth Gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, " and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the Sciregemote or Coun- " ty Court, to possess it quietly while he lives, and to leave it to whom he " pleaseth when he dies. The seventy seventh Gives liberty to every Man to " Hunt in his own Grounds, but forbids all under penalty to meddle with the " King's Game, especially in those places which he had Fenced by privilege. By those places thus privileged, he means those which afterwards the *Normans* called (*a*) Forests, being Ground desart and woody, most commonly exposed to the King's Wild Beasts or Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumscribed and privileged, as here he words it, Fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, Immunities, Magistrates, Judges, Officers and Servants. Concerning these Forests, he published Constitutions thirty four in (*b*) Number, which because he mentions them not in this nor in any other of his Laws, seem to have been made afterwards. But the thirtieth Article is almost the very same with this Law, forbidding all to meddle with his Game, but permitting them to Hunt in their own Grounds, (*c*) *yet without Chase.* Afterwards the *Norman* Kings made strange improvement of what he began, turning many Towns and Churches into Denns of Wild Beasts, with what success it's neither pleasing nor seasonable for us here to relate. The seventy eighth Law " requires, that *Drinclean* and other Offices of Service " due to Lords, be inviolably observed. Mr. *Lambard* interprets this *Drinclean, Honorary Gifts of Drink.* It seems the same with *Scotale*, which was Ale wherewith Fellow-Vassals joyning together were wont to entertain their Lords or their Stewards when they came to their Manors. The seventy ninth Law revives the Law before, which will have " All enjoy perfect peace, and be free from all molestation which go to, or " return from Gemotes or Publick Meetings; as now they that are Members " of Parliament. The eightieth and last, in Confirmation of all these Laws " made by the King to be observed by all his Subjects, upon any that shall " break them, for the first offence imposeth the value of his own head whe- " ther he be *English* or *Dane*; for the second offence it doubles the punish- " ment; and for the third, deprives him of all his Fortunes. The King closeth all with a very Religious Exhortation to Piety, and a Prayer.

C. 76. *Sax.* c. 106. *apud Jornal.*

C. 77. *Sax.* c. 106.

(*a*) *A Latin. foris, hinc exteris Forestiere pro peregrino, Saltus autem hujusmodi Saxonibus nostris & Danis dicebantur* Buc Holt, *i. e. Saltus Cervinus; aliter* tenepalb *vel* beopalb, *q. d. ferarum stabulum.*

(*b*) *Vide eas si placet apud Spelman. in Glossar. voc. Foresta.*

(*c*). *Sine Chacea tamen quid hoc sibi velit venatores viderint.*

C. 78. *Sax. c.* 109. *apud Jornal.*

Drinclean à Sax. bpinc *&* lean *stipendium, tributum, unde nostratium* Loane.

Scotale *à Sax.* pcot (*potius* pceat) *symbolum &* ale *cerevisia.*

C. 79. *Sax.*

C. 80. *Sax.* c. 110. *apud Jornal.*

148. There are onely now remaining the Laws of King *Edward* the Confessour. These we have not published in the *Saxon* Tongue, nor as he set them forth, but as they were afterwards confirmed by *William* the Conquerour, and as Transcribed by one who had lived in the Days of *Henry* the Second, or after, who has interlaced them with things very much, sometimes Foreign to the purpose, and with tales of King *Arthur*, and other matters. At best they are a Rhapsody of things, rather telling and explaining things what they anciently were, than expressed in Legislative manner; but of such of them as make for our purpose, (as several of them do) and give us light in the Discovery of the ancient Polity or frame of Government of our *English Saxon* Ancestours, if we have not already made use of them, we shall give the Reader an Account. To pass those which are merely of Ecclesiastical Concernment. The eleventh Law or Article tells us what was the Original of *Danegeld*, declaring that *The payment of it was appointed for Pirates, which infesting the Countrey, wasted it to their utmost power. Now for repressing their Insolence,* Danegeld *was appointed to be yearly paid*, viz. *twelve pence out of every Hide of Land throughout the Kingdom, to hire those that should resist the Irruption of Pirates.* Here the Reader is to remember what we said before concerning King *Ethelred's* raising of this Money called *Danegeld*, that two sorts of Payments are called by that Name, *viz.* that which upon occasion was raised to give the *Danes* wherewith to buy off their Hostilities now and then as the case required, and that other which was imposed for procuring *Danish* Ships and Men to restrain the

11. *De Danegeldo, Danegeldum redditio propter piratas primitus statuta est, &c.*

Danegeld laid upon Hides.

the Irruptions and Insolencies of the Northern Rovers, the former (as we said was upon occasion, but this was Annual. As for the payment of the latter, the Custome was, according to the Laws of that Age, that the Richer sort should be taxed according to the number of Hides, as is evident from *Doomsday* Book, written in the time of King *William* the first. Now as to the Rate, *Marianus Scotus*, *Hoveden*, and *Florentius Wigornienſis*, all tell us that at that time whosoever possessed three hundred and ten *Cassatas* or *Hides* of Land, was charged with the building of one Ship, and a Coat of Armour and an Helmet was imposed upon nine, or as *Huntingdon* and others upon eight; all being rated proportionably after this manner, who were owners of more or fewer Hides, or of part of an Hide. *Huntingdon* saith an *Hide* was so much Land as could be Tilled with one Plough in one year. But others of the quantity of *Hides* determine otherwise. And indeed it was various according to the different Customs of several Countries. Sect. 12

149. Some there are who write, that two Shillings were yearly laid upon every *Hide* of Land for suppression of those Pirates, so that they make the payment double to what is said by this Law ascribed to King *Edward*. But as they differ herein without any reason; so do they with as little discretion set the yearly Tax at the rate of thirty eight thousand Pounds; as others do at thirty thousand. For at what Rate soever that Tribute was paid to the King according to the alteration of times, it appears for certain from our several Histories that the Stipends usually allowed to the *Danish* Fleet were so uncertain, that they were sometimes higher, sometimes lower, as it could scarcely otherwise happen, according to the number of Ships and Forces, that were necessary for defence of the Realm. This payment being higher or lower as occasion served, was to be sure paid till the year MLI, or the tenth of this King *Edward the Confessour*. " But then " as *Ingulphus* himself tells us, in regard that the Earth did not bring forth its " fruits in such plenty as it was wont, but devoured many People by Famine, " thousands dying through scarcity of Corn and want of Bread, the Pious King " being moved with Compassion towards the People, released that most grievous " Tribute called *Danegeld* to all *England* for ever. It is reported (saith he) by " some, that this most Religious King being brought by his Officers into the Trea- " sury to see the *Danegeld* that was collected, and to take a view of so vast an " heap of Treasure, stood amazed at the first sight, protesting that he beheld the " Devil dancing upon the heap of Money, and extremely rejoycing, whereup- " on he immediately commanded it should be restored to its former Owners, " and would not keep any of so cruel an Exaction, but remitted it for ever, " *viz.* In the thirty eighth year after *Swane* King of *Denmark* commanded it to be " paid every year to his Navy, in the time of his Father *Ethelred*. So *Ingulphus*, with whom agree both *Hoveden* and *Matthew* of *Westminster*, that King *Edward* remitted it for ever. Yet whatever this good King might resolve or order, the Dialogue belonging to the Exchequer makes it to have been paid for fourteen years longer, till the time of the Conquerour; nay, during his Reign, and the Reigns of his Successours, when they either had or suspected a War with Foreigners. From *Hoveden* it appears, as well as from the Interpolatour of St. *Edward*'s Laws, that it was paid to *William Rufus* and King *Stephen*, and from the Accompts of the Exchequer, sometimes to *Henry* the second, after which it grew out of date, other Courses being taken to scower the Seas and defend the Kingdom, of which we are not here to take notice.

Dialogus Scaccarii M. S. Item Math. Westm. & Math. Paris. Vide Seldenum in Mari Clauso, lib. 2. c. 11.

150. The twelfth Article of St. *Edward*'s Laws declares, That *the Peace of the King is manyfold. As sometimes it's given by his own hand, which the* English *call* Cyninger honde realbe gryþ. This was given to places and Persons by way of Privilege as to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, in which it is termed Cyninger hand gryþ. *Another sort of Peace is on that day he is Crowned, which lasts eight days. That at* Christmas, *which holds also eight days, as also at the Feasts of* Easter *and* Whitsontide. *Another sort is given by his Brief or Letters. And another there is belonging to the four great High-ways,* viz. *Watlingstreet, Foss, Hickenildstreet, and Ermingstreet, whereof two are extended to the length, and two to the bredth of the Kingdom. Another yet there is of the Rivers of note, which convey Provisions to Cities or Towns.* Then doth this Writer declare the Forfeitures incurred for breach of these several sorts of the King's Peace, as to which we refer the Reader to the Laws and Customs already mentioned, as well as to what he here writes thereof; onely here mentioning this, that the Breach of the King's Peace in those great High-ways and Rivers was punishable in the greater Assemblies or

Art. 1.

Sect. 12. Courts of Judicature, but that in the lesser Ways and Waters was subject to the Law of the County. The fourteenth declares, That *Treasure found in the Earth is the King's, except found in a Church or Church-yard; in this case if it be Gold it's all the Kings; if Silver one half goes to him and another to the Church.* 14.

151. The fifteenth treateth of *Murther*, and declares, That *if any one was murthered, the Murtherer was wont to be enquired for in the Village or Town where the Body was found. If he was discover'd, he was delivered up to the King's Justice within eight days after the Fact committed. In case he could not be found, a Month and a day was allowed for search after him, within which term, if he could not be found, forty six Marks were gathered out of the Town, and if it was not able to pay so much, what it could not the Hundred was liable to. But forasmuch as this payment could not be made in the Towns, and Inconveniencies arose, the Barons took care that six and forty Marks should be paid out of the Hundred, and being sealed up with the Seal of some one Baron of the County, they were sent to the Treasurer, and by him kept so sealed up for a Year and a Day, within which time if the Murtherer was found out, upon his delivery to the King's Justice they were to be repayed; but in case within that time he could not be discovered, then were the Kindred of the Murthered Party to have six of the Marks, and the King the other forty. If he had no Kindred his Lord was to receive it; and if no Lord his sworn and devoted Friend and Companion. If none of these there were, the King should have the whole Sum, all men living under his Peace and Protection.* Now the sixteenth Article tells us, that *Murthers were found out and appointed* (that is this way of discovery and punishing the Hundred if the Party could not be found) *in the days of* Cnute *the* Danish *King, who after he had gotten* England *and setled it in Peace, at the request of the* English *Barons sent back his Army into* Denmark. *These Barons became Sureties to the King, that all that staid behind with him should in all things enjoy perfect Peace. But in case an* Englishman *killed any of them, if he could not clear himself by the Judgment of God, that is, by Water or Iron* (meaning Ordeal) *Justice was to be executed upon him, And in case he escaped, Payment was to be made as is aforesaid.* 15. 16.

152. That which made King *Canute* thus fearfull and cautious, was the memory of the Massacre committed upon the *Danes*, during the Reign, and by the Command of King *Ethelred*. The sense of this made him keep an Army on foot along time, which sorely oppressing the People gave occasion to the Request of the Nobility, (the *Norman* Interpolatour calls them Barons) and to the making of this Law. And when the *Normans* had conquered the Countrey, they Conscious to themselves that from their usage of the Natives, they could expect no better entertainment than what the *Danes* had received, made use of it for their own safety. If a *Norman* was found slain, his death was more grievously by far punished than that of an *Englishman*; the onely mitigation of it was if the *Englescheria* of him that was killed could be made out, that is, that he was an *Englishman*, and neither *Dane* nor *Norman*, nor any Stranger. Hence came this word *Englesceria*, *Englecheria*, or *Engleceria* to be used as the name of this Law. For, as *Bracton* writes, when any one was killed it was presumed he was a *Frenchman*, *Nisi Englecheria*, i.e. *quod Anglicus sit probetur per parentes & coram Justitiaris præsentetur*, *Except his Englecheria, that is, that he was an* Englishman *could be proved by his Relations and presented before the Justices.* But this Law was abrogated by the Statute of the Fourteenth of *Edward* the Third as *Stanford* writes, who delivers also that this *Englecheria* was an Institution of the Common Law, whereby you may take notice, saith Sir *Henry Spelman*, that our Modern Lawyers attribute that to the Common Law, whereof they can find neither beginning in their Annals nor in their Book of Statutes. But according to this History, and the Original of it, well enough doth *Bracton* define *Murther* to be *the killing of a Man privately, none either being present, knowing, hearing, or seeing.* But *Fleta* seems beside the matter, saying, that it was not *Murther* except it was proved that the Party slain was *English* and no Stranger, as Dr. *Cowell* understands him, who rightly observes, that at this day *Murther* is otherwise to be defined, *viz.* by *prepensed malice, whether secretly or openly, be the man what he will.*

Fictitium Substantivum à Saxonic. Enghrc. *Anglicus. Quasi Anglietas vel nativitas Anglica.*

Vide Bracton. L. 3. Tract. 1. c. 15.

Pl. Cor. l. 1. c. 2.

Ex quo animadvertas hodiernos Jurisconsultos id legi Communi tribuere, cujus initium nec in Annalibus suis nec in Statutorum Volumine deprehenderint. In Glossar. voc. Englecheria.

133. The

153. The seventeenth Article concerning the *Duty of the King, and the Right and Appendices of the Kingdom of* Britain, *as also the Epistle of* Eleutherius *to* Lucius *King of* Britain, savour so much of the Interpolatour, that to him we leave them. The eighteenth *Declares the King's Power by virtue of his Royal Dignity, to pardon loss of Life and Member, yet so as the Malefactour make satisfaction to such as he hath injured, according to his power, and find sureties for his good behaviour, which if he doe not, he is to be banished.* The nineteenth in like manner, *Declares his Royal Prerogative to be such, that he may set at liberty a Captive or Prisoner, whereever he comes in any City, Borough, Castle or Village, or if he meet him in the way, by his mere Word or Command. Yet shall he that is so set at liberty, make satisfaction to the injured Party. But a Murtherer, Traytour, or one Guilty of like Crimes, although the King pardon him as to Life and Member, according to the Law, shall in no wise stay in the Countrey, but shall swear that he will depart to the Sea Coast within a Term set him by the Justice, and pass over as soon as he can get the opportunity of a Ship and Wind. And in case any such be perjured and stay in the Land, any one as he meets them, may doe Justice upon them. And if any one entertain such a Malefactour for one single night, he shall be fined in the highest degree, according to the Laws of the* English *or* Danes; *for the second night he shall pay double, and for the third be punished as an Associate and Abettour of Malefactours. If such leave any Wives behind them, which by the Kindred of the murthered Party, are accused as conscious to, and partakers with their Husbands in the Crimes committed, they shall by Ordeal purge themselves, by which if they make their Innocence appear, they shall continue free with their Dowers and Emoluments they have by Marriage. As for their Children born or begotten, before the Commission of the Fact, they shall neither be Outlawed, nor loose their Inheritance.* Sect. 12. 17. 18. 19.

154. The twenty seventh Article, *gives leave to harbour a Stranger or Foreigner, whom in* English *they termed* Cuþ ⁊ uncuþ *that is, known or unknown, as a Guest for two nights together: If within this space he transgress, he that harbour'd him shall not be answerable for him. But if any one be injured, and complaint is made, that it was by the Counsel and Advice of him that lodged him, he shall with two of his honest Neighbours by Oath purge himself as to the Advice and Fact, or otherwise make satisfaction. But in case any one lodge a Stranger three nights, and he commit any offence, he shall be answerable for him, as for one of his own Family, according to the* English *saying; two nights a Guest, and the third night one of the House. If he cannot produce the Malefactour, he shall have allowed him a month and a day to doe it, within which time, if the Malefactour be taken he shall make satisfaction if he can, and with corporal punishment, if it be so adjudged. If he cannot find him within that time, he shall make compensation for the loss sustained, and undergoe the forfeiture, and if the Justice have him suspected, shall purge himself by the Tryal of the Hundred or Shire.* The twenty eighth, *wills that if any one bring any Cattel or Money into a Town, and say he found them, before he bring them to his own or any other man's House, he carry them to the Church, and before the Priest, the chief Officer of the Town, and the better sort of Men declare all he found, whatever it be. Then shall the Officer of the Town send to the four next Towns adjoyning, for the Priests and the Officers, who shall bring with them three or four of the Inhabitants of the best note of each Town, before whom all that is found shall be produced and shewn. They being Witnesses, the Officer of the Town where the finder dwells, shall keep the thing by him till the morrow, and then goe to the Governour of that Hundred, of which his Town is a Member, and to him he shall shew all. If it was found in the Ground belonging to a Lord who hath not his Customes or Privileges,* viz. Sake *and* Soke, *the Finder shall deliver all up to the Governour of the Hundred if he will receive it, with good witness. But if the Lord have such Privileges, he shall be answerable to him in his Court.* 27. tpanight gert þnis night agen hinej 28.

155. The twenty ninth Article, *will have all Men know, that all Jews, wheresoever they are in the Kingdom, ought to be under the King's Liege Protection, and Safeguard, neither without his Licence can any of them put themselves under any Rich Man. For the Jews and all theirs are the Kings. And in case any one detain them or their money, the King shall make enquiry if he please of his own.* The thirtieth; *gives warning to such as have the King's Peace, either by his Hand or his Letters, that they be faithfull to him; as also that they must necessarily observe, and keep it inviolably towards all others, neither because of this Protection, detain other Mens Rights, whether of their Lords or Neighbours; forasmuch as he is not worthy of this Peace, that will not himself strictly observe it. In case out of too much con-* 29. 30.

Sect. 12. *fidence therein, he proudly injure any man, he shall make double compensation for the loss which the* English *call* Aryphilthet. The thirty first requires, *that the King's Peace, granted by his own Hand, that of the eight days of his Coronation, of the Feasts lately mentioned, and the others granted by his Breve or Letters, if broken, have the same way of punishment or forfeiture, and that by the greatest way of tryal, had in the County where it was broken; as thus. In* Danelaga, *or after the Law of the* Danes; *by eighteen hundreds, which number makes up seven times twenty pounds and four: because the* Danes *had the forfeiture of the hundred; those of* Norway *had eight pounds, Therefore eight being multiplied by eighteen, make up an hundred and fourty four. And this was not done without cause: For of these eight pounds, the King had an hundred Shillings, and the Consul* (Earl he means) *of the County fifty, he having the third penny of forfeitures: But the Dean of the Bishop in whose Deanry the Peace was broken, the other ten remaining, the Peace of the King,* viz. *granted with his own Hand, that of his Coronation, and the Feasts abovesaid of* Christmas, Easter *and* Whitsontide. C. 31. *De Emendatione Pacis.*

156. The thirty sixth Article directs that, *if after a Man be slain as a Thief or Robber, any complaint be made to the Justice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lyes buried amongst Thieves, and such like Malefactours, and offers to make it good, that he first give security for so doing.* " Then shall a month and " a day be allowed him to bring together the Kindred of the dead man, of both " sorts, twelve by his Fathers side, and six by his Mothers. In case these eigh- " teen will take the matter upon them, together with him who first complained " and hath given security, let every one of them give also security with a Sword, " and afterward find sureties, who shall be able to pay his *Were*, in case they " cannot make good what they have undertaken. Then must he that killed the " man give security, and find sureties to ingage that he was justly slain, and as " a Thief justly lyes, according to the Law amongst such Malefactours. And " first, he must shew in what Theft or Robbery, and how he was slain. If it " appear that he was taken alive, let him name the Justice and Judge, and pro- " duce his lawfull Witnesses out of the Neighbourhood, which Persons, if they " warrantize that Justice was rightly done upon the man as a Thief, he that kil- " led him shall be acquitted: and those that made their complaint shall forfeit " their ingagement as to the Judges and Witnesses. But if they make it out " that he was unjustly slain, he that killed him shall forfeit his obligation to the " Justice of the Bishop, and find sureties for doing what is right: then shall the " Justice of the Bishop (his Officer he means) cause a Procession to be made " with a Priest, habited in an Albe Maniple, and Stole, and Clerks in their Sur- " plices, with Holy-water and a Cross, the Candlesticks and Incense-pot, with " Fire and Incense going before, and the Friends of the dead having taken his " Body up, shall put it on a Biere, and carry it to the Church, where Mass being " said for him, and other Rites performed, they shall Inter him as becomes a " Christian. Then within sixteen days, shall he that killed him pay to the Bishop " three forfeits. One for killing an honest Man instead of a Thief, another be- " cause he Buried his (Christian) * Brother as a Thief; and the third, because " he gave security to acquit himself but could not. C. 36. *De latronibus.*

* *Quod Anglì dicunt* hir emne Cpurtenȳ

157. The thirty seventh Article or Chapter, tells us that King *Edward* defended or *prohibited Usurers, forbidding them to remain in any part of his Kingdom. And if any was convicted to have exacted Usury, he was to forfeit all his Estate, and be outlaw'd.* And you must know that he heard it said in the Court of the *French* King, while he there sojourned, *that Usury was the root of all Vices.* The next Article acquaints us, that in the same Law also was *prohibited the buying of quick Cattel, or used Cloth without sureties or good witnesses. If it was a thing of Gold or Silver, or seemed such to be, it should not be bought without the testimony of Goldsmiths or Minters, who if they saw it belonged to the Church or Treasury, should take care it were not done without security. In case the seller could find no sureties, the thing with what belonged to it, should be kept till his Lord came or some other that would warrantize him. If any one bought any thing without these circumstances, he should forfeit it, and otherwise be punished. Afterward the Justice was to enquire by the lawfull men and those of best account in the Town, Village, or Hundred where the buyer dwelt, of what manner of life he was, and whether ever he was charged with any other misdemeanour. If it was affirmed that he was a Man of good repute,*

C. 37. *De Usurariis, Usurarios quoq; defendit Rex Edwardus. Normanus hic scriptor utitur voce defendit ut hodierni Franci pro vetare, prohibere. Nostrates etiam aliquibus in locis adhuc dicunt,* God defend, *pro Deus veret,* God forbid.

C. 38. *De emptionibus sive fidejussoribus, quod Anglicè dicitur fastermannes.*

repute, he should purge himself by the Judgment or Sentence of the County, that he knew not the seller to be guilty as to the sale, neither of any other crime, and if he could, should tell who, and where he was: whereupon the Justice should enquire after him to bring him to Tryal; and if he could not be found he should be outlaw'd. Now the thirty ninth and last, farther acquaints us, that whereas it is *said that no man should buy any quick Cattel without sureties*; The Butchers of the Cities and Towns, whom the *English* called *Fleshmongers*, made complaint that they every day ought to buy such Cattel, to kill and sell them; forasmuch as in the death of Cattel, their life consisted. Moreover, the Citizens, Townsmen, and the multitude, cryed out for their Customs, that about *Martinmas*, they were wont to buy Cattel in the Market, to kill against *Christmas*. Great murmuring was there amongst the People, by reason of this Law. Wherefore I am of opinion, saith our Writer, that as in other Assemblies, if the question had been put *yea* or *nay*, they would have answered the latter, and if you had been present, you should have heard private murmurings, as well as clamours and noise of the tumultuous People. Therefore the King thought fit not to take away from them these Customs that were just and prudent; witnesses and consideration of the sellers, being of force in bargaining in the King's Market.

Sect. 12.

C. 39. *De Emptoribus & Macheciris.*

158. These are they which bear the Name of the Laws of King *Edward the Confessour*, together with such as we formerly mentioned in describing the Polity of our *English Saxons*. But such as (what we hinted before) are rather to be called Rhapsodies than Laws, being Notes or Comments made upon his Laws by some *Sciolus*, some pretender in the time of the *Norman* Kings. So that when the Reader hears the Laws of St. *Edward* so much talked of, so much contended for, both by word and sword, after the Conquest, he must not understand these to have been the Laws, which are onely some scraps taken up and commented on in this manner. For indeed these Laws were said to be the Laws of the Confessour after the *Norman* Revolution, not because he made or exacted, but observed them, as the Monk of *Malmesbury* tells us. One of those that King *Canute* enacted, or rather revived with some other circumstance, being in substance formerly ordained by King *Alfred*, commanding *every one above twelve years old, to be entred into some Century and Tithing*, *Bracton* ascribes to this King, writing that this was enjoyned by the Law of *Edward the Confessour*. So this Interpolatour or Noter himself tells you, that those Laws of St. *Edward* so much desired, and at length obtained from the Conquerour, were invented and constituted in the time of King *Edgar*, his Grandfather; but after his death they were laid aside for sixty eight years, during the Reigns of the succeeding Princes. But after that King *Edward* came to the Crown by the Counsel of his Barons, he revived, repaired, adorned and confirmed this Law, and being confirmed, it was called the Law of King *Edward*, not that he first invented it, but when it had been laid aside and quite forgot, from the time of his Grandfather *Edgar*; for the said space of sixty eight years, because it was just and honest, he drew it out of the deep pit of oblivion, renewed and delivered it to be observed as his own. By these and other circumstances, we may gather that the whole Body of these Laws we have recited, or all such of them as were approved by this King *Edward*, who was a Prince of great mildness and indulgence to his People, such written Laws as were in force in his time, and such Customs as had been all along observed in the *Saxon* times, and still were kept on foot in his days, were after the *Norman* Conquest, when the People so earnestly contended for their Liberties, called by the Name of the Laws of St. *Edward*, thereby being indeed meant the *English Saxon Laws*, which received denomination from him, being in effect the last King of that Race, and one whose memory the People reverenced and preserved in an especial manner, for the great Reputation he had got of Sanctity, and the gentleness of his Disposition.

Lib. 3. *Tract.* 2.

159. Now after the *Norman* Conquest what alteration was made in those ancient Laws and Customs, by introducing the *Norman* way of *Fees*, and other matters out of that Countrey, as also after the strugling of the Barons, how far *Magna Charta* and the *Common Law* were the issue and product of these *English Saxon* Laws and Customs is not our work, especially now to enquire, lest we should exceed the Bounds of our present Period, and seem to thrust our sickle into the Corn of other Men. But this would better be done, by digesting these *Saxon* Laws into a Methodical Body under certain Heads, which seems not very hard to be accomplished. For these Laws it's more than time we dismiss them, having already committed an Extravagance, being carried farther than the general Nature of our

Design

Sect. 12. Design permits, and not to be practised as to other Nations, but that the desire of giving the Reader the most ample Knowledge of his own Countrey, that we could, hath transported us. So scant are our Histories of those times, that had it not been for these Laws, very little of the Polity of our Ancestours could have been discovered, and thence it is no wonder, if sometimes we meet in them several things that are obscure, or at this distance not perfectly to be understood. For the main they do very much contribute to the Knowledge of the *Saxon* Antiquity, the Nature of the Government with the State of those times, and the humour and temper of the People, matters of the greatest consequence in things Historical. By the Nature and Force of the Medicine, a skilfull man will know both the kind and violence of the Disease, Punishments, Censures and Cautions are the Medicines which are prescribed in the Laws. By the general Current of these Laws, which run against Theft for prevention both by Suretyship and Punishments, as we hinted before, the general Inclination of the People to that vice may be discovered. But whereas the Theft most aimed at by the Laws is that of Cattel, and such care is taken for pursuing them when stoln, this thereby is hinted to us, that the Wealth of our *Saxon* Ancestours, as of the Ancients chiefly and principally consisted in Cattel, Gold and Silver with other Goods or Houshold stuff of price and value, being not so ordinary in these days, nor some Ages after as in succeeding times. Therefore were Rents formerly paid in kind, and our Kings themselves were so paid till the time of *Henry* the Second, who changed the Custome. And in the writings of those *Saxon* and later times by the word *Pecunia*, quick Goods or Cattel are often meant, which are for explication expressed, sometimes by *Viva Pecunia*. And from their Heads or *Capita*, was framed the word *Capital*, *Capitale*, *Captale*, *Capitalia*, which signified Goods moveable or immoveable, sometimes Pledges and the Price and Value of things, and what we *English* now term *Catalla* and *Chattels*; but originally Beasts or quick Goods. But of the *Saxon* Laws so much, from the Knowledge of which as we said very much benefit may be reaped, though we go no farther than to those published by Mr. *Lambard*, those being sufficient if not more than sufficient to our Design.

Theft the chiefest vice.

The Wealth of the *English Saxons*.

The usual Subsidies, Revenues and Profits of the Kings.

Danegeld.

Heregeld.

Contribution money.

160. We have seen the Polity or Government of the *English Saxons* much by their Laws and otherwise, for the maintenance and support whereof, we must admonish the Reader to take notice what Revenues and Profits the Kings enjoyed. Besides their own Demesn-Lands, he may observe how much came to them by the way of Mulcts, so frequently occurring in the Laws. Then for *Danegeld* that much money they received yearly from the People. And for military Expeditions both by Sea and Land, they levied much money of the People, which they called *Heregeld*. By *Doomsday Book*, (which Book besides the knowledge and valuation of the Provinces, contains very many Customs in use amongst the *English Saxons*) it appears that several Towns contributed by prescription toward Naval Preparations. As to instance in some. It was a Custome at *Warwick*, if the King went by Sea against his Enemies, to send him either four Boatswanes (Sea Souldiers or Mariners) or else four pounds in money. And the City of *Exeter*, when he made any expedition by Land or Sea, served after the Rate of five Hides of Land. The three Towns of *Barnestable*, *Lydeford* and *Totnes*, paid asmuch as *Exeter* alone. The City of *Glocester* paid six and thirty Dicres of Iron, and an Hundred Iron Rods fitted to make Nails for the King's Ships. *Leicester*, if the King went against his Enemies by Sea, sent him four Horses to *London* for conveyance of Arms or other Necessaries. At *Lewes* in *Sussex*, King *Edward* the Confessour had an hundred and twenty seven Burghers at his service, who if the King went not himself in Person, but sent others to guard the Sea, collected twenty shillings of every man of what Countrey soever he were, and provided men who were to look to the Arms on shipboard. Moreover *Colchester* paid out of every House that was able six pence a year for maintenance of the King's Souldiers, upon an expedition by Sea or Land.

161. Some places held many Privileges by way of service, as *Torksey*, a Town of *Lincolnshire* upon the *Trent*, wherein before the Conquest were numbred two Hundred Burghesses, enjoyed many on this condition, that they should transport the King's Ambassadours, whensoever they came this way in their own Barges along that River, and conduct them as far as *York*. From this same survey of *England*, sufficiently is evident that most eminent Towns paid money to the King upon several accounts, and sometimes to the Earl or Alderman of the Shire. As for the later way of Subsidies, we must say with a Learned man that we cannot find

find that the *Saxon* Kings had any collected after the modern manner. But they had many Customs whereby they levied money of the People, or personal service as we have already said, and toward the Building and repairing of Cities, Castles and Bridges (as we have seen in their Laws) which they called *Burghbote* and *Brighote*. The *Danegeld* being imposed upon Hides of Land, it was afterwards called *Hidagium*, and this Name remained afterward upon all Taxes and Subsidies imposed upon Lands, for money was also imposed upon Cattel, but then it was called *Hornegeld*. When the *Normans* came in they called both these sorts, sometimes according to the *Latin* and *Greek* word *Taxes*; and sometimes according to their own word *Tallagium* from *tallier* to *cut or divide*, and sometimes according to the word usual beyond the Seas, *Auxilia* and *Subsidia*. The Conquerour had these kinds of *Taxes*, and made a Law for the manner of levying them.

Sect. 12.

Spelm. Gloss. voc. subsidium.

Hornegeld and other Taxes.

Their Customs.

Dispositions.

162. Of their Polity and Laws we have said enough. Their Customs as of all other Nations, partly proceeded from their Laws and Polity, or were adjuncts of them, and partly from their natural Dispositions and Tempers. Their Disposition, as we formerly shewed, was very fierce and warlike before Prosperity and Idleness betrayed them to effeminate Courses. By the constitution of their Government, they were to appear all once a year in Arms, which gave occasion to the Massacre of the *Danes* in the time of *Ethelred*, which custome rendred them expert and valiant by way of use and exercise. But a natural Courage they required in their Children while yet but Infants, and as the Eagle is said to try her young ones by setting their Eyes and Faces against the Sun, so those of East *England* tried the Magnanimity and Courage of their Babes by another Experiment though of a more ordinary and homely Nature. "They were wont "to set them upon the thatcht sides of their Houses, and such of them as were a-"fraid and hung timorously or cried for fear of falling, they pronounced would "be pusillanimous and Cowards; but such as laid fast hold of the Straw, clung fast "to the Thatch, and fearless would endeavour to secure themselves, with great "Acclamation they predicted, that they would be *Stoutheres*, as their term was, "or valiant, magnanimous or courageous Lords.

Experience and Courage.

The trial of it in their Infants.

Their computation of time.

163. The ordinary way of their Reckoning or Supputation of times was by *Winters*, possibly for this reason at first in barbarous times, because the memory of sharp and severe weather, as of all other things which smart, make a stronger impression in the memory. And as they preferred Winter before Summer in their Reckoning, so also Night before Day, which custome we still retain using these words, a *Sennight* and *Fortnight* for *Seven Nights*, and *Fourteen Nights* more usually than seven days, or fourteen days, even as *Tacitus* writes of the old *Germans*, their way of Computation. Their year was two fold, natural and civil. Their natural year they measured not as other Nations by the Sun, but the Moon, beginning it when she was at the full after the Autumnal Æquinoctial, when the greatest Tides usually fall out, and hence this Month they called by the Name of *Winter filleth*. For the Reader must know, that their twelve Months they equally denominated; six from Summer and six from Winter, but began the year with the first winter Month, which they accounted *October* to be, for in the days of *Beda*, the Autumnal Full-moon fell in this Month, and thereupon the beginning of the *Saxon* year was fetcht from thence, although Posterity to fix it at some certain and remarkeable time, setled themselves upon *Michaelmas* Day, a Day still observed as the beginning of the year, both as to Officers, and the letting and hiring of Grounds (the Fruits of the foregoing Year being now gathered in, and seed time arrived for the following) in many if not most places of the Land. The Civil year they derived from the five and twentieth of *December* or *Christmas* Day, the Night whereof they termed *Modranect* or the Night of Mothers, from some Ceremonies by Matrons then used, and whereas they thus began the year before their conversion to Christianity, we may imagine it was out of respect to the winter Solstice or the Full-moon thereof, for in the Days of *Julius Cæsar*, the Solstice fell on that Day.

Their years.

Nec dierum numerum ut nos sed noctium computant.

Beda.

164. As their Years so their Months were either Civil or Lunary. The later sort were thirteen in Number, for every year. The former were twelve for three ordinary years together, and in the fourth a thirteenth was added by way of Embolism, and placed at the end of Summer; but by these must also, whatever *Beda* and others write, be meant Lunary Months; for had either a solar or lunar Month been added to a civil or solar Year, the year would thereby have swollen to three hundred ninety five, or three hundred ninety three days, which would

Their Months and the Names of them.

Sect. 12 would wonderfully have perplexed the *series* of times. Now to come to the Names of their Months, and begin with the first Circle, or those of Winter; we are told by *Verstegan*, that their Month answering to *September*, they called *Gerst monat* from *Barley*, which by that Month commonly yielded was anciently called *Gerst*, the later Name of *Barley*, being given unto it by reason of the drink therewith made, called *Beer*, and from *Beerleyh* it came to be *Berleyh*, and so *Barley*. But notwithstanding what this Authour writes, yet in our ancient *Saxon* Monuments ordinarily, this Grain is called *Bere*, and thence several Names of Places derived, and so indeed from the Grain the Name came to be transferred to the Liquour, as from the place of growth to the grain it self, for *Bareley* or *Bereleyh*, signifies the Ley or Ground where the grain of *Bere* did grow. *September* was otherwise called also *Haligemonat*. That which answered to *October* had the Name of *Wynmonat*, for albeit they had not anciently Wines made in *Germany*, yet at this season they received them from the Countries adjoining. But, as we said before, this Month they also called *Winter filleth*. That we call *November*, they termed *Wintmonat* or *Windmonth*, it being then the Custome of Mariners to shrowd themselves at home till blustering *March* was over, but wheresoever *Verstegan* picked this up we have it from better Testimony, that this Month was called *Blotmonath* or the Month of Immolations, because such Cattel as were to be sacrificed they now devoted to their Gods. He tells us farther, that *December* had his due appellation given him in the Name of *Winter monat*, or *Winter month*, but that after the *Saxons* received Christianity they then out of devotion to the birth-time of Christ termed it by the Name of *Heligmonat* or *Holy month*. But *Beda* writes that our *Saxons* called *December* by the Name of *First Giuli*, as *January* by that of *Later Giuli*, for these Names were taken from the turning of the Sun, in respect to which *December* precedes *January*, though ordinarily accounted the last of all. Hence came the Feast of the Nativity or *Christmas*, happening at this time to be called *Geol*, as it is by King *Alfred*, and in the Northern parts of *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, the *G* being turned into *Y* as is usual, it is yet known by the Name of *Yeol* or *Youl*, as by the *Danes* it is termed *Jul*.

Hinc Beretun hodie Barton vicus Hordei. Berewick vel Barwick Bereham alias Barham, pro quibus hodie utimur Grange.

Geola æppa ȝeola æftepa à ȝeol & *hoc* à ȝeolben *reddere restituere (unde hodiernum* yield) *ut sic idem sit quod res ipsa postulat* ȝeólwix & *seu versatilis quòd Sol jam ad autumnale delapsus se in austrum sublevat, vide Spelm. Gloss. de Anno Saxonum.*

165. But to take along with us what *Verstegan*, writes of each Month, he tells us that *January* was called *Wolfe monat* or *Wolfe month*, because People are wont always in that Month to be in more danger to be devoured of Wolves than in any season else of the year; for that through the extremity of Cold and Snow, those Ravenous Creatures could not find of other Beasts sufficient to feed upon. Concerning *February* he adds, that they called it *Sprout Kele*, by *Kele* meaning the *Kelewurt*, which we now call *Colewurt*, the greatest Pot-wurt in time long past that our Ancestours used, and the Broth made therewith was thereof also called *Kele*. For before we borrowed from the *French* the Name of *Potage*, and that of *Herb*, the one in our own Language was called *Kele*, and the other *Wurt*: and as this *Kele-wurt*, or *Potage-herb*, was the chief Winter Wurt for the sustenance of the Husbandman, so was it the first Herb that in this Month began to yield out wholsome young Sprouts, and consequently gave thereto the Name of *Sprout-kele*. But from *Beda* we are assured that the Old *Saxons* called *February* by the Name of *Solmonath*, as the Month of Cakes, which in it they offered to their Gods. The word *Saoul* indeed of Old to the *Teutonick* Nations signified Meat, and still it is used in the *French* Language for one who is filled with Meat, or especially Drink. But here *Beda* interprets it of Cakes, which the Idolatrous *Jews* are said to have Offered to the Queen of Heaven, probably the Sun, which in the *Hebrew* is of the Feminine Gender. And the *Germans* (as *Tacitus* witnesseth) Worshipped also the Sun, and still use the same Gender. *Jerem. 7. 17.*

166. These were the Months belonging to the Winter Course. Of those of the Summer *Semicycle* the first was that answering to *March*, which (as *Verstegan* says) they called *Lenct-monat*, or according to our present Orthography *Length-month*, because at this Season the Days first begin in length to exceed the Nights. This Month being by our Ancestours so called when they received Christianity, and consequently therewith the Ancient Custome of Fasting, they called this Chief time of Fasting the Fast of *Lent*, because of the *Lenct monat*, whereon the greatest part of the Duration of this Fasting always fell, and hereof it cometh that we now call it *Lent*, it being rather the Fast of *Lent*, though

though the former Name of *Lenct monat* be long since lost, and the Name of *March* borrowed instead thereof. But though (as he writes) this Name be lost long since, yet there's another mentioned by *Beda*, which having a more ancient Original, seems also to have ceased long before it. For the *Saxons* (as he witnesseth) termed this Month by the Name of *Read monath*, from their Goddess *Rheda*, to which they Sacrificed at this time of the year. What Goddess this was, neither *Tacitus*, nor *Cæsar*, nor *Diodorus* do tell us; but the *Saxon* word *Read* signifying Council, probable it is she thence received the Name, that as (*Tacitus* writes) the *Germans* were wont to Consult at the beginning or Full of the Moon, and consequently at the Full Moon of this Month, held their great Consultations for the year ensuing. For (as Sir *Henry Spelman* well observes) *Pliny* demonstrates the Moon to be most potent at the Æquinoctials, and therefore *March* and *September* have been esteemed as most fit for such Consultations.

167. To the Month of *April* answered that which they called by the Name of *Oster* or *Eoster monath*, from their Goddess *Eostre*, as most write, whose Festival they now observed. Some call her *Goster*, and yet she was supposed to cause the Winds (which by ancient Observations were found in this Month) most commonly to blow from the East. Now East in the *Teutonick* is *Ost*, as *Ostend*, which rightly in *English* is *Eastend*, hath that Name for the Eastern situation of it, as to the Ships it appears which through the narrow Seas come from the West; so that *Oster* seems the true writing, and *Goster* to have crept in by way of mistake. But by a prophane Custome hath this Heathenish Name been applied to the most sacred Festival of Christianity, so hard is it to obliterate old Manners and Habits; though some there have been who interpret the word concerning the Resurrection, and thence in the *Teutonick* call it *Costern*, which some ancient Copies of *Beda* do favour, calling it *Costur*, and not *Eoster*. But in *Saxony* the Feast is called *Ostern* at this present, which hath near affinity with ours and their *Oster Monath*. The pleasant Month of *May* they termed by the Name of *Trimilki*, because in that Month they began to milk their Kine three times a day, such being it seems of old the fertility of *Britain*, or of *Germany*, out of which this Nation came into the Island, though no such fruitfulness now appears in either Countrey that we know of. However on the eighth day of this Month *Beda* placeth the beginning of Summer. To *June* (as *Verstegan* will have it) they gave the Name of *Weyd Monat*, because their Beasts did then *Weyd* in the Meadows, that is to say, *go to feed there*. For a Meadow in the *Teutonick* is called a *Weyd*, and of *Weyd* we yet retain our word *Wade*, which we understand of going through watery places, such as Meadows are wont to be. But *Beda* writes, that *June* in *Saxon* was called *Erralida*, *Lida* signifying *fair* or *navigable*, as the Season is pleasant and fit for Navigation both in *June* and *July*, whereupon *June* they termed *Lida Era* or *Lida* the *first*, and *July Lida after* or *Lida* the *second*. *Verstegan* writes, that *July* was called *Hen Monat* or *Hay Monat*, that is to say, *Hay Month*, because therein they usually Mowed and made their Hay-harvest. And *August* they termed *Arn Monat*, or more rightly *Barn Monat*, intending thereby the then filling of their Barns with Corn. But from *Beda* it appears, that *August* in *Saxon* was called *Weod*, or *Wend Monat* (not *Wenden Monath*, as some Copies corruptly have it) from *Cockle*, which then doth most abound. He uses *Cockle* as a *species* to express the *genus*, for which the *Latin* Tongue hath no proper word; but the *Saxon* fully expresseth it by that of *Weod*, as we still at this day by *Weeds*, thereby signifying *all sorts of harmfull or unprofitable Herbs*.

168. To this Account of the *Saxon* Months and Year, we shall onely add some Customs which we cannot but observe out of *Ingulphus*, and so dismiss this almost tedious Subject. First he tells us it was the Custome of the *English*, that when any one was to be Consecrated to Warfare, the Evening preceding the day of his Consecration he should confess his Sins with Contrition and Compunction, to a Bishop, Abbat, or some Monk or Priest; by whom being Absolved, he should continue in the Church all night, giving himself to Prayer, Devotion and Affliction. On the Morrow, being about to hear Mass, he should Offer his Sword upon the Altar, which being Blessed, after the Gospel, the Priest should put about the Neck of the Souldier with his Benediction: then having communicated, he should be accounted and remain a lawfull Souldier. This custome of Consecrating a Souldier (*Miles* he terms him) the *Normans* afterward abomi-

Hanc consecrandi militis consuetudinem Normanni abominantes non militem legitimum, &c. p. 901.

abominated, not accounting such an one a lawfull Souldier, but a dull and heavy Knight, a degenerate Citizen. But saith *Ingulphus*, not onely this, but other customs they changed. For the *English* way of making Writings of Contracts, which till the time of King *Edward* were wont to be confirmed by the Subscriptions of credible Persons, together with the shape of Golden Crosses, and other sacred Manners of Signature, the *Normans* condemning, gave to these *Chirographa* the Name of *Charts*, and confirmed these *Charts* by impressions of Wax made by each one's particular Seal, and the Attestation of three or four Witnesses present at the Action. At first many Possessions were passed over by word of Mouth alone without Scrip or Scroll, onely with the Sword, the Helmet, the Horn or Cup of the Owner: many Tenements with a Spur, or Bow, and some with an Arrow. This was the Custome at the first coming in of the Conquerour, which shortly after was absolutely changed. After this, he writes, how the *Normans* abominated *English* Men, and drove them from all Dignities. He adds, that they so abominated their Language, that the Laws of the Land, and the Ordinances of the *English* Kings were handled in the *French* Tongue, and to Children at School were the Rudiments of *Grammar* explained not in *English*, but in *French*, and the *English* manner of Writing being laid aside, the *French* mode was introduced in all Charts and Books.

Hic omnino distinguendum inter ascriptionem in militiam honorariam & vulgarem. Hac gregarii militis, illa insignioris. Ad gregarii sufficit post evocationem vel conductionem nuda solummodo in tabulas militares conscriptio. Ad alterius solennitas adhibenda.

Their manner of passing Lands.

169. What *Ingulphus*, as to the Custome of the *English Saxons* calls *Chirographa*, and after the coming of the *Normans*, *Charts* or *Charters*; after the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, under the Emperours themselves, and the Kings of the *Goths* and *Lombards*, went under the Name of *Epistles*, and by this Name all matters of Conveyance and Contract were transacted. Their style is turgid, affected and not beseeming Majesty, as sufficiently appears from those of *Cassiodorus*. Some of our present Charts or Deeds still retain the Form of an Epistle, as thus, To *All Christian People to whom these Presents shall come greeting. Know ye*, &c. And the King in conferring honours, and other matters, still follows this Form. *To All Archbishops, Dukes, Earls, Bishops, Barons*, &c. The Ancients had as many sorts of Epistles as we have of Charters, or more; as for Adoption, Donation, Concession, Confirmation, and many other, as may be seen sufficiently in *Marculfus*. As to the manner of the *English* Writing, though our Authour says it was new laid aside, and the *French* brought in at the time of the Conquest, yet toward the end of his History he tells us, that the *Saxon* Hand was used by all *Saxons* and *Mercians* till the time of King *Alfred*, but he being very well instructed in Learning by *French* Teachers, though before his time it was used in all Writings, by degrees grew out of Esteem, and the *French* Hand as more legible and pleasant, began to be practised by the *English*. Therefore he assures us, that the Charters granted to his Monastery by King *Ethelbald*, and all the ancient Kings were written in the *Saxon* Hand alone; but those of *Edred* and *Edgar* were written double, both with *Saxon* and *French* Characters.

Their manner of Writing.

Manus etenim Saxonica ab omnibus Saxonibus & Merciis usque ad tempora Regis Alfredi, &c. p. 912.

170. It appears therefore from all that *Ingulphus* says upon this Subject laid together, that from King *Alfred*'s time the *Saxon* Characters were not so much used as formerly, but not abolished, as appears from very many Monuments yet extant aswell of Civil as Ecclesiastical concernment (whereof some in the *Latin* Tongue it self) all written after the time of King *Alfred*, and to be seen both in the publick Library of the University of *Cambridge*, and the private or inner Library of *Corpus Christi* College. Nay, notwithstanding what the Conquerour and the other *Norman* Kings could doe, both Language and Character continued in use, those things being carried by the Multitude notwithstanding all opposition. Therefore as this same *Ingulphus* writes in another place (at the very end of his History) as to the Language *William* the Conquerour was forced to commend to his Justices the Laws of *Edward* the Confessour in the Idiome they were written, lest any one by ignorance should offend against them. And as for the Character, it so long continued, that our Antique Hands of Court

Attuli eadem vice mecum de Londoniis in meum monasterium leges æquissimi Regis Edwardi, quas Dominus meus inclytus Rex Willielmus authenticas esse & perpetuas, per totum Regnum Angliæ inviolabiliter tenendas sub pœnis gravissimis proclamarat, & suis Justitiariis commendarat, eodem idiomate quo editæ sunt; ne per ignorantiam contingat nos vel nostros aliquando in nostrum grave periculum contraire & offendere ausu temerario Regiam Majestatem, ac in ejus censuras rigidissimas improvidum pedem ferre contentas sepius in eisdem, hoc modo. Ita claudit Historiam suam & videtur hic leges Edwardi inseruisse quæ desunt.

and

and Chancery owe to it their Original, however now altered by continuance of time. Publick Inscriptions also were made in these Characters as appears by the Names of Kings and Noblemen in golden Letters written about the Wall of the Abby Church of *Westminster*. The Inscriptions also of Coins, whatever the Conquerour and his *Norman* Successours did, continued ordinarily in these Characters, even till the time of Queen *Mary*, although some of King *Edward* I have also beheld, with the *Roman* Characters. And this is observable that those *Saxon* Characters were borrowed by the *Irish*, several most ancient Books of which Nation are found written therewith, though in their own Language as I have seen. And not long since if not at present, although they retained the sense of their own words and their own way of pronunciation, yet in writing they used the *Saxon* Letters. That this Communication first happened, when in the Infancy of the *English Saxon* Church there was great entercourse betwixt the Religious and Learned Persons of both the *Scotch* and *English* Nations, is most probable. But it seems more confirm'd after that in the days of *Henry* the Second the *English* sent their Collonies into that Island. Sect. 12

171. Of the Original, Nature and Progress of the *English Saxon* Tongue, now it remains in the last place that we should speak, if we did not daily expect an entire Treatise upon this Subject, which we cannot but promise to our selves to be very exquisite if we may judge from that very learned Preface to it already published. This Language is of the same Antiquity with the whole *Teutonick*, being a Language carried by the Colony into *Asia*, and brought back again by *Woden*, not fetch'd and derived from the Greek, as some by reason of some Correspondence do imagine, though the nearness of the People brought back by *Woden* to the *Greeks* in *Asia* and *Thrace*, might procure some Communication of Words, a Language which looks as old as any that arose from the confusion of *Babel*, that we may not with others carry the Original higher up. A Dialect of the *Teutonick* it is, to which the most ancient *German* Records bear most resemblance, which hath suffered most impairment from Brethren, who having first lost their own Native Language, another Branch of the same stock, could not be satisfied without endeavouring to abolish this also where they found it unmixt with their affectations. For the greatest alteration made in it hath been by *Normans* and *French*, both which People were *Teutonick*, and before they lost them in *Gall* spake but different Dialects of the same Tongue. Take but away *French* and *Latin* Mixtures, and what thou speakest, Reader, is still a part of this *Saxon* Language, especially the shortest Words and Monosyllables. By these Mixtures thou hast lost Multitudes of such Words, and now speakest by Circumlocution, what thou mightest have expressed with much more brevity; but it's well if still thou pursuest not this humour of Innovation in thy Speech, and thinkest every Feather very gay onely because it is not thine own. If *Latin* and *French* should each take their own how, naked wouldst thou appear where thou hast stript thy self of thine own Plumes. As this Language whereof we speak was Copious, so not harsh in its pronunciation, not so harsh as other Dialects of the *Teutonick*, as the *Low Dutch*, which bears great affinity to it, but in pronunciation is more rough and full. Where the *Dutch* both high and low use the *d*, we use the *th*, as for *dat that*, *dunder thunder*, *dincke thinke*, *dicke thicke*, and many more; a motion of our Tongue not easie by them to be attained. So where they write the *v* Consonant we make use of the *f*, as to instance in a word which hits both Particulars, for their *Vader* we say and write *Father*, for their *vor* we say *for*; and Instances of this nature might be infinite.

The Antiquity of their Language.

Copious and smooth.

172. In comparing our ancient *English Saxon* with that remainder of it we now speak. I cannot yet but take notice of one thing, wherein Time hath done some service, in lopping off some Superfluities with which the *Dutch* Tongues do still abound. In the *Saxon*, *Be* sometimes, but most commonly *Ge* prefixed before Verbs, Verbals, the Preterperfectense of Verbs, and the Participles of the Preterperfectense is superfluous, being that we call *incœptivum augmentum*, or *Syllabicum*, or merely Expletive, as *y* and *i* have more lately been, especially with our Poets, for the increasing of Syllables, as in *ycleped*, *ywritten*, *ybroken*, and the like. The *Low Dutch* according to their usual manner of pronouncing with Aspiration, use to put an *h* to it and so make it *ghe*. Instances in this kind were also infinite; but for a few *Becoapan* they used for *Ceapan* or to *sell*, *Beclæmed* for *cleamed* or *glewed*, *Beclansed* for *cleansed*, *Becleaped* for *called*; *Geboad Prayer*, *Gebletsud blessed*, *Gebode bidden*, *Gecind kindred*, *Gedon done*, *Gefeoht fight*, *Gehird heard*, *Geruote to meet*, *Geplantud planted*, *Gewrit writing*, *Gewitness witness*, and the

Compared with the ancient *Teutonick*.

Sect. 12. the like. We have now quite left off the *Ge*, and where we retain this Augment we use it in *Be*, as still we say for *Geleafe belief*, *Gecomen become*, so we still say, *bespeak bethought*, and several others. It were tedious here to make Observations of other Alterations introduced by time and foreign Commerce, and not hard to trace them down by degrees to such as understand the *Saxon* Tongue, and are conversant in the Writings of *Chaucer*, *Lidgate* and others that wrote nearer to the Conquest. An entire Volume of this might be made, and the Reader in a business of his own Countrey may himself take some pains or expect an account from the Learned Authour of the Original of the *English* Nation. I shall now onely farther observe that the Conquerour took not so much care to destroy this Language (which his own Ancestours spake for the substance before they came into *France*) but the *English* our Ancestours however Conquered were as carefull to preserve it, to which end in several Monasteries, particularly in that of *Tavistoke* in *Devonshire* Lectures were read of it, and certain Persons were appointed to profess it, even as long, or well nigh as long as these Monasteries continued. Had this course still been observed the Antiquities of our Nation with many things which now lie hidden and abstruse, might have been much more known, and some stop might have been put to this giddy humour of despising all words, as well as Fashions and other things, without consideration, merely because they are not foreign or new.

Quem in finem superioribus sæculis à majoribus nostris monialium quædam Collegia institutæ sunt, in quibus essent quæ & hujus linguæ scientiâ imbuerentur, & eandem (cum aliis Communicando) ad posteros transmitterent. Quod quidem in Cœnobio monialium Tavestokensi in Comitatu Devoniæ, & multis aliis conventiculis (nostrâ memoriâ) receptum fuit, credo ne ejus sermonis peritia, ob linguæ insolentiam penitus obsolesceret. Math. Parkerus in Præf. ad Hist. Alfredi.

AN

AN INSTITUTION OF General History: OR The History of the World.

The Fourth Part.

BOOK II.

Of the *Constantinopolitan Roman* Empire.

CHAP. I.

From the promotion of Nicephorus, *to the Death of* Leo *the Philosopher.*

The space of one Hundred Years.

Nicephorus Emperour of the East.

1. IRENE being deposed as we have said, *Nicephorus* the Patritian, and General *Logotheta*, was Proclaimed, and Crowned Emperour in the great Church at *Constantinople*, on Tuesday, being the first of *November*, in the tenth Indiction, the seventh year of Pope *Leo* the Third, the Second of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the West, A. D. DCCCII.

Wheedles *Irene* out of the Treasure.

Then Banishes her, where she dyes with grief.

2. The day after his Promotion, knowing *Irene* to be possessed of great Treasures, he went to her, and with flattering words and fair promises, obtained a discovery of them, after which he neglected her, and whereas she had surrendred them on this condition, that she might be suffered to live peceably and honourably in the Palace of *Eleutherius*, which she her self had built; having obtained his ends, he banished her to the *Prince's Island*, to a Monastery there also of her own building, and afterwards, perceiving himself hated of the People, lest they should restore her to her former dignity, without all mercy he removed her to *Mitylene* in very ill weather, and there in the Isle of *Lesbos* she died of grief, the ninth of *August* after. Her Body he caused to be buried in her own Monastery; for several such places of Religion she had built, together with many Hospitals for

Theophanes Cedrenus Hist. compend. in Nicephoro Zonar. Annal. Tom. 3. in eodem.

for Relief of the Poor and Aged, and done many other Acts of Piety, as our Historians deliver------ who much admire her, and as much detest *Nicephorus*, upon what ground it's easie enough to conjecture. She being gone, he betook himself in the same manner of Address to her blind Son, pretending great kindness to him, and receiving him into his own House, out of hope to flatter him into a betraying also of more Treasure; and his flattery had such influence upon *Constantine*, being a Man of a light and heedless temper, that he discovered to him Treasure that was hid in the *Sigma*, a place so called from its semicircular Figure. This obtained, he neglected him as he had done his Mother. And before this, on the last day of *April*, *Nicetas Triphyllius*, by whose stout endeavours he had obtained the Diademe, he so far rewarded for his good deeds, as to take him out of this miserable world by poison.

Cajoles *Constantine* for the discovery of more.

Poisons *Nicetas Triphyllius*, his promoter to the Diademe.

3. All Writers now extant generally affirm him a cruel, griping and covetous Man. *Glycas* calls him a Man greedy of slaughters, the slave of gold, and absolutely another *Midas*; writes farther, that he set to sale places of Magistracy, and ever shewed a sour and angry countenance to the People, except any brought him Gold; then would he appear very gentle and gratious. Upon the City of *Constantinople* he laid an heavy Tribute, under pretence of repairing their old decayed Walls called *Diceratum*, from two *Ceratia*, which were paid. The dissatisfactions raised amongst the People, one *Bardanes* or *Bardanius*, Sirnamed *Turk*, a certain Duke of the East, imagined to give sufficient incouragement to his Ambition, which so far carried him as to affect the Empire, and living at *Philomelium*, he made known his purpose to a certain Monk, who was esteemed to have the gift of Prophecy, *Leo* the *Armenian* being privy to the matter. The Monk told him, that if he went about to make himself Emperour, he should loose both his Estate and Life; with which answer as he was going away sorrowfull, and ready to take Horse, the Monk casting his eyes upon his Attendants, called him back, who expecting now he would say something that would better please him, readily returned. He told him the same tale over again he had formerly heard, affirming that if he were Emperour, either by his own seeking, or by having it put upon him, he should loose both his Eyes and Fortunes. But he added, that of those his Attendants, the first and second should obtain the Diademe, and the third should be declared Emperour, but should presently perish without ever attaining to his Aims. But for all this, when in some places seditions were raised by reason of the exactions of *Nicephorus*, they chose him Emperour at *Chrysopolis*, and either willingly or unwillingly he accepted of it on the nineteenth day of *July*. Now did *Leo* and *Michael* forsake him, and went over to *Nicephorus*, who preferred the one to the Command of the Confederate Forces, and the other to be Captain of the Counts Troop; onely *Thomas* remained with him, and for his sake shunned no Enterprize, how dangerous soever. But *Bardanius*, either terrified by the predictions of the Monk, or, as our Writers say, abhorring that a Civil War should rise upon his account, sent to *Nicephorus* to beg pardon, upon promise of which he departed to *Catabolium*, and in the Monastery of *Heraclius*, received the Tonsure. The Emperour sent after him to come to *Constantinople*, under shew of kindness, but in the way, in the Island *Prote* (or the First Island) where he had built a Monastery, by Order of the Emperour, his Eyes were put out by certain *Lycaonians*. The Emperour pretended he was very sorry for the thing, which by Oath he affirmed done without his knowledge or command. But if we may believe *Cedrenus*, he never swore truly in his Life.

Is very covetous.

Exacts the *Diceratum*.

Annel. part. 4.

Ceratium duodecim tolles sive numulos continent.

Cedrenus.

Upon which *Bardanius* usurps.

Theoph.

But afterwards is shaven.

And his Eyes put out by the Emperour's order.

4. *Nicephorus*, having thus secured himself from *Bardanius*, resolved farther to establish his House, by Crowning Emperour his Son *Stauracius*, a Man neither in Body or Mind qualified for such a Dignity, as our Authours write. Being thus setled at home, he made War upon the *Arabians*, but with such bad success, that he narrowly escaped taking, being hardly rescued out of the Enemies hands by some of his stoutest followers, and with loss and disgrace was constrained to return. The next year, or the third of his Reign, being at leisure, he applied himself to the building of Towns, as *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, together with two others, *Theba* and *Andrasus*. But the following Summer he had diversion enough given him, and his mind was sufficiently startled, by News that *Aaron*, the Captain of the *Arabians*, had invaded the *Roman* Territories, with no fewer than three hundred thousand Men, and having marched as far as *Tyana*, there erected a Mosche or House to his superstition. Many fortified places he took, and a Body of sixty thousand sent toward *Ancyra*, which wasted all the Countrey as far as that City. *Nicephorus* gathering together his Forces, took also the Field, but finding the

He Crowns *Stauracius* his Son.

Makes War upon the *Arabians*.

Cedrenus ad Ann. 3. Nicephorus.

Idem ad An. 4.

Who returning his visit,

The Emperour expostulates.

Arabian

" *Arabian* too strong for him wrote to him a Letter; whereby he taxed him with " injustice for invading another Man's Territories, not contenting himself with " what was left him by his Father. He demanded by whose command he did it. " *Mahomet* his Prophet he said commanded him to love all Christians as his Bre- " thren, Almighty God took care for both, and was not delighted with the " bloud of Man unjustly shed. He could not come to hurt those that did him no " injury, for any want he had of Gold, Silver or other matters, having abun- " dance of pretious things and Rarities of his own; but in case any thing he had " would supply him he would lovingly send it. He concluded his Letter by put- " ting him in mind that they were both Mortal, and being to die e'er long, " should be called before an higher Judge, by whose award each was to receive ac- " cording to what he had deserved whether good or bad.

And by Presents obtains a Peace.

5. To this Letter he added considerable Presents, by which the *Arabian* was so charmed that he condescended to a Peace on these terms, *That the* Romans *should pay the* Arabians *a yearly Tribute of thirty thousand Nomismata, besides three thousand as Tribute for his own Head; and as many for that of his Son, and such Forts as the* Arabians *had taken and dismantled should in no wise be repaired.* But *Aaron* being retreated, *Nicephorus* rebuilt and reinforced all these places which so irritated the *Arabian*, that this very year he sent an Army which took *Theba*, and another by Sea to *Cyprus*, where it overthrew the Churches, and either killing or driving away the Inhabitants, plundered and wasted the Island. The year following he invaded the Isle of *Rhodes*, where was taken a great Number of Prisoners, but the Castle was stoutly defended by the Garrison, and the Fleet in its return suffered much damage by an hideous Tempest, which our Writers attribute to the violence they purposed to offer to the Relicks of St. *Nicholas* at *Myra* a City of *Lycia* in their return. *Nicephorus* in the mean time was employed in the Marriage of his Son *Stauracius*, for whom when he looked for a Wife he made choice of *Theophania* the Kinswoman of the late Empress *Irene*, though she was contracted to another man. To this unjust act he added the deflouring of two most beautifull Virgins, which so incensed the People, that several Conspiracies were hatched against him, but he suppressed them e'er they could produce any thing considerable, and raged cruelly against such as were detected. Many of the Nobility made choice of *Arsatius* a Questour and Patritian for their Prince, but he having smelt out the design caused the Man to be shaven, and enter into Religion, which done, he banished him into *Bithynia*. Of the Conspiratours some he put to death, others he banished, and of some he confiscated the Estates, sparing none of what condition soever, whether Bishops, Monks, or the Officers of the Great Church, in those times held in great Veneration by the People.

Which being broken, the *Arabian* makes another Invasion into the *Roman* Territories.

Zonaras. Theoph.

Nicephorus Marrys his Son to another Man's Wife.

6. The year following being the seventh of his Reign the *Bulgarians* gave him farther trouble, intercepting eleven hundred pounds of Gold wherewith the Army was to be paid at *Stragmon*, and killing the Convoy with its Captain. At the same time *Crumus* their Prince took *Sardica*, and therein put to the Sword six thousand Souldiers, besides Townesmen a little before the Feast of *Easter*. *Nicephorus* went with an Army against him, but performed nothing worth the mentioning, onely such Officers as had escaped the hands of *Crumus* he handled so roughly, that he constrained them to revolt to him. Being returned to *Constantinople* he imposed upon the City a new Tribute for the repairing of *Sardica*, which vehemently incensed the People, so as to cast the Multitude into great Tumults, but he still had the better of them, and revenged himself by Executions and Banishments, as he had done before; and laid upon all the People most grievous, heavy, and unheard-of Impositions. Some of this Wealth obtained by violence, was as violently taken away by the *Saracens*, who making an Inroad into the *Roman* Territories as far as *Euchaita*, fell upon *Leo* the Captain of the *Armenians* as he was going to pay the Army, and took from him Sixteen Talents, a thousand and three hundred Pounds, besides the slaughter of a great Multitude of his Souldiers. This happened in *February*, and in *July* following *Nicephorus* undertook an Expedition against the *Bulgarians*, with *Stauracius* his Son, at parting giving order to *Nicetas* the Patritian and general *Logotheta* to lay Taxes upon Churches and Monasteries, with an Imposition of eight years upon the Houses of Noblemen, which caused great Lamentations in the City. Hereof when he was admonished by *Theodosius Salibarn* a Patritian and the Manager of his Affairs, who told him how the People murmured and would be glad he came by any mischief. *If God hath hardened mine heart as he hardened* Pharoah's, *what good may my Subjects*

The *Bulgarians* take *Sardica*.

Which causes a new Tribute to be imposed on the People.

The *Saracens* make an Inroad into the *Roman* Pale.

Nicephorus makes an Expedition against the *Bulgarians*.

Sect. 12. *jects expect from* Nicephorus? And he bade him expect no alteration of what he saw at present. This *Theophanes* protests he had from *Theodosius* his own Mouth.

7. Having gathered together the Forces both of the East and the West, and constrained many poor men to serve at their own Charges armed with Slings and Staves, with their Curses and the Curses of the whole Army he marched into *Bulgaria*. *Crumus* having notice of his coming sent to him while he yet lay at *Marcella* to desire Peace, fearing such a Multitude as he brought along with him; but overcome hy his own Inclinations, as well as by the Flatteries of those about him, he rejected his Proposals, and on the twentieth day of *July* about the rising of the Dog-star invaded the Countrey, himself predicting his own ruine, for he had these words often in his Mouth. *Who shall go and deceive* Ahab? *Whether God or the Devil draw me, I am drawn unwilling.* And this was accounted an ill Omen, that before he entred *Bulgaria*, a much beloved Servant he had, called *Byzantius*, fled to *Crumus* from *Marcella*, carrying away with him the Imperial Robe and an hundred Pounds of Gold. At first he seemed to have the better, yet ascribed the success not to God, but cryed up the Conduct and good fortune of *Stauracius*. Such Commanders as withstood his Progress, he exceedingly threatened and commanded all living Creatures to be put to the Sword, and neglecting to bury the Bodies of the slain, was onely intent upon Plunder and Booty. The Court or Palace of *Crumus* he took and sealed up the Doors thereof as his own, and such of his Followers as imbezelled any of the Booty he punished by cutting off their Ears and other Members. *Crumus* now again being much out of heart offered him good terms, on condition he would quit his Countrey. But he puffed up with his success and acted by covetous desires, was impatient of the very name of Peace.

Refusing Peace.

Wastes the Countrey.

Taking the very palace of *Crumus* their King.

8. *Crumus* therefore acted by the more prevalent passion of desperation, like a desperate man indeed, instead of opening a way to the Enemy, blocked up all egress and regress by Palisado's, which so affrighted the Emperour that he presaged his ruine, saying, *That if they had Wings they could not escape imminent destruction.* Two days after *Crumus* set upon his Camp, and stormed it, wherein *Nicephorus* himself was slain, together with all his Officers, and a vast number of Souldiers. Here fell *Aetius*, *Peter Sisinnius*, *Theodosius Sabbaras*, and *Triphiles*, all Patritians, as also *Eparchus* a Patritian and Governour of the East; with many *Protospatharii*, the *Excubitus Domesticus*, the Captains of the several Troops, the *Drungarius* of the Imperial Watch, the Governour of *Thracia*, with the other Governours of the Provinces. All the Arms and Baggage were also taken, and so miserable was the Estate of the Empire at this day, that the Writer thinks it not fit to be understood by Christians, as exceeding all height of lamentation. The Head of *Nicephorus* he put upon a Pole, and when he thought he had sufficiently exposed it, inclosed the Skull in Silver and caused his Nobles in an insulting manner to drink out of it. Although this day were made many Widows and Fatherless Children, yet many love it the better, and were something comforted with this onely thought that he was dead. For as *Theophanes* affirms, never did Christians feel any thing more insupportable than his Government, exceeding all that Reigned before him in Ambition, Luxury, and barbarous Cruelties, so as to declare all in particular to posterity would seem incredible, and to him laborious.

But is overcome at last and slain.

9. But *Cedrenus* gives us the main of his Accusation in ten Particulars. " The " first is, That he constrained his Subjects out of all Quarters to remove in- " to *Slavonia*, and afterward sold their former Possessions, which thing " nothing differed from an Hostile Captivity, all of them being put to the " utmost extremity. The next was, That he caused poor men to serve in the " Wars, and their Neighbours to supply them with Arms and Money, eighteen " *Nomismata* for each, and besides pay for them their publick Taxes, which they " called in Greek *Allelengium*, because for Tribute they were Sponsors or Sureties " one for another. The third Crime was, That he commanded an account to be ta- " ken of every Man's Estate, and the Owner accordingly to be taxed; moreover, " for the Auditour or Accomptant every man to pay (for every *Nomisma*, saith *Zo-* " *naras*) two *Ceratia*. In the fourth place all Easements and Relaxations formerly " granted he took away. In the fifth, from all Religious places, publick Houses, " destined to the Educations of Orphans, and all sorts of Hospitals, he caused to " be exacted *Smoke* or *Hearth money*, even from the beginning of his Reign. The " best of what belonged to these Places he seized to his own use, yet made them " pay

Nicephorus his Character.

Τὰ καπνικὰ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, *ita Cedrenus. Zonaræ dicitur* ἡ τῶν καπνικῶν εἰσπράξις.

" pay for what was left, and some double, though he had so emptied those Hou-
" ses that they were constrained to remove out of them. His sixth Tyrannical
" Practice was to cause his Officers to take an account of such as were grown
" suddenly Rich, and to exact money from them in such manner, as if they had
" found Treasure. Nay, in the seventh place from such as had found but a Bar-
" rel or Vessel twenty years before, he would squeeze money. His eighth Crime
" was, that those who received any Inheritances from their Grandfathers or
" Great Grandfathers, he would force to pay something to the Treasury, though
" the Inheritance had been divided twenty years before; and such as bought any
" Slaves beyond *Abidus*, he constrained to pay for each two *Nomismata*, especi-
" ally the Inhabitants of *Dodecanesum* or the City of twelve Islands. His ninth
" that he made the Mariners and Seamen, especially those inhabiting the Maritime
" parts of *Asia* the less, such as never were practised in Husbandry, to buy such
" grounds as he had taken from other Men, and pay him Rent. In the tenth
" place he summoned all the eminent Seamen of *Constantinople* together, and to
" each delivered twelve Pounds of Gold, with this burthen, that for every *Nu-*
" *misma* they should pay four *Ceratia* for use, when at the same time they paid
" all the other Duties for their Vessels.

10. Thus much *Cedrenus* tells us, he delivers by way of *Compendium*, having omitted the manifold Injuries he did both to Persons of high and low condition in the City, being more than can be written, but such as these. The Slaves of Rich men he suborned falsly to accuse their Masters, rewarding the Accusers and fleecing their Masters of their Wealth. So rapacious he grew, that a certain man who living in the Forum sold Honey and Wax by Retail, and by his own labour and industry had acquir'd competent Wealth, being sent for he commanded to lay his hand under the Emperour's Head, and by Oath assure him how much Gold he had. He confessed he had an hundred Pounds of Gold, which he caused him speedily to bring to him. This being done, to what purpose (saith he) shouldst thou be at all this trouble? Dine with me, and taking home with thee an hundred *Numisma's*, therewith be contented. He adds, that being much addicted to the *Manichees*, and rejoycing at the difference of Churchmen, he scoffed at all Christians that loved their Neighbours. His Captains he commanded to use Bishops and Clerks no otherwise than like Slaves, to make use of their Houses and all their Goods at their pleasure, deriding those that dedicated any thing to Holy uses. All Emperours that were before him, he taxed as ignorant in the Art of Government, took away Providence, and affirmed that none was greater than the Emperour if he had but the Craft of Government. Such is the Character *Cedrenus* gives us of this Emperour, with whom agrees *Zonaras* as to the substance of the Charge. He Reigned eight years and nine days, as some have it, or as others more truly eight Years, eight Months, and six and twenty days.

Stauracius succeeds.

11. *Nicephorus* being slain, *Stauracius* his Son escaped but with a deadly wound received in his Neck, and in his Litter came to *Adrianople*, where by the endeavours of some Magistrates he was saluted Emperour, but could not appear in publick by reason of his Wound. Sensible of his condition he resolved to devolve the Empire upon *Theophania* his Wife, so great affection he bore unto her, and upon that account endeavoured to deprive of his sight *Michael*, sirnamed *Rangabes*, or *Rancabes*, the *Curopalata*, who had Married his Sister *Procopia*, because he stood most in the opinion of the Nobility for the Dignity. But *Michael* having timely notice of it so wrought with the Senatours, that calling together the Souldiers by break of day they named him Emperour in the Cirque, which when *Stauracius* knew he quitted the Palace, and with his Wife betook himself to a Monastery, where having taken upon him the Habit, he shortly after died, having been Emperour but two Months and ten Days. *Michael* at first seemed shie of the preferment, professing himself unable to undergo such a burthen, and made mention of *Leo* the *Armenian*, a Patritian, and Captain of the Forces of the East, as a courageous and valiant man; but *Leo* strained Courtesie, professing himself unworthy of the Throne, which he affirmed to belong to *Michael*, whom he exhorted to undertake the Government, promising him by Oath his utmost assistence; and that he would be his ready and faithfull Servant to his lives end. Thus whether at first he indeavoured to be Emperour merely to preserve his Life, or dissembled his Ambition in the offer made to *Leo* (which for what end soever proved of dangerous consequence, as we shall see anon) he obtained the Diademe, wherewith he was Crowned in the great Church by *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, after he had by an Instrument written on purpose declared, that he would neither violate

But turning Monk.

Michael Rangabes obtained the Diademe.

Zonaras.

violate the Privileges of the Church, nor defile his Hands with Christian Bloud, in the Eleventh year of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the West, the sixteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the fourth Indiction. *A. D.* DCCCXI.

12. He hath the Commendation of a Pious and good natur'd Person, such as had been injured by *Nicephorus*, he relieved and provided for the Widows of Souldiers. *Theophania* the Wife of *Stauracius*, he courteously treated, giving her a good Summ of Money together with an House which she turned into a Monastery, and from the Burial of her Husband in it bore his Name. A few days after his Coronation he caused *Procopia* his Wife to be adorned also with the Diademe, having given her the Title of Empress; and after some time commanded the Patriarch to perform the same Ceremony to *Theophylact* his Son, whom he also dignified with that of Emperour, and propounded a Marriage for him, *Theophanes* writes to *Charles* King of the *Franks*. This *Charles* must be no other than *Charles* the Great, as we reade in the Annals of the *Franks*, sent an Embassie to *Nicephorus*, for Confirmation of the Peace betwixt the two Empires. The Ambassadours were *Hatto* Bishop of *Basil*, *Hugh* a Count, *Aio* a *Lombard* of *Forumjulii*, *Leo* the *Spatharius*, a *Sicilian* by birth, and *Wilharius* Duke of *Venice*. Coming to *Constantinople* they found *Nicephorus* dead, and therefore transacted their matters with *Michael*, who was so ready to entertain their overtures, that he sent his Ambassadours with them at their return to *Charles*, whom finding at *Aquisgranum*, they complemented in behalf of their Master. Their Names were *Michael* a Bishop, and *Theognostus*, both *Protospatharii*, from whom *Charles* having received their message, the Spring following sent other Ambassadours to their Master for farther Establishment of the Peace, *viz. Amalharius* Bishop of *Triers* and *Peter* Abbat of *Nonantula* in *Italy*, both of them men famous for Learning in that Age; but coming to *Constantinople*, they found not him then in the Throne, but *Leo* who succeeded him, by whom they were heard, and dismissed together with Ambassadours from him to *Charles* upon the same errand.

Idem.

Makes his Son *Theophylact* Emperour with him.

13. But to return to *Michael*, not long after his Promotion he was ingaged in War on several Hands. The *Agarens* or *Saracens* made Inrodes into the Eastern Provinces, but were repelled by *Leo* the *Armenian* who governed those parts, who in one battel slew of them two thousand men, and got many Horses with other booty. *Crumus* Prince of the *Bulgarians* took up Arms with more success, having received a repulse in a matter which he demanded. Some of that Nation leaving their former Habitations, had with this Emperour's leave setled themselves within the *Roman* Territories. Hereby some better understanding than formerly there had been between the Subjects of both; but it happened that some *Romans*, who in the former Wars had been taken by the *Bulgarians*, broke Prison and returned home. These *Crumus* demanded to be sent back, and some were for gratifying him in this particular, amongst whom the Emperour and several Religious Persons of great account, believing this would prevent the usual hostile Incursions of the *Bulgarians*. But many others were of the contrary opinion, and of them the chiefest were *Nicephorus* the Patriarch, with *Theoctistus* the Master, as *Cedrenus* calls him, a Man of mighty esteem for his Vertue and Wisedom, who urged that they were to trust to God's Assistence, and not by giving up the Fugitives to gratify the pride and insolence of the Barbarians. *Crumus* also required, that the Articles made formerly by Mediation of *Theodosius* of *Adrymitium*, and *Germanus* the Patriarch might be observed, else he threatned to fall upon *Mesymbria*. But *Michael* by advice of those about him, denying to gratify him in all, he accordingly fell upon *Mesymbria*, using in the Battery of the City the Skill and Industry of a certain *Arabian*, excellently skilled in the framing of Engines, who having formerly betaken himself to the service of *Nicephorus*, was so ill treated by him that he fled over to the *Bulgarians*, and instructed them in all sorts of Machines. *Zonaras* writes, that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch and the Churchmen, were for the delivering up of the Fugitives, alledging that a few were to be sacrificed to the publick safety; but the Senatours, Courtiers, and *Theodorus Studites* vehemently opposed their Delivery, by whom the Emperour was governed, being a Person by nature mild, and Orthodox, but slow in business, and easie to be led to any thing which his Officers designed.

Repells the invading *Saracens*.

Zonaras.

Cedrenus.

Καὶ ὁ μέγας Θεοκτίστος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ συνέσει περιβόητος ἦν τότε.

The *Bulgarians* fall upon *Mesymbria*.

Zonaras.

14. Now is a Comet said to appear in divers shapes, and amongst the rest of a Man without an Head; this probably having little other Foundation than in the Fancies of Men, who in seeing the shapes of Clouds as in ringing of Bells, may work their imaginations to any posture or sound they please. But *Crumus* takes *Mesymbria*, and wastes the Western Parts of the Empire with Fire and Sword. Hereupon

upon the Emperour sends out his Orders for raising of Men, and hastes into *Thrace*, his Wife accompanying him as far as *Cedoctum*, at which his Souldiers murmured and reviled him, that he was forc'd to send her back. *Crumus* having notice of his coming drew back his Men from their Depredations, and *Michael* coming into *Thrace*, suffered his Men to behave themselves so disorderly, that they were as offensive to the Inhabitants as the Enemy himself, which procured the Emperour no small prejudice. *Crumus* fortified himself against his coming not far from *Adrianople*, and after his sitting down near to his Camp began to skirmish; but in these the *Romans* still had the better, and therewith were so elevated, that with great earnestness and impatience they required a Battel, which the Emperour either out of fear or for good reason deferring till he could have a good advantage, differing they grew mutinous, and upbraided him with sawcy and importune Clamours, threatning that except they were led forth, they would break out, and of their own accord attack the Enemy. *Michael* being thus constrained to doe it led them forth, and put them into a Posture for a Fight; which *Crumus* perceiving ordered his men also according to the Custome of his Nation, and to blows they came. The *Bulgarians* had plainly the worst of it, and were so overpowered by the Valour of their Enemies, that they were about to run; *Crumus* their Captain having even spent himself with riding to and fro, and by his presence and speech labouring to reinforce the Battel, when *Leo* the Captain of the East, whose Ambition was now come to maturity, caused his Squadron to leave the rest and depart the Field, no hardship or necessity at all urging him to it. This sight utterly dismayed those that were so hotly ingaged, and as much incouraged the *Bulgarians*, whom at first *Crumus* restrained from pursuit, believing it was some Strategeme, and done of purpose to draw them into some greater danger. But seeing the *Romans* flye without all order, or any stop, he then inforced the pursuit, and made great slaughter of them. The Emperour with much difficulty escaped to *Adrianople*, and thence got to *Constantinople*, with a slender Equipage, leaving *Leo* behind him in *Thrace*, to protect the Countrey and repress the Incursions of the Barbarians.

And in a Battel through the Treachery of *Leo* rout the Emperour.

15. He being gone, *Leo*, who had already prepared the minds of his Souldiers by declaiming against him as an effeminate, unskilfull and cowardly man, now more openly discovered his Design. Consulting with his Officers, and concluding he had now a good opportunity, he sent abroad his Emissaries to tell through the whole Army, how silly and unexperienced the Emperour was, and that by his ignorance in warlike matters the *Roman* Forces had been defeated, and their ancient glory and fame eclipsed, or rather quite extinguished. By this means the minds of the Souldiers were corrupted, and such as he could pick up he joyned to his own Troops, and perswaded them to revolt from *Michael*. On the other side these Agitatours cried up the Ability and Integrity of *Leo*, as a man born to preserve the *Roman* Name and Empire, and they caused the Souldiers to compass about his Tent, and having reviled and renounced the other to salute him Emperour. He pretended great unwillingness, nay, so pertinacious seemed he to be in the refusal, that *Michael Traulus* or *Balbus* the Stammerer one of his Principal Officers drawing his Sword, and causing those with him that were of the conspiracy to doe the like, threatned to kill him, except he would accept of the Empire. When the Report of his having assumed the Title came to *Michael*, some would have perswaded him to buckle himself to a vigorous resistence, and suppress the Usurper; but being of a quiet disposition, he refused to cast himself into so great danger, and reprehended those sharply that instigated him on to a Civil War, to the destruction of many innocent Persons. By some of his intimate Friends, he sent to *Leo* the Diademe, Purple and Scarlet shooes (Ensigns of the Empire) whereby he might see that he quitted the Dignity, as one ready also to part with his life, rather than that upon his account one drop of Christian bloud should be shed, and he bad him without all fear or doubt to come and take Possession of the Palace. *Procopia* his Wife being a Woman of an high Spirit, vehemently indeavoured to perswade him to the contrary, nay, rather to dye than so quit the Imperial Throne, but to no purpose.

Leo saluted Emperour by the Souldiers.

Hath the Diademe and other Ensigns sent him by *Michael*.

16. So write our Historians generally concerning this change and promotion of *Leo*, that it was accomplisht by his own Arts, through his Insinuations, his crafty and fraudulent Suggestions against *Michael*. Yet the History of *Theophanes* attributes the fall of *Michael* to his own Imprudence, assigning the contempt and hatred of his Person, to his oppressing his Subjects by the Army he had raised against *Crumus*. It saith nothing of *Leo*'s tampering with the Souldiers,

but on the contrary, that when *Michael* after the Defeat would have resigned to him, he refused it. But *Michael* being firm in his resolution to lay down, notwithstanding for some time he was hindred by his Wife and Sons, and quitting the City, the Magistrates and People earnestly implored his assistence, for the saving of both Church and State from Ruine. He as earnestly refused, considering the difficulty of the times, the continual Incursions and Violence of the Barbarians, and being unshaken in his Fidelity to the Emperour. But perceiving the Enemy to draw nigh the City, he sent to *Necephorus* the Patriarch who was much for his advancement, and desiring his Prayers, with the Magistrates and Souldiers went to the Tribunal raised without the City, and there was declared lawfull Emperour of the *Romans*. *Michael* having notice hereof, went with *Procopia* his Wife and his Children to the Oratory of *Pharus*, where being shaven he put on the Monastical Habit on the Eleventh of *July* in the sixth Indiction, and on the second day of the week. Thus relates the matter the History of *Theophanes*, who lived at this time, and was an Eye-witness of all these passages. But some say he brought down his History but to the end of *Nicephorus*, so that this must not be his but the addition of some other who favoured *Leo*, and concealed his ambitious practices in obtaining the Empire. However it came to pass, *Michael* laid down the Purple after he had reigned one Year, nine Months, and as many Days.

Who turns Monk.

Leo begins his reign.

17. *Leo* the *Armenian* began his Reign on the seventh day of *July*, in the thirteenth year of the Reign of *Charles* the Great, the eighteenth of Pope *Leo* the Third, the sixth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCXIII. However he first obtained the Government; having once obtained it, he took care for the securing of it to himself. *Michael* he parted from his Wife and Children, sending him away to the Island *Prota* to the Monastery there, where he spent the remainder of his Days; and *Theophylact* his Eldest Son, they say he Gelded, and then Banished him with his Mother and Brothers. *Michael Balbus*, or the Stammerer, he promoted to the Degree of a Patritian and Count of the *Schola Excubitorum*, and to *Thomas* his other Fellow-servant he gave the Command of the Confederate Forces. The *Bulgarians* at this time were pust up with their late Victory, and made Incursions afresh in *Thrace*, where without controll they wasted all things. *Leo* not well setled in his Seat, thought it best at present to restrain their Hostilities by good words, and sent Ambassadours to *Crumus*, who thinking he had much the advantage of the *Romans*, refused to entertain any reasonable Propositions, and sent the Ambassadours back without having any thing obtained. The Emperour hereby forced to take Arms, omitted nothing to strengthen himself, and Marched against the Enemy. Ingaging in a great and bloudy Battel, the *Bulgarians* had much the better, and having routed the *Romans*, gave the Chase in great disorder, which *Leo* perceiving, who stood upon an Hill, with a Reserve fell down with great violence upon them, renewed the Battel, and got a notable Victory. Many were slain, and more taken Prisoners. *Crumus* himself hardly escaped, for having received a Wound by an Arrow, and beaten from his Horse, he had quickly fain into the Hands of his Enemies but that he was rescued, and set upon another Horse by the more than ordinary Valour and Industry of his Guard. This Victory very much repressed the Insolence of the *Bulgarians*, and kept them within their Bounds some time after; and on the other side raised up the drooping Spirits of the *Romans*, whom the Valour of their Ancestours had in a manner forsaken. *Leo* in Triumph with great Spoils and many Captives returned to *Constantinople*.

Banishing *Michael*,

And Gelding his Son.

Zonaras.

Cedrenus.

Beats the *Bulgarians*.

18. After this our Historians very much revile him as Heretical and Cruel, because he opposed vigorously the Worshipping of Images. Otherwise they confess he was a most Vigilant and Industrious Prince in Reforming what was amiss in the State, omitting nothing that might tend to the benefit and advantage of it; so that *Nicephorus* the Patriarch whom he had Banished from his See, and out of respect to matters of Religion was his utter Enemy, yet when he heard he was Dead, confessed that the Common-wealth had lost an ungodly, but however a Great and considerable Governour. As he was very exact in ordering his matters of State, so very severe against flagitious Persons. On a time as he passed out of his Court a certain Man met him, and complained that his Wife was taken away from him by a Senatour, of which he had complained to the Governour of the City, but could have no redress of the Injury. *Leo* commanded that at his return should appear before him both the Complainant, the Criminal, and the Judge. By Evidence the Senatour was so pressed, that he confessed

His Character.

Ὡς ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίων ἔφη εἰ καὶ δυσεβὴς, ἀλλά γε μίσος φεύγειν ἀπέλεσε. *Cedrenus.*

fessed the Fact; and the Judge being asked why he had not punished so heinous a Crime, was silent, as having no excuse. The Judge therefore the Emperour discharged of his Place, and ordered the Adulterer to be punished according to the Laws. Most commonly *Leo* heard Causes himself. The Officers of his Army, his Souldiers, and all sorts of Magistrates he chose merely for their Worth and Abilities, no Place being purchased for Money or any other Consideration than that of Merit, in his time, for he was a great contemner of Money. He endeavoured also after several Accomplishments, as that of the Voice, though not naturally fitted for Musical Exercises, and he himself was wont to begin the Psalms in the Church, especially at *Christmass*. In conclusion, he was one of the best, if not the very best Prince of this Age in this declining state of the Empire; and had he not been against the Worshipping of Images, in many words and much flourish by our Writers who were of the contrary opinion, for such an one would have been acknowledged.

Χρημάτων ἀφροσύνης οὐν κ᾽ αὐτὸς ἀκεκβεβαιος.

19. That Jealousie, and consequently Cruelty was not his fault appears from this, that want of sufficient caution procured his Ruine. *Michael* of *Amorium* the Stammerer (as we said) he had preferred, and as it proved to that height, that he grew proud and insolent; and as it often happens to such as have done eminent Service to Princes in obtaining their Crowns, imagining that he could never be sufficiently requited, not commit any offence which the reputation of his former Services would not expiate. Being amongst other vices very lavish of his Tongue, and not able to conceal any part of his mind, he first began to talk against the Emperour, and at length threatned to deprive him, and Marry the Empress. The Emperour being informed of his Discourses, at first resolved to dissemble the matter, and take no notice, knowing him to be very lavish of his Tongue. But afterwards he let him know that he was sensible of his opprobrious language, which he would deny, and then fall into the same fault again. *Leo* therefore resolving not to be wanting to his own safety, set some Spies upon him to observe him more strictly, that they might give Evidence against him, and amongst the rest there was one *Enabulius* very familiar with them both, who would often reprehend him, and admonish him of the danger into which those intemperate Discourses would bring him; but seeing he was not to be reclaimed, he made the Emperour acquainted with all his Designs, which in his drink he easily discovered. *Leo* then not thinking fit to delay any longer, on *Christmas*-Eve sate himself in Judgement and heard his Accusers, by whom he was evidently convicted of Treason; and having not been able to deny the same, had Judgment to be Burnt alive. The Prisoner is bound, and on his way to the place of Execution, when the Empress *Theodosia* having notice of it, runs out of her Apartment in the Palace like a Distracted Woman, lays hold upon her Husband, and calls him wicked, and an Enemy to God, in that he would have no respect to that Holy time, wherein he was also to partake of the Blessed Sacrament. *Leo* was moved with her words and passion, and fearing to offend Almighty God, respited the Execution, and commanded him to be kept by one *Papia*, with Shackles on his Legs, whereof he himself would keep the Key. But turning to his Wife, he told her he had done what she had desired, being overcome with her Frantick passions; but she and her Children would find at length what would be the issue of it.

Michael Balbus condemned for Treason is respited from Execution.

Οὗτοι δ᾽ τοῦ διὰ παρακλήσεως ἐδιδάσκω.

20. So intent was he upon this matter, and as our Writers affirm, so terrified by several signs portending his Destruction, that the following Night he could not sleep, but to secure himself of the Traitour, broke into the House of *Papia*, where, to his great wonder, he saw him bestowed in a very fair and costly Bed, *Papia* lying by on the bare Floor, and so fast asleep, that with no jogging or stirring could he awake him, a thing not incident to those that expect nothing but death. With this sight he was so vexed, that he resolved on the Destruction both of the Prisoner and his Keeper. But *Papia* got knowledge of his coming by one of the Watch, who knew him by his purple Buskins, and observed narrowly his behaviour, and having told to *Michael* the extreme danger they were now joyntly in, as desperate Men they consulted how to extricate themselves. *Michael* pretended by the means of one *Theoctistus* to come to conference with certain Religious Persons about the estate of his Soul, to which the Emperour being not averse, when *Theoctistus* had liberty to come to him, instead of providing for his Soul he took care for his Body, causing him to go to his fellow Conspiratours and to threaten them, that except they would enter into some sud-

But is still mistrusted by the Emperour *Leo*.

den

den and effectual course for his deliverance he would Discover them all to *Leo*.

21. These Men being very much startled, ventured upon this course to rescue him, and preserve themselves. It was the Custome then, that such Clerks as Sung in the Emperour's Chapel did not (as afterward) lye in the Court, but each at his own House, whence about the third Watch of the Night they all met at the Ivory Gate, and by that entring the Palace, so went to perform the Morning Service. With these the Conspiratours mixed themselves, and carrying their weapons hid under their Cloths, entred the place, and in an obscure part of the Church hid themselves till the sign was given. One part of the Service being done, in comes the Emperour according to his Custome, and with a loud Voice begins his usual * Anthem, when they take the advantage, but by mistake fell upon the Dean of the Chapel, or he that † Presided over the Clerks, either because his Head was covered as the Emperour's was, for it being then a great Frost they all wore warmer Hoods, but he quickly uncovered himself, and by shewing to them his bald Pate saved his Life. The Emperour perceiving the matter, conveyed himself to the Altar, and there with the chain of the Incense Pot, or as some said, with the Cross, defended himself as well as he could: but they all rushing upon him together, some wounded him in the Head, others in the Belly, and others in other Parts, till overpowered by the Number, though he demeaned himself most stoutly, like an Hart at a Bay, he was at length knock'd down: Perceiving one of a vast stature to fetch a blow at him, he conjured him by that Grace which inhabited the Sacred place to spare him, but he answering that this was a time for killing and not conjuring, cut off his Hand, together with the Horn of the Cross. At length, spent with wounds, and falling to the ground, one of them struck off his Head; and to such an end came *Leo*, after he had Reigned seven years five months and fourteen days. In a Book of Predictions belonging to the Emperours Library, is said to have been an Oracle of *Sibylla*, expressed in an Hieroglyphical way, by a Lion, from the Back of which, as low as the Belly, was drawn the Greek Letter *X* and a Man, who standing behind the Lion, thrust a Spear into his Body through the Letter. This obscure Oracle the Questour of old time could alone Interpret, affirming it to signifie an Emperour, that being called *Leo*, should be slain on the day of Christ's Nativity.

* Τῶ παντάνακτι διεφαύλισαν πόθῳ. *Sprevere summi cuncta amore Principis.*

† Τὸν τῶν κλήρων ἔξαρχον.

Who is Murthered by the Conspiratours.

22. The Body of the slain Prince the Conspiratours cruelly dragged into the Cirque, being void of all manner of fear, for that they set a guard about the Court, out of which they presently cast the Empress, together with her four Sons, *Sabbatius*, to whom, being designed Emperour, was given the Name of *Constantine*, *Basil*, *Gregory*, and *Theodosius*, all which, putting into a Boat for the present, they sent packing into the Island *Prota*, and there caused them to be gelded, after which *Theodosius* speedily died it seems of the wound, and was buried with his Father, and *Constantine* thereupon grew dumb; as for their Mother, she was shut up in the Monastery of the *Lords*. But *Michael*, freed now from his Gaoler *Papia*, with the Shackles on the Feet (for *Leo* had got the key) sate down upon the Imperial Throne, and was saluted as Emperour, and worshipped by all in the Palace. About noon the noise was all spread abroad, and then, as time it was, were his Bolts knocked off with an Hammer, and without either washing his Hands, thinking on God, or doing any thing fitting such an occasion, he hasted to the Great Church of St. *Sophia*, desirous to be Crowned by the Hand of the Patriarch, and received for Emperour by all the People, trusting onely to his fellow Conspiratours, and the Murtherers of *Leo*. Here *Cedrenus* makes a wonder, first, that *Leo* of such and so many flatterers should have none to stand up in behalf of his cause, but like so many creeping Animals, each of them betake himself to his lurking hole; and at the impudence of *Michael*, that he should enter the Church, not like some Murtherer or Hangman, whose Hands were polluted with Bloud, but as some Conquerour, who had deserved the Palm of Victory, and justly prized himself for some notable Atchievement. Whereas he had not shed hostile but civil Bloud, and that not in an ordinary place, but at the Holy Altar, where the Lord's Bloud was offered for expiation of sins. This *Michael* was born at *Amorium*, a City of the upper *Phrygia*, and in this manner became Emperour, in the seventh year of *Ludovick* the Son of *Charles* the Great, Emperour of the *Franks* in the West, the fourth of *Paschal* Bishop of *Rome*, in the thirteenth Indiction. A. D. DCCCXX.

His Empress cast out.

And his Sons Gelded.

Michael in his Shackles saluted Emperour.

23. As

23. As he came to his Preferment by Treason and Cruelty, as basely and ignominiously he Reigned, shewing himself to be Emperour, by no other thing than the Diademe and the Purple. All Discipline, Order, and rational ways of Administration, he with great scorn rejected, as formal fopperies, but indeed because he knew they would discover his folly, and render ridiculous those courses, his own Inclinations and sillinesse put him upon. Such as in his mean Estate had been his Trade or Exercise, now in the highest degree of Eminency and Power he esteemed his best qualifications. As (if you will have it in down right terms from *Cedrenus*) to guess and divine, whether * Pigs newly pigged would prove well, if brought up; to be skilfull enough to stand near to a kicking Horse or Ass, to have skill in Mules, whether they would prove better for riding or carrying other burthens. In like manner by the mere look, to be able to tell what Horses would be good for the Race, and what for the War; the like concerning the fruitfulness of Sheep and Cows, the quantity of Milk they were like to give, and the quality of their young newly brought forth. Most ingratefull he had been to his first Master and Benefactour *Bardanius*, and worse did he behave himself to *Leo*, whose Wife and Children he used as we have said, onely allowing them a small pittance to live on out of their great Estate he had seized, with some of his own Servants to attend them. Learning so much he abominated, that he would not suffer Children therein to be instructed, lest they should be able to understand and resist his madness, or be able to write more readily than he could, for therein he was so slow, that another might as soon reade a Book as he go over the Letters of his own Name. Such Ignorants as he, have left an evil example to the world; for before the decay of the *Roman* Empire, and Hogherds and Neatherds came to Arrive at the Sovereign Power, who in their younger years by reason of the Poverty of their Parents, had no opportunity to learn, Princes were the best instructed in Learning, the greatest care was had to breed them in Philosophy, and they thought it behoved them to excell others, as well in knowledge as in birth and Dignity; but these upstarts, these base and illiterate Persons coming to be Emperours, began first to decry as mean, useless, and formal, that to which their slender education could never reach, and what they did not understand.

His Character.

Τὰ τῶν, συῶν μὲν τῶν ἀρτιτόκων προλέγειν ὅσοιτε ἔσονται εὐτρεφεῖς, &c.

24. But as seldom it happens, but that some notable mischief happens in the Reigns of such sordid Princes, a Civil War fell out in the Eastern Parts, which brought all sorts of inconveniences upon the World, and consumed so many mortals, that it caused a great scarcity of Men throughout the Empire. The Authour of it was one *Thomas*, concerning whose birth and condition, there is a difference amongst Writers. some have reported him born of obscure Parents, Barbarians, and very poor, and that according to his Original he led his Life in his own Countrey, in continual drudgery and hard labour, the onely means of his preservation. After this he came to *Constantinople*, where he got into the Service of a Senatour, and there plaid several pranks, being so impudent as to defile his Master's Bed, which being discovered, to shun the disgrace and punishment of his crime, he fled to the *Agarens* (or *Saracens*) and with them having continued the space of five and twenty years, and approved himself by his Actions much unto them, he abjured the Christian Religion, and turning Mahometan, procured the Command of a good Party of Men, and to be sent against the Christians, promising to subdue the whole Roman Empire to their Authority. And lest the *Romans* should be averse to him as a stranger and a man of another Religion, he affirmed himself to be *Constantine* their Lawfull Prince, the Son of *Irene*, whom his Mother had deprived both of his Eyes and Empire, and who before this time had left the World. Others there were that affirmed this *Thomas*, the same with him that served *Bardanius*, and concerning whom the Monk of *Philomelium* prophesied, as we said, before, and whom *Leo* had made Captain of the Confederates; that this *Thomas* understanding *Leo* to be Murthered by *Michael*, partly to be revenged on him for the death of his Patron, and partly to satisfie his own malice (for from his youth he had ever born ill will to *Michael*) and out of fear of the Monk's prediction, he now took Arms. First of all he raised a great Army in the East, the place of his abode, listing all that were able to fight, whereof some followed him out of hatred of *Michael*, who had incurred the contempt of all men, others followed him out of good will, some for hope of booty, and those whom none of these motives urged, he compelled to give their Names to the enterprize. His advantages were, that in respect of the gravity of his aspect, he was reverenced by all, besides he was very familiar and fair spoken, qualities very

A Civil War occasioned by one *Thomas*.

Cedrenus.

very acceptable to Souldiers, and inferiour to no man in strength and courage.

25. Having seized on the East, and made sure of the publick Revenue there, as he began so he proceeded, whom he could not allure to his Party, by force bringing them over to side with him. *Asia* he miserably wasted, and dealt severely with those Cities, which out of respect to the Emperour, stood out against him; the whole Region he took, except the Countries of the *Opsiciani* and *Armeniaci*, which through the valour of their Commanders, *Olbianus* and *Catacelas*, stood it out, and for that were rewarded by the Emperour, with the gift of the Smoak-money or Hearth-money, which was wont to be paid into the publick Treasury. But the *Saracens* now taking notice how the *Romans* were imbroiled in a Civil War, took the advantage, and made incursions into all places, Islands as well as others. *Thomas* was hereat concerned, fearing lest his Men affrighted hereat, would desert him, and betake themselves to the defence of their own possessions. He resolved therefore by a sudden onset to repress them, which he did, together with a promise that he would put into their Hands the Territories of the Empire, and subdue it wholly to their Command. By this means being rid of them, he put the Diademe on his own Head, and assumed the Title of Emperour, being declared such by the Patriarch of *Antioch*. Now did he increase his Forces by new Levies, not onely out of the Neighbouring, but remoter Nations, as the *Ægyptians*, *Indians*, *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Armenians*, *Chaldæans*, *Iberians*, *Zichi* and *Cabiri*, and changing his Name to that of *Constantine*, adopted one whom he thought would be a support to his usurped Dignity. *Michael* all this while was not wholly idle, but made preparations for resistence, but so unequal, that *Thomas* ingaging with them, easily defeated them, killing many, and forcing the rest for to shift for themselves. Having by this success very much established his affairs, he pursued his good Fortune with great industry, setting out a Fleet to Sea of Ships, both fit for Fight and Burthen, which had such success, that he became thereby Master of the Emperour's Navy, and appointing the Rendezvous at *Lesbus*, with eighty thousand men, came to *Abydus*, wasting all places in the way. Not onely such as were easie to come at; but such as made resistence he took by force, and set on fire.

26. One Castle there was which made stout resistence, and this *Thomas* sent his adopted Son to Attacque. He proceeding without care or good order, fell into an Ambush laid for him by *Olbianus*, who sent his Head to the Emperour, and he dispatcht it back again to *Thomas*, as he was proudly pursuing his Victories. But little affected with his loss, which the world was wide enough to supply, Adoption being easier than natural Generation, he remitted nothing of his former vigour, but passed over into *Thrace* just upon the changing of the Moon, when the Night was darkest, that he might not be discovered. *Michael* was aware of it, and to prevent his Design, had reinforced all his Garrisons, and by both good words and deeds confirmed the resolutions of his Souldiers as much as he could, although to very little purpose. For as soon as he was returned to *Constantinople*, and *Thomas* was arrived in *Thrace*, they all revolted to him, and followed him to the Siege of that City. The Emperour hereupon as he could, raised other Forces, which committing to the Conduct of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, he sent to meet the Tyrant, and put a stop to his proceedings, and he neglected not his Sea affairs, putting matters there into as good a posture as his present condition would suffer. But *Thomas* like a Torrent, with his vast Armies, both by Sea and Land, bore down all before him, easily routing and dissipating all the Emperour's Forces, whereever they appeared, and struck him with so much Terrour, that he caused a chain to be drawn cross the Haven, from the Castle to the opposite Village, to stop his Progress into the inward Parts of the adjoyning Sea.

27. At this time there lived in the Island *Scirus*, one of the *Cyclades*, a certain Captain called *Gregory*, whom being a near Kinsman of *Leo* the late Emperour, *Michael* had thither banished for boldly upbraiding him with his death. *Thomas* thought fit to draw him to his Party, and for that purpose, gave him the Command of twelve thousand Men, and sent him to Attacque *Constantinople*, being assisted by a strong Squadron of Ships, that the Defendants thus set on both by Sea and Land, might have the greater diversion and less ability to defend themselves. He himself intended to follow with the gross of the Army. The chain was without much difficulty broken, and Siege laid to the City on all sides, after which *Thomas* himself coming up, many furious Assaults were made, but the Inhabitants

habitants made such vigorous and resolute opposition, that nothing they produced, and *Thomas* found himself deceived in his expectation, that the Citizens upon his Approach would have opened their Gates and received him in, which caused him to send *Gregory* before, as it were to prepare for his entrance, resolving to follow in State with the Body of his Army, and his newly adopted Son *Anastasius*, who for this Honour had lately forsaken the Monastical Life. Finding himself treated with opprobrious Language, and threatned with Death instead of a kind Reception, he Incamped himself as strongly as he could, and sent a strong Party to the Euxine Sea, and *Hieras* to take in all the Fortified Towns, that he might not have an Enemy at his back. As he made preparations to Attacque the City afresh, he was much discouraged by the union and resolution of them all within, and much distracted in his mind what course to take; but at length, trusting to his multitudes, resolved to try his Fortune again by Storm.

Endeavouring to storm it, is diverted by a sudden Tempest.

28. By break of day commanding the Signal to be given, he draws his Men out of their Trenches. To his Son he commits the Scaling of the Wall by Land; by Water, he orders his Fleet with Fire and all sorts of things that would annoy, to attempt the Town on that side, and he himself resolves to fall upon the Towers of *Blachernæ*, wherein he conceived the chief strength of the Besieged to consist. No sort of Engine for Battery or Ladders wanting, nothing omitted to strike Terrour into the Defendants, and to force them to yield. But on a sudden arose a violent Tempest which both dissipated the Ships by Sea, and by Land so disordered the Engines and Instruments of Battery, that they were rendred useless and unmanageable, so that he was constrained to give over, and sound to a retreat. This so incouraged the Citizens, that now they took more resolution, and began to make Sallies, which so vexed and wearied him, that Winter also being sharp in those Quarters, he resolved to raise the Siege, and leaving *Thrace*, Quarter his Army in some warmer place, with firm purpose to return in Spring as soon as the Season would permit. This he performed, but found *Michael* now better provided for his Reception, being furnished both with a Fleet and a Land Army. At the same Quarter he gave the Assault as before, and with as much violence, which while it continued, *Michael* found a convenience to talk with some of his Souldiers, to whom he promised not onely pardon for what was past, but good rewards in case they would desert his Service, and abstain from the shedding of Bloud in so bad a quarrel. But they were deaf to all his charming Language, and rather more animated against him, measuring their fidelity to their own Captain by his strength, which in their apprehensions made every way desperate the cause of *Michael*.

And much weakened by a sally from the Town.

29. *Michael* perceiving his good Language had no operation upon the Enemy resolved, with greater hopes to apply it to his own Men, and that he did with such success, that making a sally upon the Enemy he did great Execution, and killing very many of them obtained a notable Victory. *Thomas* having received this defeat at Land had no better success at Sea, where his Navy miscarried through the Cowardise of his men, who terrified with the approach of the Emperour's Triremes fled back to Land, and some of them revolted, the rest retired unto their Camp. His success was better against *Gregory* the Kinsman of *Leo*, who perceiving his Affairs go down the wind, and believing he would in a short time dwindle to nothing, resolved to make his Peace with *Michael*, and the rather because the Emperour had gotten his Wife and Children into his Hands. But *Thomas* had timely notice of his intended flight with that party which he commanded, and as he was marching away, before the Emperour could receive the News of his revolt fell upon him, and easily mastering his Party took him alive, and presently put him to death, having left a convenient Number of men, all this while to keep the siege, lest the Enemy should take the Advantage, and fall in upon his back. The exploit performed, he returned to the siege, and sent Letters up and down which falsly proclaimed a mighty Victory, and sent for such Ships as lay in *Greece*, as purposing to pursue his good Fortune by Sea also, and the Fleet came as far as *Beridus*, consisting of fifty Vessels in all, as well those of burthen as the other for fighting. The Emperour's Fleet had notice of their coming, and secretly by Night set upon them. Many were taken with the men, others were burnt; and those that escaped came up to *Blachernæ*, which they joined with the Land Forces.

30. In the mean time several skirmishes happened at the siege, sometimes *Michael* himself, otherwhiles *Theophilus* his Son, or *Catacelas* and *Olbianus* issuing out upon the Besiegers, for he durst not adventure upon a set Battel, because *Thomas* far exceeded him in Numbers. But by this time the Report of the *Roman* Emperours being blocked up in a Town, had flown far and wide, and was come to the Ears of *Mortagon* the King of the *Bulgarians*, who was therewith so affected, as pitying the Dignity rather than the Man he sent privately, to incourage him with a promise, that he would come speedily to his assistence. *Michael* either for that he suspected what this stranger in conclusion might doe, or was unwilling the Countrey should be wasted by another Army, or rather to save his Money in getting and keeping, whereof none of his Predecessours had been more sordid, thanked the *Bulgarian* for his kindness, and excused his not accepting of his Relief. But for all this *Mortagon* who was accustomed to War and Depredations, and desirous to confirm the League for thirty years, which he had made to the *Armenians*, undertook the expedition against *Thomas*, and coming into the *Roman* Territories as far as *Cedoctus*, there incamped himself. *Thomas*, as he had reason, was very much disturbed, finding himself too weak to continue the Siege, and fight the *Bulgarians* too, great Forces being requisite to each of these undertakings. At length he resolved to fight the *Bulgarians*, which he did at *Cedoctus*, but was worsted in Battel; great Numbers of his men being slaughtered, the News whereof coming to his Fleet before *Constantinople*, it presently revolted to the Emperour. Yet such was his Ambition and Hopes of attaining his ends, at last, that incouraged by the retreat of *Mortagon* into his own Countrey, he still continued his siege.

And forced to raise the siege upon the arrival of the *Bulgarians* to the Emperour's aid.

31. But finding all his Attempts frustrate, at length he marched to a place called *Diabasis*, some furlongs distant from the City, und very convenient for Excursions where he incamped himself, and thence wasted all near the Walls, without any formal siege or drawing out his Forces. The Emperour incouraged by this his Recess raised a considerable Army, which he committed to the Conduct of *Catacelas* and *Olbianus*, and thereto joyning his Guards and the ordinary *Militia*, he led them all against him who received them courageously, and by way of stratageme ordered his men to counterfeit flight, and suddenly again to retreat, and so terrifie the Enemy. But his Design would not take at this time. His men were quite tired out with expectation. Such of them as had Wives and Families at Home, now began to think of returning to them; how lavishly they had shed civil and innocent Bloud, and to gratify the madness and ambition of one man spent three years in prosecution of that, which now there was no probability of attaining. The sign being therefore given they fled not in jest, but in good earnest, and dispersing themselves, most of them went over to the Emperour. *Thomas* himself with a few got to *Adrianople*, and *Anastatius* his fictitious Son seized upon the Castle of *Birya*, *Michael* resolved to make sure of them e'er they could recruit, and in the first place pursued *Thomas*, whom besieging, he resolved not to use any Engines or Instruments of Battery in attacking the Town, but to starve him out, partly because he would not deface the Walls and Houses, and that he might not teach the *Scythians*, bordering upon the place, the manner of taking Cities by storm. A line he drew about the place, and blocked it up every where. *Thomas* put forth all such as were not fit for War, but necessaries at length failing those that remained, most of them made their escapes as they could, at a little Gate, and over the Walls by Ropes, part of them going to the Emperour, and part to *Anastasius* still lying at *Birga*.

In a Battel is driven to *Adrianople*.

32. Those that remained with *Thomas* being reduced to such extremity, that they were forced to eat rotten Leather and other things which naturally Man abhors, at last entertained Correspondence with *Michael*, and having obtained pardon for what was past, delivered him up in Fetters to him. *Michael* observing the Custome received in those times by the Emperours, upon such occasions, first caused him to lie all along on the ground, and then set he his Feet upon his Neck, after which his Hands and Feet being cut off, he was put upon an Ass and shewed about the Camp, saying onely thus much, *Thou who art the true King* (*or Emperour*) *have mercy upon me.* The Emperour went about to examine him if any of his Courtiers were of the Conspiracy, and he had doubtless accused many had not *John Exabulius* the Patritian advised *Michael* to forbear and not to trust an Enemy that accuses his Friends; by which saying he saved many miserable Citizens and the very Friends of the Emperour from great impending mischiefs. *Thomas* at length spent by lingring Torments, breathed out his last in the middle

But at last *Thomas* is delivered up to the Emperour.

Ἐλέησον με ἀληθῶς βασιλεῦ.

middle of *October*, a Man who at the beginning enterprized great things, and with great Alacrity and Vigour prosecuted his Designs, but fell less and less as he went on, and his last attempts answered not expectation. Those at *Briga* understanding what their Friends at *Adrianople* had done, treated *Anastasius* in the same manner; for they delivered him up bound Hand and Foot, and he perished after the same manner as did his Father, succeeding him in his punishment, though not in his Imperial Dignity. The two Usurpers were thus dispatched, but some Remnants of the Rebellion remained. *Pavium* and *Heraclea* two Maritime Towns of *Thrace*, still held out, not so much out of respect to them as hatred to the Emperour, because he refused to restore Images. But e'er long *Pavium* was taken, the Walls being overwhelmed by an Earthquake, and *Heraclea* was stormed on the side lying toward the Sea.

The Inhabitants of *Heraclea* and *Pavium* reduced to obedience.

33. There yet remained two Castles, *Cabala* and *Saxiana*, whereof the one was held by *Choreas*, the other by *Gazarenus*, who thence exercised Robberies and Depredations. The Emperour offered them their pardon, and more than that to make them Masters (such was the Name of the Dignity) but they rejected his offer, which he knowing, corrupted some of the garrison Souldiers, so that going out to rob another time, the Gates were shut against them at their return, and flying into *Syria*, they were there apprehended by some of the Governours, and nailed to Crosses. By this means the whole Rebellion was now extinguisht. Upon such as were taken in the War *Michael* no otherwise animadverted, than by setting them first on Asses, and so carrying them about to be seen at the *Circensian* Games, after which they were banished. But, as *Cedrenus* writes, all mischiefs ceased not with the War; but as well *Europe*, as *Asia*, the Head, as the Tail, (so he terms it) were chastized from Heaven, by Slaughters, Fires, Earthquakes, Robberies, Civil Broils, sudden and unexpected destruction of Cities, signs in the Heaven and Air; and the like mischiefs invaded also the Islands, as well as the Continent; all which he ascribes to this, that they would not worship Images. But (to come to the matter) at such time as *Thomas* began to raise Commotions, when the rumour thereof spread abroad, the *Saracens* that inhabited *Spain*, thinking a fit opportunity to be presented them, desired of their Prince, that they might send out a Colony; for that they were too numerous for the Countrey they inhabited. Their Prince *Apochapsus* by Name (their *Amermumnes Cedrenus* rather than they themselves called him) very glad of the opportunity, and concealing his design went with some long ships furnished with them to waste the Eastern Islands which belonged to the Empire; both to gratify the People, and to discover whether there was any fruitfull Isle, into which it would be worth his labour to send a Colony. Sailing away at the beginning of the Spring, and coming to several Islands he found no resistence, all Ships and Garrisons being gone to the assistence of *Thomas*; great booty he got, and so returned, bringing home especially Intelligence concerning the fertility and pleasantness of *Crete*, as a place abounding with Milk and Honey; for so he term'd it.

Choreas and *Gazarenus* subdued.

And the Civil War finished.

The Eastern Isles wasted by the *Saracens*.

34. When therefore Winter was over, and the season permitted, with another Fleet consisting of forty Ships and furnished with Souldiers, he set sail, and arriving at *Crete*, there landed his Men. He incamped upon the Promontory *Charax*, and sent Spies to discover the Countrey, who returned without having met any to oppose them, when in the mean time, he caused all the Ships to be set on fire. The Army being much affrighted at the sight, and returning to the Camp to know the cause of the misfortune, their Captain told them that they themselves were the cause thereof, who had been earnest for planting a Colony in some fruitfull place: but no fruitfuller, nor fitter every way to plant in did he know than this, now he had both satisfied their desires, and had eased himself of their Importunities. But they objected to him the want of their Wives and Children, to which he answered that they should speedily have captive Women which they might use as Wives, and on them beget Children: and satisfied with this answer they intrenched themselves. *Photinus* the *Protospatharian* and *Prefect* of the East, having speedy notice hereof gave Intelligence also to the Emperour, desiring he might have sufficient Forces to withstand so impending a mischief, who accordingly with great supplies dispatched to him *Damianus* another *Protospatharian*, and they, joyning their Powers together, prepared for an expedition. But it happened that coming to ingage the *Saracens*, at the very first onset *Damianus* was slain, which so affrighted the whole Army that it ran away, and amongst others *Photinus* to the Emperour as fast as a swift Pinnace could carry him with the News of the Overthrow, who yet rewarded him with the Government of

They invade *Crete*.

Thereof *Photinus* advertiseth the Emperour.

They defeat him and *Damianus*.

Sicily instead of that of *Crete*, whereof the unmannerly *Agarens* had now deprived him. They could not for some time, agree amongst themselves where to plant, being solicitous for a place of safety, till a certain Monk coming down from the Mountains directed them to *Chandace*, which finding very convenient for their Designs, they there built a City to command the whole Island, and thence they made Excursions, and took all the Towns within the Island in a short space, one onely excepted. After this manner became the Isle of *Crete*, subject to the *Saracens*, who streight began to persecute such as professed the Christian Religion.

And fix at *Chandace*.

35. But, *Michael*, freed from the civil Wars, ascribed the Issue not to the Goodness of Almighty God, but to his own Prudence and Sagacity. His Wife being dead and having a great desire to be married again, he deals with some of the leading men in the Senate, by their complaints to constrain him as it were to take another; nay to threaten him in case he did it not, using this worthy pretext, that their Wives must by no means want a Sovereign Lady and Mistress. To satisfie them therefore he will take a Wife, but not without this Caution neither, that in case she overlive him, they will ingage to esteem and honour her as their Empress, and make Emperour one of the Sons he should have by her. After all this stir, he takes out of a Monastery a Virgin called *Euphrosyna*, one that from her Childhood had ever professed the Monastical life, and was reported to be the Daughter of *Constantine*, whose Eyes were put out by his Mother *Irene*. Being married, he began to think of the Isle of *Crete*, and what a disgrace it was, for him to suffer the *Saracens* in it to nest themselves; therefore he sent away *Craterus* the Governour of the *Cibyreots* with seventy Vessels, to which joining all the rest that belonged to the Islands, he made up a considerable Fleet, and therewith landed his men, and very fiercely fell upon them, who with as much resolution received him. From break of the day they fought till noon, without any appearance to which side the Victory inclined, but, towards Evening the *Saracens* were worsted and put to flight, many of them being slain and many taken, and their new City might have easily run the same fortune had day and light sufficed. But the Conquerours were, neither, willing to take too much pains, and not valuing those that had escaped whom they doubted not, but they could easily master when they pleased, they gave themselves to Drunkenness all the Night, as if they had been at home, and not in an Enemies Countrey; not so much as setting any Watch, or taking the least care of their own Security. The *Saracens* now, how weary and wounded soever, perceiving the condition they were in, when they were all drowned in drink and sleep fell in upon them, and cut them all off, hardly one escaping with the News from the Island except *Craterus* himself, who got away in a Merchants ship, but the Captain of the *Saracens* seeking for him, and missing him among the dead sent those after him who took him also napping in the Island *Cos*, and there nailed him to a Cross. This expedition so ill succeeding, one *Oriphas*, a man considerable both for Courage and Skill in military Affairs, raised by the Emperour's order an Army which got the Name of *Tessaracontarius* or *Fortieth*, because to every man were assigned so many *Aurei*. Herewith visiting the Isles partly by Ambushes, and partly by open Ingagements, he repressed the Insolence of these *Cretian Saracens*.

Michael marries a veiled Virgin.

Cedrenus. *Zonaras.* *Ex Johanne Curopalata.*

Craterus and all his Souldiers slain by the *Saracens*.

36. At this time it happened that one *Euphemius* an Officer in the Army, falling in love with a veiled Virgin in a Monastery, and incouraged by what he knew the Emperour to have done in the like case, took her thence by force and lay with her. Her Brothers hereupon make loud complaints to the Emperour, who gives order to the Governour of *Sicily*, if upon examination he found the matter objected to be true, to cut off his Nose. *Euphemius* having notice of his doom draws into conspiracy his Fellow Officers, and makes so strong a Party, that when the Governour comes to execute his Orders he easily repells him, and flying over to the *Ameras* or Governour of *Africk*, promises him to betray *Sicily* into his Hands, and pay him a large Tribute if he would declare him Emperour of the *Romans*. This the *Ameras* thought was no great matter to doe, and therefore furnishes him with Forces, and sends him away with the glorious, but empty Title of Emperour. He accordingly brought the *Saracens* into *Sicily*, but as he went about the Island to perswade the People to own and receive him for Emperour indeed, and coming to *Syracuse* went so near the Walls, that he was drawn about a bow shot off from his Company, as he endeavoured to make his way by a flattering Speech, two of the Citizens being Brothers agree together to take the opportunity and kill him. They made him great Reverence, and both by

Euphemius usurps and brings the *Saracens* into *Sicily* which they seize on.

by words and gestures flattered him into a belief of their kindness and fidelity, insomuch that he to requite their Civility called them to him, and went to salute one of them, who caught him by the Hair of the Head, and so fast held him till the other cut off his Head. But the *Saracens* fell not short of what they designed and he promised, for introduced by him they got possession of the Island, and not onely that, but upon *Calabria* and several other pars, by reason of this Vicinity they seized, wasting all where e'er they came with Fire and Sword. But though *Cedrenus* and others relate this story of *Euphemius* all together, yet two years seem to have been taken up in transacting the whole Affair, the Death of the Emperour *Michael*, being related just after the Conclusion. He died after he had reigned nine years of a Dysentery, and was buried in *Justinian's* great Chapel. *Dalmatia* also revolted from the Empire in his time, which was very full of Calamities, which credulous People believed was foretold by an Oracle. They also concluded, that the Empire should at length be devolved upon him, from some Circumstances which fell out at the Promotion of *Leo* his Predecessour. As *Leo* being about to pray for happy success put off the Robe he then had on, he gave it to hold to this *Michael*, being then the Master of his Horse, who without any more to doe put it on. And when the said *Leo* invested in another Robe, went into the Chapel belonging to the Palace, this *Michael* following him negligently trod on his Train, which it's said *Leo* accounted an ill Omen, and thence guessed that he would in time raise Commotions. From these passages, and what has been said of the Monk, we may see how they were addicted to Prophecies and Ominous conceits in those days.

Michael dies.

Dalmatia revolts from the Empire.

Theophilus his Son succeeds him.

37. *Michael Balbus* being dead, *Theophilus* his Son now arrived at Man's Estate succeeded him in the Month of *October*, and the seventh Indiction in the sixteenth year of *Ludovicus* Emperour of the West, the second of *Gregory* the Fourth of that Name Bishop of *Rome*. *A.D.* DCCCXXIX. This *Theophilus* shewed himself a marvellous observer of Justice, and a severe Assertour of the Laws of the Empire, though as his Adversaries, upon account of Religion take upon them to censure him, he was herein hypocritical, pretending this Zeal merely thereby to secure himself from Conspiracies, to cut off all Pretences and Advantages, that any who had a mind to usurp, might catch at, and improve against him. To this purpose he put in Execution such a Design, as could not but to the understanding sort evince his Father to have been both a Traitour and a Tyrant, and himself an Usurper if he came to the Dignity by the way of Succession, and upon his account. He resolved to put to death all those that had any Hand in the Murther of *Leo* and his Father's Advancement, and for that end published an Edict whereby he summoned all such as had had any Favours, Dignities or Preferments conferred on them by him, to the House called *Magnaura*, and from the Five Towers *Pentapyrgium*. When they were all assembled he mildly told them, that his Father had in his Life-time resolved to reward such highly, as had procured his preferment, and done him eminent service, but forasmuch as being prevented by death, he could not effect what he purposed, he had left him as his Executour to pay that Debt. Therefore he desired them that were his Father's Friends to separate themselves from the rest, into a peculiar place, where they might receive the Reward intended them. Such as had assisted in the Murther of *Leo*, in expectation of some great matter gladly and readily discovered themselves, whom having incompassed as Fish in a Net, he commanded the Officer thereto appointed to put the Laws in execution, telling him that *Seeing both God and he committed the Power to him, he should give these men their full hire, who had not onely defiled their Hands with Man's bloud, but had killed the Anointed of the Lord within his Temple.* Having said this he dismissed the Assembly, and the Officer going to work took the Malefactours, and punished them as those that had committed Murther. This performed, *Theophilus* sent back his Mother-in-Law, and shut her up in the Monastery, where first she had been professed. And the Ingagement wherewith her Husband had bound the Senate in her behalf, could not stand her in any stead.

829.

Joan. Curopalata, ex eo Cedrenus, Zonaras, alii.

Puts to death the Murtherers of *Leo* his Predecessour.

Is a strict observer of Justice, and against worshipping of Images.

38. Such was *Theophilus* his beginning. He was so exact a Follower of Justice, that he was feared by bad, and admired by all good Men, this onely blot our Authours find in his Escocheon, that he was against the worshipping of Images, and as severely as any of his Predecessours. Every week he rode to our Ladies Church in *Blachernæ*, and heard all Complaints of oppressed People, without any partiality. Riding also about the Markets, he himself would view what was to be sold, and take notice of the Prices of Commodities, wherein he went below

below himself, but he would not trust any to doe it, especially in Meats and Drinks, where the Poor were most concerned. In all other matters relating to Government he was very exact, having an especial regard to Courts of Justice. And although he condescended thus in these things yet was he not of any Mean, Covetous or Sordid Spirit, as appears by this following Passage. Looking on a time over the Wall of the Palace towards the Sea, he beheld coming into the Haven a Ship of burthen goodly to behold under sail, and very well fraught with Merchandise. Being much taken with the sight, and asking to whom the Vessel belonged, and what was her Lading, it was answered, to the Empress, with which answer at present he seem'd satisfied, and replyed nothing. But staying till the time came he was to go to the Church in *Blachernis*, in his way he took the Haven, where he called to the Mariners, and demanded of them if they wanted any thing, when after often asking, at length they replied, that by the care of the Emperour they had all things that were convenient for them, he demanded if they did not know that God Almighty had made him Emperour, but the Empress his Wife had made him a Merchant or Mariner; and he added with Indignation, was there ever any Empress before that saw her Husband a Merchant? This said, he caused the Men to come ashore, and to bring their own Goods along with them, then fire to be set to the Ship, which consumed it with all its Merchandize and Tackling. He rebuked his Wife with great earnestness, and threatned her with destruction if ever she attempted any such thing again; telling her that Traffick was ordained for private men wherewith to sustain themselves, and that if Princes should besides their publick Incomes apply themselves to Trade, their Subjects should not have whereon to live. Her Name was *Theodora*, by Birth a *Paphlagonian*, the Daughter of one *Maximus* a Man of Noble Parentage, and *Theoctista Floriana* his Wife.

Not at all given to Covetousness.

39. Another Story is told, which as much shews his Justice, and both of them declare his generous Disposition. There was a certain Souldier in the Army that had an excellent Horse, of so good Heels that he had often saved his Master's life in Battel. The Officer under whom he served taking notice of him, indeavoured by all means, both by Threats and Promises to get him from him, and when he could no-ways prevail, accused him to the Emperour for a Coward and Cathier'd him. Not long after it happened that the Emperour wanted an excellent Horse, which bringing to the mind of this Officer the repulse he had received from the Souldier, he takes away his Horse by mere force, and presents him to *Theophilus* as of his own free gift. After this there being a necessity of raising more Forces, this man is prest to the service afresh and ingaging in Battel, for want of his Horse is overtaken and slain, leaving a Wife and Children behind him. The Widow left in low condition, and hearing much of the Emperour's Justice, comes to *Constantinople*, and as he rode to the Church in *Blachernis*, according to his custome, upon her Husband's Horse, caught him by the Bridle, crying out that he was hers, and that the Emperour had been the cause of her Husband's death. *Theophilus* amazed desires her to have patience till he returned to Court, and then to come to him, which she did, and having told him all the Story, he sent immediately for the Officer, and caused the Woman to step aside. He being examined would confess nothing, till she being produced, and confronting, he could no more deny the Fact, but first standing mute, acknowledged what she said to be true as to all Circumstances, and then he fell at the Emperour's feet with Tears imploring his mercy. *Theophilus* took away all his Estate and gave it to the Widow and her Children, put him out of Command, and sent him into Banishment.

Very Just.

40. Besides these good qualities he was very magnificent in building, amongst other things he rebuilt the Walls of the City, pulling down the old and mean ones, and rearing others in their room, so lofty that they could not be scaled by the Art of Enemies. To all dissolute living he was so averse, that he turned Whores out of the Stews, and converted the place to the better use of harbouring Strangers, giving it his own Name, and afterward it became a Nunnery or Receptacle of the better sort of single Women. He himself is reported never to have been overtaken with Women but once, being then insnared by the extraordinary beauty of one of the Empresses Attendants, but seeing his Wife to be much concerned about it, he confessed his fault, asked her forgiveness, and with hands lifted up to Heaven, vowed that he had never been faulty in that kind before. He much affected Musick, and composed several Anthems. He had very short Hair, and therefore published an Edict, that no *Roman* should wear Locks longer than

Endued with several other good Qualities.

than his Neck; but otherwise also by Laws he indeavoured to retain the ancient *Roman* temperance and moderation. Having five Daughters and never a Son, his best beloved, *Mary* by Name, he resolved to Marry to some Person of Principal note and merit, and pitched upon one *Alexius Moseles*, an *Armenian* by Birth, descended of the *Genitæ*, one beautifull in Person, and in the flower of his Age. He first conferred on him the Dignity of Patritian, then of Pro-consul, afterward of Master, and at last created him *Cæsar*, and with a numerous Army, matters then requiring it, sent him into *Lombardy*. There he managed his matters to the satisfaction of his Father-in-Law, but what satisfied him, dissatisfied his Æmulatours, who accused him as Ambitious, and affecting the Empire, and they urged a Prophecy *as if A should justle out* Th; which as soon as he understood he desired leave of *Theophilus* to retire to the Monastical life. The Emperour unwilling to doe so much injury to his Daughter, denied his Request, and compelled him to keep his Rank and Power; but she dying not long after, and *Theophilus* having a Son born to him by Name *Michael*, when he again importuned him to dismiss him, he assented, though with much regret, and assigned him such places as he thought most commodious for his retirement.

41. Besides this *Alexius* he was otherwise well furnished with eminent Captains, two especially, *Manuel* and *Theophobus*. *Manuel* had formerly been General to *Leo*, and Master of the Horse to *Michael Rangabes*. *Theophobus* was the base Son of a certain *Persian* Ambassadour, descended of the Royal bloud, who after his birth presently died, and left him at *Constantinople*. It happening that all those of the Royal House in *Persia* being either destroyed or driven away by the *Saracens*, the *Persians* hearing of him sent to *Theophilus* to desire they might have him to be their King; but he refused it, chusing rather to make him a Patritian, and to give him his own Sister in Marriage, and he made a Law which gave leave to his Subjects to Marry with *Persians*. By this means many of that Nation came over to him, and gave their Names to the expedition he was now undertaking against the *Saracens*, out of whom he raised a Legion, which was called the *Persian*, and joyned in the Army with the *Roman* Legions. The *Saracens* having invaded the *Roman* Territories, *Theophilus* with these two Captains marcheth against them. When they came near the Enemy, and began to consider whether they should give Battel, *Manuel* was against the Emperour's ingaging in Person, affirming it a thing below him to grapple with a Man so inferiour as the *Amermumnes* was, and that some of his Captains with part of his Forces was to do it. But *Theophobus* contended that the Prince himself ought to fight, and advised him by Night to fall on with the Foot, and to leave the Horse for a Reserve. The Emperour approved not of his Advice as to falling on by Night, but resolving to doe it by day light, *Imprael* the *Amermumna* or General of the *Saracens*, whether out of fear, or to let the *Romans* see how much he despised them, went away with part of his Army, and left eighty thousand men with *Abuzachar* one of his Captains to fight them. Battel being joyned many fell on both sides, and at length the Cohorts or Schools, as they called them, with their Captain or *Domesticus* gave ground and turned their backs. The Emperour with his Guard, two thousand *Persians*, and *Theophobus* got to an Hill, where they were incompassed by the *Saracens*, who sought to take him Prisoner, and his own men strove as hard to defend him, and in this Contention they spent all the day; when night was come *Theophobus* commanded the Souldiers to shout and make a noise with their Trumpets and Instruments of Musick as if they rejoyced for some Relief that was arrived, which Strategeme took so well that the *Saracens* concluding they had Succours come indeed, lest they should be surrounded by their Enemies, retreated to seven Miles distance, and by this means the Emperour escaped to the rest of his Army which had run away. Yet did he onely chide, and in no severer manner animadverted upon them. *Theophobus*, as reason was, he very much honoured, which made his Countreymen the more fond of him, insomuch that they Petitioned *Theophilus*, that under his Conduct they might by themselves make War against the *Saracens*. And he so far gratified them, that he suffered none else to command them.

Ingaging with the *Saracens* and *Turks* he is worsted.

42. The following year he marched against the *Saracens* with very good success, which incouraged him to make another attempt the next Spring, but this did not answer expectation. For he had far the worst, and was very near being taken in Battel, when *Manuel* his General considering what a disgrace it would be to the *Roman* Name and Empire, propounded it to the Army as an Argument to animate them to fetch him off, and when he had broken through to him and found him

And with difficulty brought off by his General in the next.

him wearied and in despair, he intreated him to follow him as he made him way through the throng of the Enemies. But *Theophilus* still loitered, pretending he must not discourage his men by flying, which *Manuel* perceiving came back when he had already passed to him the third time, and drawing his Sword threatned to kill him except he would follow him, (telling him it much more behoved the State that he should die than be taken) by which means he brought him off. For this service he deserved a reward, and the Emperour was not slow to give it, and the thing being so evident, to confess he had been his Deliverer. But as Princes do not care too much to be beholden to their Subjects, he envied him for his Reputation, and there wanted not those who gratified him by accusing the General of Designs to Usurp, so that it was resolved he should loose his sight. This was discovered to him by one that formerly had been his Servant, and now was Cupbearer to the Emperour, whereupon he fled to the *Saracens*, and upon condition that he should not be constrained to change his Religion, revolted to them and was joyfully received. He was speedily advanced to the highest Honour and Command he was capable of, and with an Army the *Saracens* sent him against their Neighbours called *Cermatæ*. But he refused to fight with any other than such *Romans* as there were in Captivity, whom gathering into a Body he therewith did very notable Service, and took a Castle called *Chorosan*, striking greater terrour into the Besieged, not onely by his valour, but the difference of Language and Habit, and an unexpected change of the manner of fighting. But not onely was he very acceptable to the *Saracens*, for fighting with Men, but making War also upon Wild Beasts, which did very much at this time infest their Countrey, and afforded him this opportunity of keeping his Souldiers in Action.

Who being accused to the Emperour flies to the *Saracens*.

43. These things being made known to *Theophilus*, vexed him much, as taxing himself with Ingratitude and high Imprudence, in disobliging so serviceable a man, therefore he resolved to get him Back by any means. At that time Monks being wont to travell and wander up and down in all Places, he employed one of that sort whom he knew fit for his purpose, as least liable to suspicion, sending by him Letters strengthened by a Seal of Gold and a Cross, which gave *Manuel* such satisfaction, as concealing the Message he studied how to return, and after some time effected it in this manner. He desired leave of *Ismael* Prince of the *Saracens* to make an Expedition against the *Romans* into *Cappadocia*, to be revenged chiefly on those who had accused him to the Emperour, and easily obtained it, together with the Son of the Prince to accompany him, as having already given sufficient Testimony of his Fidelity. The Governour of *Cappadocia* he prepared beforehand to receive him, and being arrived at the place he desired, and going out from the Army with the Prince his Son and a few Followers as to Hunt, he bid the Young man get Him back to the *Saracens*, and let them know his Resolution of returning into his own Countrey. Getting safe to *Constantinople* he was gladly received by the Emperour in the Church of *Blachernæ*, there had conferred on him the Place of *Magister*, and was shortly after Godfather to his Son *Michael*, whom afterwards he adorned with the Imperial Title and Ensigns of Majesty. After this in the Spring *Theophilus* and the *Saracens* on each side made preparations for War, but coming near together were struck with such mutual fear, that both Armies returned home without having any thing performed. At his return came Ambassadours from *Chagan* the petty Prince of *Chazaria*, desiring leave to build up a Castle called *Marcol* on the Borders, as very convenient for restraining the Incursions of the *Petzinacæ* toward the River *Tanais*, which they obtained, and one *Petronas* was sent to see the thing performed. *Petronas* when he came back acquainted the Emperour that he could not continue Master of *Cherson*, except he sent thither a Governour of his own, the manner having been to put some of the Natives into the command. The Emperour being satisfied with his Reasons sent him to execute the office, with orders to the Townsmen to put him into possession, which they obeyed.

But is sent for to the Emperour.

And received into favour.

Theophilus enters *Syria* wasting the Dominion of the *Saracens*.

44. The year following *Theophilus* made an Incursion into *Syria* against the *Saracens*, which wasting all in his way he took two Cities, and carrying away the Inhabitants made himself Master also of *Sozopetra* the Native place of the *Amermumnes*, though he sent to him and earnestly begged of him that he would spare it. This done the Emperour returned to *Constantinople*, leaving behind him *Theophobus* to settle some matters relating to the Army, which past, he was to follow after. But the Reverence which the Mercenary *Persians* had for *Theophilus*, being removed they fell into a Mutiny, and laying hold of *Theophobus* at *Sinope*, would

would needs make him Emperour, though he used all the Protestations and Intreaties he could; but when he could not divert them, he sent private notice of it to *Theophilus* to signifie his Aversenes to the Thing, and as soon as he could made his escape and got to Court, where he was kindly received and enjoyed his former Honours. And for this time no farther trouble happened, the *Persians* being also pardoned, and received to favour, yet it was thought fit that being thirty thousand in Number they should not continue together, but be dispersed by two thousands into several Provinces under their distinct Officers. But the Prince of the *Saracens* or *Amermumnes*, as these Greek Historians call him, was wonderfully inraged for the destruction of his Native City, and breathing nothing but revenge, hired men out of *Babylonia*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Cœlosyria*, and the farther *Africk*, (that lying next *Spain Cedrenus* means) giving Orders to every Souldier to ingrave upon his Target the word *Amorium* which being the Birth-place of *Theophilus* he was resolved to destroy. At *Tarsus* all his Forces met; and *Theophilus* aware of the danger marched to *Dorylæum* with such an Army as he could raise, distant three days journey from *Amorium*. Now there were several that perswaded to decline rather than withstand the fury of the *Saracen* Prince whose Numbers far exceeded his, and to remove the Inhabitants of *Amorium* to some other place. But he thought it would much reflect upon him, and resolving to protect the place, sent thither *Aetius* a Patritian the Captain of the East with a strong Party, which he also committed to the Conduct of *Theodorus Craterus*, (whom *Zonaras* will have to have commanded at *Amorium*) *Theophilus Bubutzicus* and others, men very eminent in their time.

Is required by a Visit from them.

45. The Prince of the *Saracens* lying at *Tarsus*, deliberated with those about him what to doe; for he was of opinion that he should not pass on directly for *Amorium*, but send his Son with part of the Army to make an Attempt upon the Emperour, whom if he should beat he should share in the Victory, and if it happened otherwise, it would be best for him to be quiet. His Son therefore he sent together with *Ameras*, who then commanded *Metylene*; ten thousand *Turks*, all the *Armenian* Forces, and his Commander in chief, and they came and incamped themselves at a place called *Dazymenum*. *Theophilus* with his Army, consisting especially of *Persians* both Eastern and Western, marching to a Town called *Anzin*, resolved before he would ingage to view the Numbers of the Enemy, which finding to exceed his, it was to be considered with what Strategem and advantage they should fall upon them. *Manuel* the Domestick of the Schools, as *Cedrenus* calls him, and *Theophilus* thought it best to be done by Night; but all the rest were for day light, with whom the Emperour agreed. And by day light a most fierce Battel was fought, wherein first the *Romans* had the better, the *Saracens* turning their backs. But the *Turks* so exceedingly galled the Pursuers with their Arrows, that they quite turned the course of the fight, and made those to run and forsake their Emperour, who but now seemed to have the Victory. Yet did the Captains manfully behave themselves, and so did the *Persians*, who compassed him about, and earnestly laboured for his Preservation: yet he had been slain had not Night come on and some Rain faln, which wet the Bowstrings of the *Turks* so as they could not so conveniently use them, and the *Romans* had thereby opportunity to retreat. In the Night *Manuel* who commanded the Watch, observed the *Persians* to entertain Discourse with the *Saracens* in their Language, about betraying the *Roman* Army and returning into their own Countrey, which revealing with all speed to the Emperour, he advised him by all means, with some choice Followers to provide for his own safety by flight, now while he had time, and not fall into the hands of the *Saracens*. He answered, that this he could hardly doe, especially to leave those to perish whom he had brought into the danger, but *Manuel* replyed, that if God would but preserve him, they would look to themselves, whereupon *Theophilus* took his Advice and fled away to a place called *Chiliocomum*. Hither such as we said ran away from the Battel being fled, it's said they met him, and confessing themselves unworthy of life, who had so deserted their Emperour, drew their Swords and would have killed themselves, but that he restrained them, by affirming he was preserved by God, and that therefore they should not perish.

Who rout the Emperour's Army.

46. But the *Saracenian* Prince understanding how matters had prospered under his Son, resolved without delay to fall on *Amorium*, which joyning Forces with him, he did, drawing first a deep Trench about it. The *Turks* plied it with Arrows, and the *Saracens* with Batteries, yet the *Romans* within Valiantly defended themselves and it, though the storm continued without Intermission. *Theo-*

philus with much adoe having escaped at *Dorylæum* expected the event, whence he resolved to try the temper of the *Saracen* by Messengers sent with rich Presents, and to desire of him to desist. But he being implacably incensed by the Destruction of his *Sozopetra*, upbraided him with Cowardize, and scoffing at the Message, commanded those that brought it to be secured till they might see the Issue. Then did he more vigorously than ever attacque the Town, dividing his Forces into many Parties, so as when one was spent or beaten off, another fresh one might succeed, with which pertinacious course he hoped that the Besieged would be tired out and surrender. Yet the Defendants were so resolute, that the Town was not to be taken but by Treachery, to which one *Badaties* a Townsman was Bribed, who upon some discontent had abjured the Christian Religion. He gave them notice where the Walls might most easily be mounted, and an Assault be made, which so succeeded as the *Saracens* by storm took the Place, and made unspeakable Slaughter of the Garrison and Inhabitants, being inraged at their Resolution, and for the Death of so many eminent Men as on their side had perished in the Siege. And with the Citizens so perished this most Beautifull of Eastern Cities, nothing remaining of it but Rubbish. The Women and Children were led away into Captivity, the Men generally being put to the Sword. But *Callistus*, *Constantinus*, *Theodorus Craterus*, all Patritians, and others who were eminent for their Employments in the Army or the State were taken, and the Prince now in an Insulting manner caused the Ambassadours to take a view of the estate of *Amorium*, and then sent them with an Account thereof to their Master.

And Race the City *Amorium*.

47. He sent them back again to desire that such eminent Persons as were taken, being his Kinsmen and Allies, and the rest of the Prisoners might be set at liberty for their Ransome, offering four and twenty Centenaries; but he rejected them and their Message ignominiously, saying he shoud be unjustly accounted a Fool indeed, if he should accept of but so many Centenaries, when it had cost him no less than a thousand Centenaries in his Preparations. *Theophilus* hereupon as overwhelmed with insupportable Calamity fell into excessive Melancholy, so as to abstain from all sustenance, receiving nothing but some Snow-water, which cast him into a Dysentery. The onely Thought or Discourse he would admit, was how to be revenged for *Amorium*. To this end he sent away *Theodosius* a Patritian toward the King of *France*, to desire his Assistence, and to procure him to invade those Parts of *Africk* which belonged to the *Amermumnes*; but this Design came to nothing, *Theodosius* Dying upon the way e'er he could deliver his Message. His Melancholy and Disease both encreasing upon this Disappointment, in his Litter he would be carried to *Magnaura*, where calling together the Senate, with the Chief Men of the City, he most sadly lamented the posture of his Affairs, and earnestly moved them, that being mindfull of their kindness to him, they would continue faithfull to his Wife and Son, and secure them from all Treachery. His lamentable Speech they Answered with as lamentable a Cry, and praying for his Life and Health, promised him that in case so unacceptable a thing as his Death should happen, they would stand by his Wife their Lady and Mistress with their Lives and Fortunes to the utmost. After this he lived not long, yielding to the Distempers of his Mind and Body when he had Reigned twelve years, three months and twenty days. His care for his Posterity it seems was so great, that he would not Dye without having *Theophobus* bear him company, whose Enemies took advantage at the Revolt of the *Persians* in the Battel we mentioned, and encreased the Jealousie conceived of him by the Emperour, from their giving to him the Title of Emperour, urging that the Revolt was not without his Device and Procurement. Having before caused him to be Imprisoned, when he was at the point of Death he commanded his Head to be cut off and brought to him, which touching with his Hand he breathed out these words, together with his Soul: *Henceforth I am neither* Theophilus, *nor thou* Theophobus. But some reported that *Oriphas* the *Drungarius* of *Bigla* slew him without having received any orders.

Which makes the Emperour melancholy.

Πεδὸς τὴν φεγγίας. *sic Imp. Occid. communiter vocant Cedrenus, alii.*

After which he Dies.

48. *Theophilus* being Dead, *Michael* his Son succeeded him, the third of that Name, Sirnamed the *Drunken*: in the second year of *Lotharius*, Emperour of the West; the fifteenth of *Gregory* the Fourth, Bishop of *Rome*; the Fifth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCXLII. His Father by his Will left *Manuel* the *Magister* and Domestick of the Schools, and *Theoctistus* the Patritian and *Logotheta Dromi* his Tutours or Governours, but the Regency was committed to *Theodora* his Mother, who by their Directions ordered all Affairs of State. Presently after the

Michael his Son succeeds.

Joannes Curopalata. Cedrenus. Zonaras. Glycas.

Old

Old Emperour's Death, the two Great Ministers lately mentioned went into the *Circus*, where calling the People together they rehearsed to them his last words and Will, insisted upon his Love and good Inclinations to them, and with many fair and alluring words endeavoured to gain their Affections toward his Young Son and Successour, who promised, if need should so require, to shed their Bloud in his behalf, and their Promise instantly confirmed by Oath. *Theodora* thus settled in the Government was drawn wholly to matters relating to the Church, binding all her endeavours for the restoring of Images. which for a considerable time by the late Emperours had been forbidden: and she raised a great Persecution against the *Manichees*, which became an occasion of unspeakable Calamities in the East. For those she employed in the Inquisition, using no moderation but great cruelty in their Office, Nailed some of those they Comdemned to Crosses, and others put to Death by many and unheard-of sorts of punishment. An hundred thousand by this course they made away, and confiscated their Estates, which drove the rest into Desperation and Rebellion, which was began by one *Carbeas* of that Sect, who served *Theodorus Melissenus*, Commander of the East, in quality of *Pratomandator*. He understanding that his Father was Crucified, inraged by so ignominious an Affront, fled with five thousand of his Perswasion to the *Ameras* of *Mitylene*, and from him to the *Amermumnes* himself, by whom being gratiously received he presently after invades the *Roman* Territories, and therein builds two Cities, which he called *Argannum* and *Amera*. Then great numbers of the *Manichees* flying to him for shelter, to these two he added another for their Reception, by the Name of *Tephrica*. From these three places joyning with some Saracen Officers, they made Inrodes without intermission into the Emperour's Dominions, with such success generally as pleased them, onely *Alimus* the Governour of *Tarsus* making an Inrode into *Armenia*, was cut off with his Party, and *Amer* the *Ameras* of *Melitena* for some time was diverted by the Revolt of one of his Felow-officers. But having Conquered his Adversary, and being a Man impatient of Rest, he joyned himself with *Carbeas*, and renewed his Hostilities. Against them at length was sent *Petronas*, Brother to the Empress, and Domestick of the Schools (which Office he executed, though it properly belonged to his Brother *Bardas*, who otherwise employed in State Affairs could not attend it) who led down an Army of *Thracians* against them, as we shall see hereafter.

A Persecution against the *Manichees*.

Which causes a Rebellion,

And the Destruction of the East by the Inrodes of the *Saracens*.

49. In the mean time *Michael* the Emperour growing up towards a Man, was mightily inflamed with a desire to Govern by the procurement of this *Bardas* his Uncle, who thereby and by all other ways sought to screw up himself into Power. The great obstacles to his Rise were *Manuel* and *Theoctistus*, who being the Emperour's Governours, and constantly attending in Court, were by one means or other first to be removed. It luckily happened for him that there fell some misunderstanding betwixt them, which he so encreased that thereupon *Manuel* quitted the Palace, and retired to his own House. Having thus removed him, he attempted the same upon his Instrument *Theoctistus*, whom he more hated, because he had taxed him for having incestuously to doe with his Daughter-in-Law. The Engine he used was the Emperour's School-master, a wicked and intractable Man, whom the Scholar (commendable yet in this, that he was his Master) willing to Prefer to some considerable Office, *Theoctistus* had opposed it, telling him such Preferments were to be bestowed according to Merit, and not upon undeserving Persons. The School-master acted by Revenge, and the constant incouragements of *Bardas*, never left whispering into the Ears of the Youth, that all things went ill through the bad management of *Theoctistus*, that he had a Design to make a Marriage for the Empress or one of her Daughters, and put out the Emperour's Eyes; otherwise terrifying him, and telling him he must be quick, and very crafty in providing for his own safety. They having often met and deliberated about this matter, resolved to have *Theoctistus* made away, and that after this manner. As he went to *Lansiacum* for the Recording of some Transactions, the Emperour following after at some distance should give the sign by these words, *Take him away*. *Theoctistus* apprehending the sign, endeavoured to save himself by flight towards the Court in the *Circus*, where the Secretaries then had their Office, but was stopt as he ran, and *Bardas* drawing his Sword threatned to kill any that should make any opposition or defend him. He was then committed to Prison till order should be taken about him, which was not long in taking nor executing; for lest the Empress should in the Interim

Manuel one of the Emperor's Guardians leaves the Court.

Theoctistus the other, Murthered by the procurement of *Bardas*, Uncle to the Emperour.

rim attempt any thing, they sent one to dispatch him, with whom he strugled some time, but Died of a wound received in his Belly.

50. He being dead, *Bardas* took upon him the Office of *Canicleus*; but *Theodora* understanding what was done, ran with her hair all about her shoulders up and down the Court, which she filled with her shrieks and cries, cursing her Son and Brother, and wishing to them the like end. *Bardas* could not bear her Reproaches, but resolved that she, as the next obstacle to his Designs, was to be removed. She being an understanding Woman, was aware hereof, and resolved not to put all into bloud by making resistence, but to call together the Senate, and give them an Account what Treasure was now in the Palace, both to obviate the extravagant expences of her Son, and to make manifest how carefull and frugal she had been, during her administration of Affairs. She told them, that of Gold there was one thousand and ninety Centenaries, and three thousand of Silver, partly gathered together by her Husband, and partly by her self; besides very great Wealth in other kinds, of which she thought fit to let them know, lest her Son should hereafter make them believe that she had left him an empty Purse; and she caused the Officers of the Treasury to be present, who bore witness to what she had said. Having thus delivered her self, she resigned her Power and Government, and departed from Court; of which her Son was not at all displeased. For all this Wealth the foolish Young Prince in a small time consumed. Being above all things delighted in Riding, and Driving of Chariots, he refused not the Office of a Driver himself in the Cirque, and such as would accompany him and play with him at this or other idle and Rascally Sports, he profusely enriched, bestowing upon each an hundred, eighty, or at least fifty Pounds at the Christening of their Children. Having thus made away all his Mother had left him, when the solemn time came that he was to make Presents, having no other means left him of making Money, he caused to be melted and stamped those famous Trees of Gold, which (as *Glicas* relates) being made in the late Emperour's time by *Leo* the Philosopher a Bishop, the greatest Scholar of his time, held in the Boughs a number of Golden Birds, which by virtue of an Engine sung melodiously, together with Golden Lions which roared also by the same Device, besides as many Vultures, and other stuff of the same metal, with other things, for which the Imperial Palace was famous, and gratified the curiosity of Strangers. In the same manner he had dealt with the Imperial Robes, but that Death prevented him, and *Basilius* his Successour recovered them out of the Hands of his Instruments, who found in the House onely three Centenaries of Gold, and nine Bags of *Miliarisia*, which he produced to the Senate, and deploring the Poverty of the Empire, Commanded them to Consult by what means it might best be supplied.

Theodora the Emperour's Mother gives an account of the Treasure,

Which *Michael* lavishly consumes.

51. But *Bardas* and his Nephew proceeding in their evil courses, and still jealous of the Empress, caused *Petronas* her own Brother, when on a time she came to the Church in *Blachernis*, to lay hands on her and her Daughters that accompanied her, to shave them, and make them all Nunns, which Indignity she not long survived. Now the whole Power was in *Bardas* his Hands, whom his Nephew Honoured with the Dignity of *Curopalata*, as a Reward for thus dealing with his Mother. After this he raised an Army, and undertook with him an Expedition against the *Saracens*, and the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, and laid Siege to a City of theirs, situate upon the River *Euphrates*. Herein they contained themselves, as willing to have it believed that they durst not adventure out, and their Design prospered so well, that the Emperour's Army thereupon grew secure, and took no care how they ordered their matters. The *Saracens* then took the advantage when they were at Prayer, and going to Communicate on the Lord's Day, and issuing out fell upon them, put them easily to the Rout, the Emperour escaping by the swiftness of his Horse. All the Baggage of the Army was taken, and *Charbeas* Captain of the *Manichees* so notably behaved himself, that besides many of the Inferiour sort which fell by his Hands, he took no fewer than an hundred of the most eminent Commanders alive, who were all put to Ransome, onely one *Seon* died in Restraint. Two years after, *Amer* with an Army consisting of thirty thousand Men invaded the *Roman* Territories, whom *Michael* opposed with no fewer than five and forty thousand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*; but *Amer* making his Passage through bye-ways, fell upon him unexpectedly, and with as much ease as formerly, put his Army to flight. And he himself had been taken, but that *Manuel* the Domestick of the Schools in good time came in to his Rescue with a strong Party. The rest shifted for themselves, every Man as he could.

Theodora. shaven.

An Expedition against the *Saracens*.

But with ill success.

They invade the *Roman* Territories, and rout the Emperour's Army.

52. Two

Another Invasion.

52. Two years more having passed after this Ingagement, *Amer* marches with another Army of forty thousand Men into the *Roman* Provinces and wastes *Armenia*, with the Maritime Parts; at which time it's reported that he imitated the mad frolick of *Xerxes*, in lashing the Sea, because it stopped his farther pleasant progress. The Emperour upon the News, sent Orders to his Uncle *Petronas*, with all the force he could make to march against him, who then lying at *Ephesus*, and much disturbed upon Receit of the Letters, consulted one *John* a Monk, who had the opinion of a Prophet, and by him was promised victory against the *Saracens*. Incouraged hereby, he hastes toward the Enemy, whom in an advantageous place he compasses about, and after some vain attempts of getting loose, cuts him off, and his whole Army. The Son of *Amer* being abroad on Foraging, and hearing of the disaster, made with all speed he could toward *Melitena*, but the Officer that commanded the *Charsian* Straits, took him and his Party and presented him to *Petronas*. Now returned *Petronas* to *Constantinople*, carrying along with him this Monk, whom he commended as a wonderfull Man to the Emperour and his Brother *Bardas*, and for his good Service was made Domestick of the Schools, *Manuel* being lately dead. *Bardas* being now left without a Competitour, ordered all things as he listed, putting in and out all Officers, and now procured to himself the Dignity of *Cæsar*, *Michael* in the mean time, as he was well pleased he should, by his ridiculous Actions making himself despicable in the eyes of all Men. *Bardas* hoping one day to be sole Master of all, that he might by something commend himself to the publick, endeavoured to bring into fashion again Philosophy and other Parts of Learning, which by reason of the ignorance of the later Emperours, had for many years lain buried in oblivion, appointing to each Science it's several School in the Palace of *Magnaura*. He was frequently present also in the Courts of Justice at the Cirque, and procured the Laws again to flourish, which in these times had been also much neglected.

Wherein the *Saracens* are worsted.

Bardas made *Cæsar*.

The Maritime Coasts of the Empire infested by Pirates.

53. In the mean time, all the Coasts lying upon the *Euxine* Sea, were grievously wasted by a sort of Pirates called *Rossi*, a *Scythian* People, fierce and cruel, inhabiting some of the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Taurus*. They brought the City of *Constantinople* also into great danger. About the same time another Fleet of Pirates from *Crete* infested those Parts, lying about *Proconnesus* and the *Cyclades*, and most horrible Earthquakes happened, whereof the greatest on Ascension day, wherewith Walls, Churches, and other Buildings and Works were overturned. Besides Rivers and Fountains failed of their Waters, and many other Prodigies happened in divers places; of all which when the Emperour had notice, he regarded them not, so intent he was upon his Races. One sottish Act of his must not be past over in silence. His Predecessours, that they might have certain notice of the Incursions of the *Saracens*, and to give warning to the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Countries, that they might not be surprized, caused to be Built as near *Tarsus*, in the Border of theirs and the Saracenian Dominions, a strong Fort or Tower called *Luluni*, on a very high Rock, wherein were placed certain Men, who as soon as ever they perceived these People to be about an Invasion, by fire kindled, were to give notice thereof to others that kept their station in another Hill called *Argens*. Those in *Argens* gave a sign in the same manner to others that watched in *Ægialus*, those to others at *Mamas*. From *Mamas* the sign was given to the Cirque, from the Cirque to *Mocillum*, and from *Mocillum* to those that watched in the Mount of St. *Auxentius*, who in the last place gave the sign to the great Palace. By these Beacons were the Emperours, in a moment as it were, certified of the Enemies motion, and the Countreymen had timely warning to secure themselves and goods, in the strong holds adjoyning. Now it happened that on a time, near the Church of St. *Mamas*, this *Michael* beginning his Races, the Beacon was set a fire, which exceedingly afflicted him, lest the People should not view well, and consider his Dexterity in Riding. And lest by any such sight; the attention of the Spectatours should be diverted for the time to come, he forbade the fires to be made in the places that were near to the City.

The firing of Beacons forbidden by the Emperour.

Who is wholly addicted to Racing and Villany.

54. Another time as he sate in his Chariot, and the Horses were just ready to be let goe, word was brought, that the *Ameras* of *Melitena*, did grievously harass the Province of *Asia*, and being come already as far as *Malagina*, threatned the rest with Desolation, which being told him by the first Notary, in a sorrowfull manner, who also presented him with the Letters of the Domestick of the Schools, matters of Importance as he imagined, he looked upon him with a grim and angry Countenance, asking him how he durst, Villain as he was, disturb him, busied

busied in so important an Affair, with such trifling matters, especially now onely intent upon this, to turn off him that should Encounter him, to the left Hand, which was the wager laid. He would debase himself with all sorts of mean Actions, blaming his Predecessours for insisting upon State. He had ever in his company a crew of most impure and profligate wretches, whom to abuse all things Sacred, he would cause to put on Copes, and other Vestments wherein Churchmen were wont to Officiate, and thus Habited, to imitate the most Sacred Functions and Holy Mysteries. One *Gryllus* a Rogue, he called Patriarch; others he named Metropolitans, and took to himself the Title of one of the chief Bishops and President of the Colony. With this crew he would meet the Patriarch in Procession, and once sent for his Mother, as to meet *Ignatius*, who then held that Place, and as the good Woman on her knees begged a Blessing, the Villain *Gryllus* appeared, having all the while hid his Beard, and with filthy gestures derided the poor Lady, who with such Anger as upon such an occasion became her, denounced vengeance unto her Son. Such were the manners and company of this dissolute Prince, whom veangeance at last overtook according to his Mother's Prediction, but first all his Governours, and such as should have better principled and advised him, were to receive their Punishment. How *Theoctistus* came to his end we have already seen, and *Bardas* his Tragedy is now to follow, which was ushered in by a terrible Dream, and several other presages, as our Authours observe.

55. He had perswaded the Emperour to Arm against the *Saracens* of *Crete*, who infested his Subjects upon all occasions, and were now come in their Expedition into *Thrace*, as far as a place called *Chorus*. There the Servants of *Bardas*, whether out of Design or unadvisedly, for they were in an hurry, pitched their Masters Tent upon an Hill, the Pavilion of the Emperour being placed below in the Plain. This advantage was taken by his Enemies, who ceased not to render *Michael* jealous of him, and to instigate him against him to procure his sudden Destruction. Yet the Interest of *Cæsar* was such at Court, that they had much difficulty to bring about what they desired. For, his Son *Antigonus* bore the Office of Domestick of the Schools, and had the other Officers of the Army much at his Devotion; and *Symbatius* the *Logotheta Dromi*, being his Son-in-Law, was concluded of his Party, although the Emperour himself privately had taken him off, and no Man so much watched an opportunity to destroy him, and to him alone was committed the trust of giving the privy sign when it should be done. Now *Symbatius* making a Relation of what had happened, signed his Face with the Cross, which was the sign agreed of among the Conspiratours. Yet were they very slow, being awed by the Relations and Dependents of *Bardas*, there present, though *Michael* fearfull lest the Plot, if not now executed, might be turned upon himself, by one he could trust, sent and animated them all he could. The Fact had not now been committed, but *Basilius* the Emperour's Chamberlain, (who for especial reasons, as we shall see at large, was more concerned than any other to have him made away) stirred up his courage, and exhorting those present to stand to him courageously, resolved upon it. *Bardas* seeing them come upon him with drawn Swords, fell down at the Emperour's feet, and was cut all in pieces, after which they exposed his Genitals ignominiously fixed upon a Pole. So great a Tumult hereupon ensued, that brought the Emperour into extreme danger; and he might have easily miscarried in it, had not *Constantine* the *Drungarius* of *Biglæ* come in in good time with a strong Party of Men and quieted those concerned, affirming that *Bardus* was justly put to Death. He being after this sort dispatched, *Michael* cast off all thoughts of the Expedition to *Crete*, and returned to *Constantinople*.

Bardas Murthered.

56. Here it's obvious to remark the Custome of Courtiers and great Ministers to raise themselves upon the Ruine of others, and that usually they themselves are served in the like sort; the Interests of times or humours of Princes easily changing, although their hopes so beguile their wits that they do not consider it. *Bardas* had cast down others, as steps to mount to his great Preferment, and more than probable it is, that the Emperour himself must at length have fain for a greater advantage, had he not been prevented; but now his Removal makes way for another Favourite, who executes at last what he had but designed. This was *Basilius* but lately mentioned, by Birth a *Macedonian*, but as some reported, of *Armenian* Descent, and that from the stock of the *Arsacidæ*, out of which alone of old time the Kings of the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Armenians* could be chosen, out of respect to *Arsaces* the First, who recovered the Kingdom to the

Basilius put into his Place.

the *Parthians* from those of *Persia.* And long did this Race continue, *Artabanus* and *Clienes* being the two last of the Kings, who being driven from their Inheritance, came in the time of *Leo* the Great to *Constantinople*, and he entertained them honourably, assigning them convenient abode in the City. Afterward the King of *Persia* invited them to return, about which while they were Consulting, *Leo* removed them to *Nice*, a Town in *Macedonia*, whence in process of time, when the *Saracens* had Conquered the *Persian* Kingdom, the *Amermumnes* also invited their Posterity to return. This being understood by the Emperour *Heraclius*, who perceived that he recalled them not out of any affection, but that by their means he might the better master the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, he removed them first to *Philippi* a City in *Macedonia*, and thence to *Adrianople*, where they multiplied, yet kept their race unmixt with other People. Sometime after when *Constantine* and his Mother *Irene* reigned, one of them by Name *Maictes* came to *Constantinople*, where lighting upon *Leo* one of his own stock he contracted such Friendship with him, that coming to *Adrianople* he gave him his Daughter in Marriage. Of this Conjunction was born the Father of *Basilius*, so gracefull a Person, that a certain eminent Matron, said to be descended from *Constantine the Great*, married to him her Daughter. This is the Pedigree *Cedrenus* gives us of *Basilius*, but by others generally it's accounted but a fiction, who affirm him born of very ignoble and obscure Parents.

Some account of him.

57. It's granted on all Hands, that when *Crumus* the *Bulgarian* took *Adrianople* his Parents were led away Captive, and carried him with them being a young Infant hanging on the Breast. The Successour of *Crumus*, being sore distressed by several Defeats received from the *Romans*, made peace with the Emperour, and by virtue of that Agreement restored all Prisoners formerly taken, amongst whom *Basilius* returned. Many Prodigies are said to have portended to him the Empire. An Eagle, when being a Child he was laid in the Field, as his Parents were at work, covered him with her Wings, and being beaten off once or twice still returned to her former Posture. When he was grown up to be a youth, his Father died, and his Mother being left a poor Widow, and not able to maintain him, he went to *Constantinople* to seek a service, where he got into the Family of one *Theophilizes* (so called from his small stature) who was of kin to the Emperour and to *Bardas*, being recommended it's said by him that kept the Church of St. *Diomedes*, to whom they will have it that the Martyr revealed it that he should be Emperour, and commanded him to take him in as he lay at the Gate for want of a better Lodging. *Theophilizes* being much taken with him, for he was tall, beautifull of Body, and wore long curled Hair, being besides very active, and of a very good wit, made him Gentleman of his Horse, which they in those days and places called *Protostrator*. The Emperour at this time having an unruly Horse, none could tame him, till at length it was effected by *Basilius*, who when he was got loose rode after, and leaping into the Emperour's sadle made him quiet and tractable, which was accounted another Omen, the Imperial trappings and purple Bridle, Ensigns of Majesty, being considered. For this Service and Contemplation of his Dexterity, he was taken amongst the Officers of the Emperour's Stable, and shortly after *Bardas* having out of Jealousie caused the former to be turned out, was made a *Protostrator* or Master of the Horse a place both very honourable, and which gave him occasion often to be near and converse with him. So much he grew into favour, that *Bardas* began to cast a jealous Eye upon him; as also the Empress *Theodora* her self, by reason of I wot not what secret marks she espied in his Face, which had been formerly described to her by her Husband, as appropriate to him that should put a Period to his Family.

58. But neither her swooning at the sight of these marks, nor all the Caution she could give her Son could in the least diminish his Reputation with him, who after some time preferred him to be Chamberlain, which so inraged *Bardas*, and augmented his jealousie that he sought his destruction; and this being known to the other, impossible it was that both of them could long subsist. But the expedition towards *Crete* gave *Basilius* the Advantage, who as *Cæsar* stood and talked with the Emperour, lift up his Hand in a threatning manner at his back, which the other by chance looking behind him having espied, fell down at the Feet of *Michael*, where the rest of the Conspiratours cut him in pieces, but not till the first stroke was given by *Basilius*. Returning then back with the Emperour to *Constantinople*, he received from him in Marriage *Eudocia* the Daughter of *Juceres*, a Lady much extolled for her Chastity aswell as Beauty, and other Qualifications by

by *Cedrenus*, but *Zonaras* writes, that she was Concubine to *Michael*, and that she was then believ'd with Child by him of *Leo*, who afterward succeeded *Basilius* as his Son. After this the Emperour made him his Collegue, or Emperour causing him to be Crowned by the Patriarch in the Great Church of St. *Sophia*. For after the Death of *Bardas*, the Administration of Affairs having fain upon *Michael* alone, his Weakness and Debauchery came to be made more publick than ever, no business being dispatched, but all things going to Ruine, which constrained him as stupid as he was to think, of some one who should bear the Burthen. Being eased something in his mind by this he returned to his Drunkenness, his driving of Chariots and other loose Courses rather more than ever, and on a time when he had won the prize entertained *Basilius* and *Eudocia* at Supper, being grievously incensed against him for rebuking and admonishing him; for in his mad and drunken fits he would command the Ears of some, the Hands others, and sometimes the Heads to be cut off. But there one *Basilinus*, of late Master of his Barge, but whom for his comely Person he had made something familiar with him, standing by the Table fell into a great Harangue, wherein he wonderfully extolled him for his skill, and his management of his late exercise in the Cirque. *Michael* being even drunk and much elevated with Commendation, delivers him his Purple shooes, bids him put them on, and salutes him Emperour; at which when he was abashed and looked upon *Basilius*, the Emperour growing angry, *Basilius* beckoned to him to doe as he was bidden. The shooes being on, *Michael* inraged at *Basilius* told him, that these Ensigns of Empire did much more become *Basilinus* than him, and asked him whether as he made him Emperour, by the same Authority he might not create another. To this relation of *Zonaras Cedrenus* and *Glycas* add, that as Emperour and more fit than the other he recommended *Basilinus* to the Senate. However, *Basilius* saw plainly there was no way but one, he must either strike or be stricken, and therefore making a Party, as *Michael* was drunk another time in the Palace of St. *Mamas*, being led into his Chamber, when he was fast asleep he made sure the Doors, and then came with his Conspiratours who being resisted by those that waited without, a noise was made, and the Emperour therewith awaked. One going in to him with a drawn Sword, cut off both his Hands as he held them up, and therewith returned to his Companions. Not able to go he stumbled, lay roaring on the ground, till another of them thrust his Sword through his Breast, and so opened his Body that his Entrails came out. To such an end came *Michael* sirnamed the *Drunken*, after he had reigned twenty five years and three Months, whereof fourteen years together with his Mother.

Basilius made Emperour.

Conspires with others who murther *Michael*.

Basilius sole Emperour.

59. *Michael* being dead, *Basilius* became sole Emperour by consent of Nobility and People, in the twelfth year of *Ludovicus* the second Emperour of the West, the tenth of *Nicholas* Bishop of *Rome*, the fifteenth Indiction. *A. D.* 867. The first thing he did was to call together the Senatours and Magistrates, and to open the Treasury wherein were onely found as we said before three Centenaries. But to know how these vast Summs of Money had been spent, he procured the Accounts of an old Eunuch belonging to the Revenue, and shewed them to the Magistrates and Senate, by whom it was unanimously resolved, that those who had received them for such dishonest or frivolous services should refund to the Treasury, which sentence he so far mitigated as to make them pay half, by which means three Hundred Centenaries of Gold were recovered. By this and other Courses very acceptable and honest he so furnished himself, that he made great largesses to the People. Hereby he got great Reputation and Love, which he augmented by bestowing Offices upon fit Persons alone, by taking great care for equal and indifferent distribution of Justice, to which end he appointed upright Judges to whom he assigned convenient Salaries, and dividing them into three Courts which he appointed to sit dayly in *Magnaura*, the Cirque and *Chalce* or the *Brasen Gate*, which for this purpose he repaired. To such as were poor and unable to be at the expence, he allowed Money for their suits. As his publick Affairs permitted, he himself would attend these matters, and going down to *Genicum* where his Custome-House was, took care that no Man should be oppressed. It's reported that once being at the Place he was wont to hear Causes, and finding none that exhibited any complaint, he suspected that some of his Officers hindred such as had recourse to Justice, and therefore he sent certain Officers about the City to make inquiry, if there were any that desired to prefer their Petitions, who returning with this answer that they could find none, he wept for joy, and gave God Thanks. Taking notice that the weights and Measures of the City were stamped onely

Furnishes his Treasury.

Takes care that Justice be rightly administred.

Prevents cheating.

onely with Figures, which wearing out, or ignorant Persons not understanding them, gave opportunity to many Tradesmen to cheat, he caused instead of Figures the quantity to be exprest in words at length, that any Countreyman might reade them, and this at his own charge. To these commendations is added by some, that he altered and new modelled the Civil Laws themselves, of which we shall inquire in another place.

A Conspiracy against him, but discovered and punished.

60. But though he gave content to the generality, all were not satisfied; for in his first year one *George* and *Symbatius*, both Patritians, made a Conspiracy against him, which being revealed by one of the Party, their Eyes were put out, and the rest being shewn up and down in disgrace were sent into Banishment. The better to obviate all Designs, to gain Diadems to his two Eldest Sons *Constantine* and *Leo*, and in his third year to his third Son *Alexander*. His fourth, *Stephen* by Name, he caused to take orders with intention to prefer him to be Patriarch, as some have written, and his four Daughters he made Nunns in the Monastery of *Euphemia* the Martyr. Having setled his Domestick affairs as to him seemed most prudential, he then resolved upon War, and finding the usual Number of Souldiers much diminished, by reason that *Michael* had otherwise spent their Pay, he took care for making up the several Companies by new Levies. Then went he against *Tophrica*, the Governour of which was one *Chrysochir* a Man of approved Valour and Skill, who had done much mischief by his Inrodes made into the *Roman* Territories. Upon notice of the Emperour's approach he shut himself up within the Walls, to which *Basilius* purposed to lay Siege, but understanding that the Place was strong and well furnished, he wasted the Countrey adjacent, and taking three Neighbouring Castles *Abara*, *Coptus* and *Spatha*, he departed thence with much booty. This expedition so terrified *Taurus*, a City not far distant from *Tephrica*, that it made peace with the Emperour, and *Curterius* an *Armenian*, who held a City called *Locana*, and had done great harm in the *Roman* borders, gave it up into his Hands. In the mean time, a select Party took in *Zapetra* and *Samosata*, where a great Number of Christian Captives were set at liberty, and then passing over *Euphrates* wasted the Countrey, and with many Captives and rich Spoils returned to the Emperour, then lying upon the River *Artzanucus*. He incouraged by this Success marched to *Euphrates*, and laying a Bridge over it besides other Acts of Hostility, took a Castle called *Rapsacium*, as a Party he sent to harass the Countrey, lying betwixt *Arsines* and *Euphrates*, destroyed five other Forts. Entring the Territories of *Melitena*, he killed and took many of those that made opposition, and at first thought of attacking the City, but finding it very strong, and so furnished with Provisions as to hold out a very long Siege, he departed into the Countrey of the *Manichees*, where destroying all things as he passed with Fire and Sword he took four Castles, and then returned to *Constantinople*, which entring at the Golden Gate from the *Hebdomus*, he went in triumph accompanied with the Acclamations of the People to the Church of St. *Sophia*, where having given thanks, the Patriarch, according to the Custome, set a Crown upon his Head. This done having diverted himself a little with his Wife and Children in the Palace, he returned to the Cares of the Commonwealth.

He settles his Family.

He wastes the Countrey near *Tephrica*.

Enters the Territories of *Melitena*.

Thence to the *Manichees* destroying all things in his return to *Constantinople*.

The *Manichees* invade the Emperour's Dominions.

But are met.

61. The year that followed, the *Manichees*, under Command of *Chrysochir*, again made an Inrode and wasted the Emperour's Dominions, against whom, according to the Custome, he sent the Domestick of the Schools. He with all the Forces that could be made restrained their Incursions as he could, but not daring to hazard all in a Battel, as the Enemy retired, sent two Commanders with Orders to follow him at some convenient distance to watch his motions; if he returned to let him know, but if he went directly home then to return back to the Camp. It happened that those two Officers being upon their Duty, and watching the Enemy as he had sate down at the Foot of a certain Hill, their two several Parties they commanded, fell into a sharp Contention about their Valour, and which had most deserved for their Service in the Field. The Contention continuing, a cunning Fellow amongst them, told them it was vain to contend in words, seeing that so notable an opportunity presented it self by their Actions, as to declare their Superiority in Courage. The thing took so well, that their Officers resolved to make use of this their present Heat, which would receive much advantage from the convenience of the Place, they being upon the higher Ground. The half of their Men six Hundred and no more, they led down against the *Manichees*, and the other ordered to stand upon the Hill, and by making a great Noise to amuse them with apprehension of greater Numbers. By

And taken by the *Romans.*

Night they made their Onset with such Clamour, as put the Enemies into a great Fright, which hindred him from looking about or consulting, and he fairly betook himself to his Heels. Then was notice sent to the Domestick of the Schools, and pursuit was made for thirty Miles with great Execution. *Chrysochir* himself was slain, and his Head sent to the Emperour, and with him fell the whole Vigour and Strength of the *Manichees*, who from *Tephrica* had done so great mischief, and *Cameia* their *Metropolis* our Greek Historians call it, or chief City, was presently after destroyed. About which time also *Basilius* recovered *Lulum* a Castle from the *Saracens*; and *Melvus* another Fort yielded it self.

Another Conspiracy, discovered and punished.

62. This good success of *Basilius* abroad was envied at home, another Conspiracy being at this time hatched against him, by one *Curcuas* a Patritian; but one of the Number revealed it; *Curcuas* had his Eyes put out, and the rest being ignominiously beaten and shaven were banished their Countrey. Having escaped this danger, in the beginning of the Spring with his eldest Son *Constantine* he made an Invasion into *Syria*, and took *Cæsarea* the chief City of *Cappadocia*, where he staid some time and trained his men. But thence by several Parties sent abroad, he took in several Places, and either caused the Governours of the *Saracens* to run away or to submit; after which he passed over the Rivers *Onopnictes* and *Sardus*, and came to *Cucusus*, and thence through the Straits of the Mountain *Taurus* to the City *Germanicia*, the Inhabitants whereof, as of other Towns, shutting up themselves he wasted the Countrey about, and having taken a Fort called *Geron*, with all his might fell upon the City *Adapa*. The Inhabitants most valiantly defending themselves, he asked how they could be so confident, seeing such certain destruction to hang over their Heads, to which an Old Man amongst them answered, that their City was not to be taken by him at this time, but by one descended from him named *Constantine*, therefore they were nothing terrified by this Attempt he made. He replyed, that he had a Son there whose Name was *Constantine*, but the Old Man again affirmed, that he was not the Person, but another of that Name and of his Posterity long after should destroy the Place, which inraged *Basilius* so as he indeavoured by all means possible to prove the Prediction false, but his indeavours would not succeed, and the Frost coming on he was forced to rise up and be gone homewards. In his return he caused many of the Prisoners to be killed because they were too numerous, and by several Hostile Acts struck such terrour into *Abdelomeleres* a *Saracen* Governour, that he submitted himself to him and became his Associate against his own Nation. Coming to *Cæsarea* out of *Mesopotamia*, and from elsewhere he received news of good success of his Forces and Multitudes of Captives, whom he commanded to be put to death as Cumbersome and Dangerous. At *Medæus* he rewarded such as had done worthily in this Expedition, and sending the Army into its Winter Quarters returned to *Constantinople*, where he received a Crown from the Patriarch, as the manner was, and was Caressed after the usual sort by the Inhabitants.

Basilius invades *Syria.*

Returns with vast Spoils to *Constantinople.*

The *Saracens* beaten by the Conduct of *Andreas.*

63. By this success of his Arms he quite broke the Power of the *Manichees*, or those of *Tephrica*; but the *Saracens* from *Tarsus* began to renew their Hostilities, and rather more than ever to practise their Robberies and Depredations. Against them one *Andreas* a *Scythian* made very strong opposition, and did so eminent service therein, that the Emperour honoured him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and at length made him Domestick of the Schools. Furnished now with great Strength and Authority, he fought several Battels with the *Ameras* of *Tarsus*, wherein he had ever the better, and in one of them slew him who had by a Blasphemous Letter challenged him to an Ingagement. Yet, as Envy is never wanting to great Atchievements, there were some at Court who maligned and accused him to the Emperour, as having had *Tarsus* it self in his power, which he might easily have taken had he not wanted either Courage or Conduct, or both. They perswaded *Basilius* to take away his Command, which was given to one *Stipeiotas* one of his Accusers, one who made great Brags, and undertook speedily to put the Emperour into possession of *Tarsus*. And thither indeed he led an Army, but managed his matters without any discretion or forecast, and suffered his men to lie in such disorder, that the *Saracens* issuing out frighted them by certain Noises they made, and easily routing put most of them to the Sword, for by the many Overthrows received from *Andreas* they were reduced to so small a Number, that they durst not venture a Battel but were forc't to use their Wits. Such was the State of Affairs in the East, how they stood in the Western parts we must now discover according to the measure of our Intelligence.

64. All

64. All business, especially Foreign, being neglected by *Michael*, such Parts of *Italy* as had belonged to the Empire, with the *Roman* Pale in *Sicily*, were fain into the hands of the *Saracens* of *Africk*, and made Tributary to those Barbarians. Farther, the *Scythians* (so our Authours call them) inhabiting *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the other adjoyning Countries, as the *Chrobatæ*, *Servi*, *Zachlubi*, *Ferbuniotæ*, *Canalitæ*, *Diocletiani* and *Rentani*, having been formerly subject to the Empire, had cast off the Yoke and declared themselves free People, against whom the *Saracens* of *Carthage* watching an opportunity, made War, and creating *Goldan*, *Saba*, and *Calphusus* their Generals, with a Fleet of six and thirty Ships took several Cities of *Dalmatia*, as *Butama*, *Rosa*, and the lower *Decatara*, and thus prospering they fell upon *Ragusium* the principal City of the Province. The Inhabitants being almost spent with a long Siege sent to *Constantinople* for Relief, begging they might not be necessitated to fall into the hands of the professed Enemies of Christian Religion, and it well happened for them that by this time *Michael* was dead, and *Basilius* in possession of the Government. He commiserating their condition sent away with all expedition possible a Fleet consisting of an hundred Sail under command of *Nicetas Oryphas* a Patritian and the *Drungarius of Naval Affairs*, or *Admiral of the Empire*, a prudent and skilfull Person, whose coming the *Saracens* apprehending, raised their Siege, and sailing to *Lombardy* seized on a Castle called *Baris*, whence they grapled by degrees all the Countrey about, and extended their power well nigh as far as *Rome* it self. But the *Chrobatæ*, *Servi*, and the rest of the *Scythian* Nations perceiving how well their Neighbours in *Dalmatia* had succeeded in sending to the Emperour for aid, by their Messengers craved that they might return into their former Obedience and Protection of the Empire, to which their Petition *Basilius* willingly assented, their Recovery bringing no little accession to the good Fortune and Glory of his Reign.

Pannonia and *Dalmatia* waited by the *Saracens*.

But somewhat relieved by the Emperour's Forces.

65. But the *Saracens* that from *Ragusium* had invaded *Italy*, making great Devastations in that Countrey, *Basilius* considered that his Fleet under Command of *Nicetas* was not sufficient for the Enterprize, and therefore he sent to *Dolick* King of *France* (*Lodovick* the Emperour of the West these Greek Authours mean) and to the Pope of *Rome*, so they word it, to desire their Assistence; moreover, those his Subjects that were lately returned to obedience, he desired not to be wanting to so good a work. Hereby a very great Army was got together, wherewith *Baris* was taken with *Soldan*, and such as fought under his Command, whom the King of *France* led away Prisoner unto *Capua*. Here being kept two years, at length he beguiled the King and got his Liberty (as is more proper to be related in another place) and returning into *Africk*, thence brought a great Force against *Capua* (the Inhabitants of which had set him free) and *Beneventum*. Being thus distressed they sent to the King for aid, but by the cunning of *Soldan*, having been brought to revolt from him, he refused to give them any, wishing them destruction, and thereupon they sent to *Basilius*, who on the contrary returned them a very comfortable answer. But it happened that the Messenger at his return, was taken by some of *Soldan*'s Army, to whom being brought, he told him, *That except going to the Walls, he would deliver to his Friends a quite contrary answer, and put them out of all hope of Relief, he should die*, which yet he refused, so great was his love to his Countrey, and telling them truly what he had in charge from the Emperour, was accordingly cut in pieces; after which, the *Soldan* not daring to abide the coming of the Succours, raised his siege and departed. About this time *Esman* the *Ameras* of *Tarsus*, puffed up with his late Victory, sends an Army aboard thirty great Ships (by the *Saracens* called *Cumparia*) against the City *Euripus*. But *Basilius* being aware of such an attempt, had ordered *Orneiates* the Governour of *Greece*, to have it very well manned, and furnished with all manner of necessaries; which rendred *Esman*'s attempts ineffectual, so as instead of taking the Town, he lost many Men, and had several of his Ships burned. Inraged hereat, and knowing that Gold was wont to operate much, he caused a great quantity thereof to be set before the Wall, together with an hundred most beautifull Captive Virgins, proposing these as a reward to him that should first mount the works and enter. This being taken notice of by the Defendants, they incouraged one another, and setting open all their Gates, made an universal sally, wherein they killed the *Ameras* and many of his followers, and drove away the rest to their Ships, who few in number, with sufficient ignominy, returned home.

Siege laid to *Euripus*, but to the great loss of the *Saracens*.

Another Invasion from *Crete* with like success.

66. But this being over, another storm came from *Crete*, the Lord whereof, *Sael* the Son of *Apochapse*, sent one *Photius* a stout and skilfull Souldier, with seven and twenty *Cumparia*, called also Gallies, against the *Romans*. Such Islands as lye in the *Ægean* Sea and all the Maritime Coasts they wasted as far as *Proconnesus* and the *Hellespont*. But *Nicetas* the Admiral, met with them at *Cardia*, in the mouth of the *Ægean* Sea, and in a sharp Ingagement burnt twenty of their Ships, the rest shifting for themselves by flight. Notwithstanding this great defeat, yet they of *Crete* under command of *Photius*, again Rigged out a Navy, and therewith much distressed the Western parts of *Peloponnesus*. *Nicetas* going against them, found he should loose much time, and perhaps the expedition if he should Coast round about that *Peninsula*, and therefore with admirable industry and expedition, conveyed his Ships over the *Isthmus* or Neck of Land of *Corinth*, and fell upon the Pirates e'er they heard of his coming, of which he killed and took great Numbers, slew their Commander, sunk, burnt, or took many of their Vessels, and forced the rest to run, and hide themselves amongst the Islands where he hunted them out, and such as he could come by, put them to death, by various and exquisite torments. This course had such effect upon the *Saracens* of these Parts, that it made them more backward afterward to invade the *Roman* Countries, but could not so much operate upon those of *Africk*, who with hopes of better success set forth a Fleet consisting of sixty Ships, of unusual bigness, wherewith they did very much mischief, roving as far as the Island *Cephalenia* and *Zacynthus*. Against them was sent *Nasar*, or (as *Zonaras* calls him *Narsan*) the successour of *Nicetas*, who hasted with a very strong Fleet to *Methona*, but thence so many of his men ran away, that he durst not venture to Ingage, his Ships were so unmanned. This he signified to the Emperour, who presently thought of this device. Thirty *Saracens* then Prisoners at *Constantinople*, having their Faces besmeared so as they could not be known, he caused to be led into the Cirque, and there whipped, thence to be sent into *Peloponnesus*, as if they had been the Authours of the Defection, and there to be nailed to Crosses, in the place whence it must be imagined that they fled. This struck such fear into all the Seamen and Souldiers, that it did the work, and they earnestly desired to be led against the Enemy; to which he readily assented, as soon as he had from *Peloponnesus* sufficiently furnished himself, and given order to the Governour to meet and assist him.

Μετὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι Κυμπαρίων, ἃς δὴ γαλέας καλουμάζην εἰώθασιν. Cedrenus.

Which caused the *Saracens* to desist from invading the *Roman* Territories in the West.

Those of *Africk* make an invasion.

67. The *Saracens* were much elevated at this delay of the *Romans*, and as fully secure left their Ships, and were intent upon Rifling and Pillage at Land, when *Nasar* by night, and unexpectedly fell upon their Fleet, and sunk, burnt or took all their Vessels; such as remained he offered to God at the Church of *Methona*. The Emperour much commending his Conduct, ordered him to proceed in the hunting of these Pirates; whereupon he Sailed to *Sicily*, where he destroyed such Ships as the *Saracens* had hired, and took many Vessels full fraught with Merchandize, especially with Oil, of which by this means he caused such plenty, that a pound thereof was sold for no more than an *obolus*. From *Sicily* he proceeded to the Coasts of *Italy*, where joyning with the Emperour's Land Forces, commanded by *Procopius* his *Protovestiarius* or Gentleman of his Wardrobe, and *Leo* a Patritian, the Governour of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, did very commendable Service. For another *African* Fleet was defeated at the Island *Stele*, and most of the Forts in *Calabria* and *Lumbardy*, were taken from the *Saracens*, which done, *Nasar* returned Victoriously to *Constantinople*. After his departure, things went not so well in *Italy*, where the two Commanders, *Procopius* and *Leo* falling out, and an Ingagement happening with the Enemy, *Leo* was so far transported with Anger and Revenge, as to suffer the other to perish in the Battel for want of help, when he might easily have relieved him, having the better of the *Saracens* in that Wing where he fought. He endeavoured to make amends by his good Service in taking the Castle of *Tarentum*, and sending the Plunder to *Basilius*, but he understanding the manner of *Procopius* his Death, would not so let it pass, but Banished *Leo*, some of whose Servants presently accused him of Treason, and for that were killed by *Bardas*, and *David* his Sons. Fearing punishment, they fled with their Father towards *Syria*, but were overtaken in *Cappadocia* by some the Emperour sent to pursue them. Refusing to yield, the two Sons were slain in the place. The Father was brought back to *Constantinople*, and Sentenced by the Judges to loose one Eye and one Hand, which being executed, he was Banished to *Mesembria*, and there spent his days.

But are beaten by *Nasar*, General to the Emperour.

Who returns to *Constantinople* in triumph.

68. While

68. While the Emperour's Officers were thus employed in the West, the *Saracens* of *Africk* thinking him careless, and unprovided at home, from *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, got Ships together, and made up a considerable Navy, yet resolving to espie out the condition of *Basilius*, before they would attempt any thing, but the Spye returning, acquainted them how he kept many Men in readiness for any occasion, and employed them in Building of Churches and other Works to keep them in Action, which understood they desisted from their Enterprize. They of *Carthage*, had prepared a Fleet to defend themselves, imagining *Basilius* would make War upon them, but when they found no such thing, concluding that he was diverted by some other Enemies, they Sailed over to *Sicily*, and Besieged *Syracuse*, to assistence whereof, one *Adrian* a Patritian was sent, but he either wanted Wind, or loitered so by the way, that at *Poloponnesus* he heard that the City was taken (the story went as first told by Spirits) which the Infidels destroyed, together with all the Churches. *Adrian* having certain Intelligence by some that had escaped, how he should come too late, and was prevented, returned with the Fleet to *Constantinople*, and took Sanctuary in the Great Church, but was thence taken and sent into Banishment. Much after the same manner miscarried one *Stephen* a *Cappadocian*, who with a select number of *Thracians*, *Macedonians* and *Cappadocians*, was sent into *Lombardy*, but minding nothing but his ease and luxury, he was turned out of Command, and one *Nicephorus Phocas* sent in his Room, (a valiant and worthy Person) with a new supply, and a Party of *Manichees*, formerly belonging to *Chrysochis*. Joyning these with the Forces of *Stephen*, he obtained many Victories over the *Saracens*, taking several Towns, as *Amantia*, *Tropæ* and St. *Severina*. These were the Wars managed by *Basilius*, in the several Quarters of the World.

Syracuse Besieged and taken by the *Saracens*, through the neglect of *Adrian* the *Roman* General.

Stephen, another General banished for the like fault.

69. Otherwise he most employed himself in the Building or Repairing of Churches, of which *Cedrenus* reckons up a great number, besides other expenses upon the Imperial Palaces, much admiring him for his Prudence and Goodness, whereas *Zonaras* rather taxeth him for his toiling of his Subjects in such works, and insists most upon the Churches, built to St. *Michael*, as provoked to so much expense upon them by the stings of his Conscience, to expiate as it were the Murther of the Emperour *Michael*, his Master and Benefactour. Two things besides that there are upon Record against him, which cannot be excused, whereof the one was his being in a manner bewitched by the cheating tricks of a certain Monk called *Theodorus Sandabarenus*, who after he had lost one Son, had almost procured him to make away the other. His Eldest Son *Constantine* being dead, his thoughts and hopes were fixed upon *Leo* the second Brother, yet so he could not cease from mourning for *Constantine*, and was so fond as to desire he might have his shape, as alive, represented to him. This it's said, this *Sandabarenus* being a Conjurer, undertook, causing a *Spectrum* in his shape to meet him on Horseback, which he imbraced and kissed. However it was, this Monk got very much into his favour, and often deluded him by his cheating tricks, which *Leo* his Son could not but take notice of, often exclaiming against him as a Mountebank and Impostour; The Monk for this bore him a Mortal grudge, resolving to be revenged of him, but concealed his Malice, and carried it fair towards him, the better to bring about his Design. He perswaded him when he went abroad with his Father, to carry a knife along with him, therewith to serve his Father in hunting, if need were, or if any Treason should be committed against him, that he might be in a capacity the better to assist him.

Crimes laid to *Basilius* his charge.

70. The young man not knowing his drift, and thinking it no imprudent advice, the next time he went abroad put a knife into his Boot, which the Monk understanding, and how his device took, then betook himself to the Father, telling him that his Son *Leo* had resolved to kill him, and for that purpose that he might not doubt thereof, came prepared with a knife into the Field. The old man's jealousie is easily kindled, the young man is searched and the knife found, whereupon he is committed to close Prison, in an apartment of the Palace, where his Eyes had been put out at the Instigation of the Monk, had not the Patriarch and the Senatours made vigorous opposition. But for a long time in Prison he continued, notwithstanding all intercession used in his behalf, so powerfull was the suspicion of *Basilius*, till on a solemn day, entertaining some of the Nobility at dinner, there was a Parrat hung up in a Cage, which, in imitation of some one he had heard, lamented the young Prince his condition, saying often, *Alas, my Lord Leo*? This occasion the Senatours took to renew their solicitation to the Emperour in behalf of his Son, for whom they undertook to answer, as if the

Bird

Bird it self did reprehend them for their neglect, and the good nature of *Basilius* was now so much wrought upon, that he set him at liberty, and restored him to his former place and favour. *Basilius* not long after died, when he had Reigned eighteen years ten months and seven days, by himself, and about one year with *Michael*. About the cause of his death there is some difference; *Cedrenus* writes, that he died of a *Diarrhœa*, but *Zonaras* tells us another story of his going to hunt, and how a certain Deer, more stout than ordinary, making resistence, thrust his horn under his girdle, and lift him up from the ground, bringing him into danger of his Life, which was saved by one of his Followers, who drew his Sword and cut the girdle. He adds, that instead of rewarding the man, he caused his Head to be cut off, as having drawn his Sword against the Emperour. Of this, *Cedrenus* is silent, and so *John Curopalates*, who mentions also the Flux he died of, though *Zonaras* attributes his death to an hurt received from the Deer. Least of all is that story to be believed of him that he should make a vow, that if he could conquer and reduce the *Bulgarians*, he would turn Monk, and having conquered them in effect, performed it, abstaining from all flesh (both of Woman and Beast) ever after, though he still used the Imperial Ensigns. Take it all together, his Government was succesfull and easie to his People, which we may believe, though we gave no credit to what *Cedrenus* farther hath in his commendation, that when the Senatours advised him to send some Officers down into the Provinces, who should be severe in exacting the publick Revenue, he would not permit any such strict inquisition to be made.

Basilius dyes.

Historiæ Acquitanicæ, apud Pithœum fragmentum.

Leo succeeds.

71. *Basilius* being dead, *Leo* the Sixth of that Name, succeeded him in the sixth year of *Charles* the third Emperour of the West, the second of *Stephen* the Sixth Bishop of *Rome*, the fourth Indiction. *A. D.* DCCCLXXXVI. He succeeded him as his Son, though as to his Birth, *Glycas* bids us observe that the Writers of Annals differed amongst themselves. For *Scylitzes* wrote, that the Emperour *Michael* left no Natural Issue, such as are much given to Drink seldom being able to get Children, as he tells us that Men skilfull in those matters affirm. But others delivered it for a truth, that *Leo* was the Son of *Michael*, particularly *Zonaras*, that he was indeed the Son of *Michael*, and in the opinion of the world the Son of *Basilius*. His severity to him so long in restraint, may a little increase the suspicion that he thought him not his own, and yet scarcely would he have left him the Empire, having other Sons, except he did it to make amends for the death of *Michael*. However, as to his Son, he left him very good Instructions, whereof some had Relation to his Faith and to the Church, and others to his universal good behaviour. And as a great means for his Information and Direction of his Life, he charged him *to be constant in reading ancient Histories, wherein with little labour he should find what others with great pains had laid together. There he should have a view of the vertues of good, and the vices of bad Men, with the several changes incident to humane Life, the vicissitude of Affairs, and Instability of all worldly things, as also how prone Empire and Sovereignty it self is to decay and perish. In short, he should therein reade the rewards of good Actions, and the punishment of Wickedness, to learn to obtain the one and avoid the other.* *Leo*, so far observed these Precepts, as by his Study, at least to obtain so much Theory, that for his extraordinary knowledge he got the Sirname of Philosopher. How he observed them as to practice the History of his Actions, will best declare, though by *Curopalates*, and the rest of the Writers, who have taken in a manner all from him, though it be most obscurely and confusedly delivered.

Evolvere ne unquam cesses Historias veterum, ibi enim reperies sine labore, &c. Apud Baron. ad An. 886. *n.* 13.

Obtains the Sirname of Philosopher.

72. The first thing that *Leo* did, was to be revenged of *Sandabarenus*, in order to which he removed *Photius* from the Patriarchal See, as one that bore him good will, and had consulted with him for the promotion of a Kinsman of his own to the Empire; *Sandabarenus* he caused after Judgment to be ignominiously and grievously Whipped, though a Bishop, and thence Banished to *Athens*, where having his Eyes put out, he was sent into the East, though long after he recalled him, and ordered him maintenance from the New Church; he outlived *Leo*, Dying in the Reign of *Constantine* his Son. While he was intent upon this course of Revenge, he sought to get Reputation, and make amends for his Father's fault by taking up the Body of *Michael* the Emperour out of the Monastery at *Chrysopolis*, and conveying it to *Constantinople*, attended by a number of Priests, Torches and Candles, perfumed with sweet Odours, placed in a Coffin of Cypress wood, and graced with all Rites and Ceremonies suiting the Place and Dignity which he bore. Being at the City received by the Emperour's Brothers, *viz. Alexander* and *Stephen* (whom he had made Patriarch in the room of *Photius*) with Singing and other

Animadverts upon *Sandabarenus*.

Removes the Body of *Michael* the Emperour to *Constantinople*.

other Solemnities it was intombed in the Church of the Apostles in a Marble Monument. While he thus employed himself, the *Saracens* the Enemies of the Empire were not idle, but took the uppermost City, lying upon the River *Charsianus*, making Prisoners all the Inhabitants. And at the same time happened a Fire in the Southern Part of *Constantinople*, which with other Buildings, consumed the Church of St. *Thomas* the Apostle, repaired afterward by the Emperour with very great charge.

The *Saracens* make an Inrode into the Empire.

73. In the second year of *Leo*, the *Greek* Historians to whom those of *Italy* herein bear no Testimony, tell us, that *Angæus* Son-in-Law of the King of *France*, and Captain or Governour of *Lombardy*, having notice of the Death of *Basilius*, fell off from the *Romans*, and subjected all the Countrey to the obedience of himself. Against him was sent *Constantine*, a Patritian and Overseer of the Emperour's Table, with the Western Forces, but he received a total Defeat, losing all his Army, and escaping himself with much difficulty. About the same time the Sun suffered so great an Eclipse, that the Stars were seen at Noon, and terrible Thunder and Lightning followed, with the force of which seven Men were killed in the *Forum* upon the Stairs of *Constantine*. Then was *Saxius* Besieged by the *Saracens*, and the Emperour being exceedingly enamoured of a certain Lady called *Zoe*, gave a new and unheard-of Title to her Father *Zantzas*, of *Father to the Emperour*, having formerly made him *Magister*, and *Logotheta Dromi*. This *Zoe* was esteemed the most Beautifull Woman of her time, and had been Married to a Patritian called *Theodorus Guniazitzas*, but he being removed it's said by Poison, *Leo* used her as his Concubine in the lifetime of his Wife *Theophania*. The year that followed happened a Quarrel and War with the *Bulgarians* upon this occasion. There was an Eunuch, *Musicus* by Name, belonging to *Zantzas*, who being very intimate with the Chief Merchants of the City, by his Interest with his Master procured the Mart of the *Bulgarians* to be removed from *Constantinople* to *Thessalonica* on a sudden, and these Merchants by whom the Design was contrived to be made Officers and Receivers of the Customs, who imposed grievous and unusual burthens upon those of that Nation, and quite tired them out of their Traffick. *Simeon* their Prince, who sought all ways possible of picking a Quarrel with the *Romans*, made complaint hereof to the Emperour, who by the suggestions of *Zantzas*, having his ears stopped to all that could be urged, he gladly laid hold of the opportunity, and took Arms against him.

Ἀγγαλων ὁ Λογγοβαρδίας δουξ ἐμβαίνει, ὃ τε ῥηγοι Φραγγίας, &c. *Cedrenus.*

A War with the *Bulgarians*.

74. *Leo* having Intelligence hereof, prepared also for War, and sent an Army against him, under Command of *Procopius Crenites*, with whom he joyned one *Curticius* an Armenian. In *Macedonia* the Armies met, but the *Romans* were overthrown, and their Generals slain; such Prisoners as *Simeon* took he cut off their Noses, and so sent them in scorn to *Constantinople*. *Leo* most grievously netled with this Affront, sent one *Nicetas* a Patritian to the *Turks* or *Ungri* (*Hungarians*) to perswade them to pass the River, and invade the *Bulgarians*, which they readily undertaking, he resolved also to fall upon them on the other side. His Fleet he committed to the care and Conduct of *Eustathius*, a Patritian and *Drungarius*; and his Land Army to *Nicephorus Phocas* a Patritian, whom after the Death of *Andreas* he had made Domestick of the Schools; yet having a mind still more desirous of Peace, he sent to *Simeon* one *Constantinacius* about that Affair, whom he imagining to be sent onely to put a trick upon him, for *Nicephorus* was now at hand, committed to Prison *Simeon*, preparing himself to meet and ingage *Nicephorus*: the *Turks* (so they call them) pass the River, and waste all *Bulgaria*; which he understanding, omits his Design of meeting him, and marches directly against them. They readily ingaging with him, defeat his Army, he with much adoe escaping to *Dorostolum*, otherwise called *Drista*. The *Turks* being Conquerours, desired of the Emperour that he would buy of them their *Bulgarian* Prisoners, which he did, sending some on purpose to drive the Bargain. *Simeon* his matters going so ill, desired Peace of the Emperour, to which he being sufficiently inclined, sent one *Leo Choirosphactes* with sufficient Instructions for concluding of it, and ordered *Phocas*, with *Eustathius* the *Drungarius* to return Home with the Forces. But now the cunning *Bulgarian* seeing himself freed from great Danger, cast the Ambassadour into Prison, and with a great Army suddenly fell upon the *Turks* or *Ungarians* and defeated them, which done, he wasted their Countrey, the Emperour not being in a capacity to send them Relief, by reason of the shortness of the warning. Now puffed up at his success, he writes to the Emperour, that he would not in any case admit of Peace, except first the *Bulgarian* Captives were set at liberty, to which he yielded, receiving

The *Romans* are beaten.

Upon which *Leo* desires the *Turks* to invade *Bulgaria*.

Who Defeat the *Bulgarians*, and force *Simeon* to desire Peace of the Emperour.

Χοιροσφάκτης *Occisorem porci significat.*

ceiving back his Ambassadour, with whom came one *Theodorus* to receive the Prisoners.

Which afterwards he slights.

75. The Prisoners returned, and yet *Simeon* would not accept of Peace, which inraged *Leo* to that height, that he was resolved with all the Power he could make to chastize, and if possible, utterly to destroy him. This Army he committed to *Catacalon* (a man lately preferred to be Domestick of the Schools, in the room of *Nicephorus Phocas*, whom *Zantzas*, because out of fear of the Emperour, he refused to become his Son-in-law, had procured to be discharged of that Office) and *Theodosius* a Patritian, and the *Potovestiarius*, who giving Battel to *Simeon*, were defeated by him, with great slaughter of their men, with whom fell also *Theodosius*. This Disaster abroad was followed by an imminent Danger at home from a Conspiracy, while he used the company of *Zoe* the Daughter of *Zantzas* in the Countrey. She happened to overhear the Conspiratours Discourse, and awaking the Emperour, caused him to shift for himself, which he did by returning to his Palace by water. *John* the *Drungarius* of *Biglæ*, who then Commanded the Guards, he put out of his Place, for having Watched no better; and it seems he had *Zantzas* himself suspected, for he was sorely displeased with him, we are told, and was at length brought to a Reconciliation by the means and solicitation of *Leo Theodotaces* the *Magister*, and an intimate Friend to them both. Yet that excellent Lady *Theophano* his Empress being Dead, he Married *Zoe* his Daughter, who was formerly his Concubine, and set the Diademe on her Head, in which she joyed not long, dying after a year and eight months. She being Dead, another Conspiracy was hatched by a Kinsman of her, by Name *Basilius*, the *Pectes*, as * *Zonaras* calls him, or *Epeictes* of the Emperour, as † *Cedrenus* hath it, who communicated his Design to *Samonas* the Chamberlain, under an Oath of secrecy. But he, though a *Saracen* by Birth, revealed the matter; whereupon *Basilius* was sent into *Macedonia*, as there to celebrate the obsequies of *Zoe*, and at his return subjected to Examination and Tryal, together with his Complices, by which being found Guilty, he was led ignominiously through the City, and Banished to *Athens*. The good service of *Samonas* was so far applauded by the Senate, that they gave him thanks, and judged him fit for the greatest preferment: and the Emperour who had made a Relation of it to the Fathers, so far approved their judgment, that he made him presently *Protospatharius*, and began to use him very familiarly. Now about this time did *Leo* Marry a third Wife, a Woman of extraordinary Beauty, by Name *Eudocia*; but she died not very long after in Childbed, together with her Infant. To the memory of his first Wife *Theophano* he now Built and Dedicated a Church, in which and other Buildings while he employed his Seamen, a Fleet of *Saracens* took *Taurominium* in *Sicily*, with great slaughter of the *Romans*, and made themselves Masters of *Lemnus*, whence they led away a great multitude of Captives.

Provoking the Emperour to Ingage in another Battel,

But with ill success.

A Conspiracy is Discovered, and Punished.

Another.

* Ὁ πίκτης Βασίλειος.

† Βασίλειος ὁ ἐπείκτης τοῦ Βασιλίου.

The *Saracens* make an Invasion.

76. To *Leo* it ordinarily happened that one mischief did not come alone; for at the same time that his Subjects suffered these things in other Parts, he himself escaped narrowly with his Life at *Constantinople*. It was the Custome on *Whit-Sunday* to make a solemn Procession to the Church of St. *Mocius*. He being present thereat, just as he entred the Church, a certain Fellow assaulted him with a great Club, and striking him on the Head had killed him outright, but that a Candlestick hanging in the way kept off part of the Blow; but as it was it fetched bloud in abundance. *Alexander* his Brother being not at the Solemnity, was suspected by many as guilty of the Contrivance; but the Man, though grievously tortured, accused no Man, and therefore no farther inquisition was made, he having his Hands and Feet chopped off, and so burnt alive in the Cirque. The Emperour no sooner recovered, but being now a Widower, and having himself much dabled in Astrology, aswell as hunted after the Opinions of others, who affirmed he should have a Son to succeed him, applied his mind to new loves, and shortly after Married another *Zoe*, called *Carbonopsina*, from the place of her Nativity or abode, who lived with him a good space before he set the Diademe on her Head, not till she had brought him a Son, which he called *Constantine*. But his Nuptial Joys were presently allayed by ill News he received from Sea, where now the *Saracens* having taken Encouragement from the Hostility which the *Bulgarians* exercised, tyrannized exceedingly, and under Conduct of one *Leo Attaleus* a Renegado of *Tripolis* did great mischief upon the Coasts, who threatned *Constantinople* it self with speedy Destruction; the Emperour upon the News dispatched away *Eustathius* his *Drungarius* of the Fleet, who finding himself too weak for *Leo*, returned, but with him at his back, for he followed him into the mouth of the *Helespont*, and proceeded on as far as *Parium*.

Leo like to be Brained.

Another Invasion by the *Saracens*.

77. This

77. This much disturbed the Emperour, he sent away *Himerius* his Principal Secretary with the Fleet, who found out the Renegado, but finding him superiour to him in Numbers and his Men more courageous, he durst not venture upon an Ingagement, but suffered the *Saracens* quietly to return and lay Siege to *Thessalonica* which they took, shed much bloud and made many Prisoners. A little before it fell out, that one *Rhodophyllus* one of the Bedchamber, travelling upon publick business for *Sicily*, with an Hundred Pounds of Gold fell sick by the way, and for his ease and recovery was forced to take in at *Thessalonica*, where *Leo* the Renegado finding him tortured him to death, to force him to betray this Treasure into his Hands. But indeed the Money he had left by the way, which was taken up by *Simeon* one of the Secretaries, who had other occasion to travell on that Rode. He perceiving *Leo* resolved to destroy that City, perswaded him to accept of the Money as a Ransome of it, which the Emperour took so well from him, that he rewarded him with the Dignity of a Patritian, and of Principal Secretary. The *Saracens* having left *Thessalonica*, *Himerius* prepared to pursue them, but they sailed to the Isle of *Crete*, and there having left part of their booty, departed home unmolested leaving him idle at *Lemnos*. The Emperour not able to grapple with them at Sea, sent two of the greatest Captains he had by Land into the East, *Eustathius Argyrus*, and *Andronicus Ducas* who so managed their Affairs, that they got many Victories. In the mean time *Gamonas*, who, as we said, had discovered the Treason intended against the Emperour's Person, and for that was with him in great esteem, veiled a *Saracen's* mind under the habit and shew of a Christian and a Roman, and pretending a Journey to his Monastery (of his own founding it seems) endeavoured with much Money and Horse to escape into his own Countrey, and lest he should be pursu'd, hamstring'd, the publick Post-Horses in the way. *Leo* sent several after, but at the River *Halys* he was taken and stopt by *Nicephorus Caminas* the *Drungarius*, though he used many Intreaties, and offered a great reward to be let pass. When he saw he could not escape, he then pretended that he was on his way towards the Cross of *Siracha*, there to discharge himself of a Vow he had made, but for all that *Constantinus Ducas* brought him to *Constantinople*. There *Leo* ordered him to be kept in the House of *Bardas Cæsar*, and caused *Constantine* to tell another Tale in the Senate, how indeed he was going to the aforesaid Cross to pay his Vow. The next day calling the Senate together, he caused *Constantine* to swear by God and the Emperour's Life, and then asked him the question whether *Samonas* was going into *Syria*. He resolving not to forswear himself, openly protested that he fled toward *Melitena* his own Countrey. Hereat the Emperour was angry, and having kept *Samonas* for some space in custody, set him afterwards at Liberty, and restored him to his former Dignity and Place. *Zonaras* adds, that he made him a Patritian, and designed him to the Office of Chamberlain.

Upon which *Leo* sends a Land Army into the East who perform great Execution.

78. Not long after, at the Birth of his Son *Constantine* a Comet appeared, casting its Tail toward the East for forty Days. *Zoe* his Wife he now declared Empress, for which the Patriarch excommunicated him, or forbade him as they term it entrance into the Church, so as he was forced to go on the right side to the *Mitatorium*. Hereat grievously offended, he yet earnestly begged of him that he might be restored to Christian Communion, and when all this was to no purpose, resolved to exercise his Authority over the Priest, so as to correct him for his Arrogance, and sent him as a banished Man into a Monastery. In his Room he made Patriarch one *Euthimius Syncellus*, who it seems took off the Ecclesiastical Censure, but whenas by the Advice of his Nobility, he was about to publish an Edict, to make it lawfull to marry three or four Wives, he vehemently withstood, and prevented it, so nice and severe was this Age in the Point of Marriage. For, Reader, neither the Practice nor Design of *Leo*, was to have or allow more than one Wife at a time, but successively after the death of the former. Yet must not this be allowed to him, though some of his Wives lived not long with him after Marriage. But the truth is, he led aside by the Humour of the Ecclesiasticks, who all along by a great Fatality had been from the time of *Constantine the Great*, inclined to the Commendation of Celibate and Aversion to Marriage, he made formerly an Edict (*a*) against the Multiplicity of Marriage, subjecting such as were thrice married to the Penalties (*b*) imposed by the Canons,

Leo excommunicated for marrying thrice.

(*a*) *Leonis constit.* 9. *quæ sic incipit oportebat nos.*

(*b*) *Tempus aliquod pœnitendi Bigamis & Trigamis imponebatur, insuper vetabantur Presbyteri interesse nuptiis ejus quæ secundo nubit, privabant enim nonnulli benedictione secundas nuptias. Vide Aug. serm.* 243. *Ambros. in Cap.* 7. 1. *ad Corinth. & in* 3. *Cap.* 1. *ad Corinth. Concil. Lateranense sub Alexandro* 3. *Tit. de secund. nuptiis. c.* 1. *Gothofred. in locum.*

The *Saracens* again renew their Incursions, but are beaten by one of the Generals to the Emperour.

nons, of which now he late enough repented. This same year the *Saracens*, set out a Fleet against the Emperour's Subjects, against whom he sent *Himerius* the *Logotheta Dromi*, and with him joined *Andronicus Ducas*, the Father of *Constantine* formerly mentioned. *Samonas* bearing implacable hatred to this Family, for his being intercepted by *Constantine* on his way homeward, bribed a familiar Friend of *Adronicus* to write to him, that he should by no means adventure to join in the Enterprize with *Himerius*, who had order from the Emperour to put out his Eyes, assoon as he could have an Advantage to doe it. *Andronicus* believing this story, refused to accompany *Himerius* in the Expedition, who ingaged without any Collegue with the Enemy, and gave him a very notable Defeat.

Upon which the other revolt to the *Saracens*.

79. *Andronicus* awakened with this his Success, and sensible of his Errour, out of desperation, seized upon a Castle situate about *Iconium* called *Cabala*, and considered how to revolt. His Enemy now incessantly plied the Emperour with complaints against him, urging his Treachery and Designed rebellion, upbraided him for not having secured him before he escaped his Hands, and importuning him at least to obviate, and lessen this growing Mischief. Overcome with his Suggestions, he sent against *Andronicus*, *Iberitzas Gregoras*, the Domestick of the Schools, and one allied to him, with a strong Army, which he understanding, and how *Nicholas* the Patriarch, his principal Friend was cast out of the Church, he fled with all he had to the *Saracens*, and was kindly received by the *Amermumnes*. This much disturbed *Leo*, when he considered both what a Subject he had lost, and an Enemy he had created to himself, and if possible he resolved to get him back. He wrote Letters to him, wherein he promised both oblivion of what was past, restitution to his former Dignity and Estate, and much more Incouragement, and more kindness than he had ever yet received. But the Messenger, a Captive *Saracen*, was perswaded by *Samonas* not to deliver the Letters to *Andronicus*, but discover the Contents of them to the *Amermumnes*, who thereupon cast *Andronicus* and his Followers into Prison, where they endured much and long misery; and of them some abjured their Religion to be rid of their Chains, he himself perished without Redemption. But his Son *Constantine*, with divers of the other Prisoners made his escape, and though pursued sometimes by fighting, and otherwhiles by casting Gold in the way, and thereby diverting the greedy Souldiers, got safe to *Constantinople*, where the Emperour conferred great Gifts upon him, and feasted him in the Golden Room. It's said, that as he was departing out at the Gate, *Leo* called him back again, and advised him, that by reason of his Name he should never take the Confidence to aim at the Sovereignty, for he was very well assured by such as could foretell things of this Nature, that *Constantine* his young Son was destined of God to the Empire. But if not content with his former Condition, he should make any Attempt that way, his Head for certain should be cut off, and brought thorough that Gate in its Gore, which the Event confirmed.

Where he dies miserably.

80. Much about this time, out of some jealousie he had conceived *Leo* put *Eustathius* the *Magister*, and *Drungarius Biglæ* out of his Place, whereupon he retired and died by poison, being much regretted by the Souldiers, both by Sea and Land. For he was an extraordinary Man, who brought the surname of *Argyrus* or *Silverd* to his Family, either by reason of the Purity of his Life, the beauty of his Body, or the lustre of his valiant Actions, wherein he so far exceeded all others of his time, and during the Reign of *Michael*, that with Slaves and Dependants alone, he kept in awe the *Manichees* of *Tephrica*, and the *Saracens* of *Melitena*. *Leo* was not so severe to him, as indulgent in the other extreme to *Samonas* the *Saracen*, whose Father together with one *Abelbaces*, sent from *Melitena* and *Tarsus*, he entertained in the Palace of *Magnaura*, with all Magnificence imaginable. And what was thought not suitable to Men of their Religion, shewed them all the Treasure and Furniture of the great Church. The old Man was so much taken with the splendid condition of his Son, that he would have staid at *Constantinople*, and been partaker of his good Fortune; but *Samonas* would not permit it, desiring him to go into his own Countrey, and persevere in his own Religion, assuring him that he would follow him with the first opportunity. Now on *Whitsunday*, *Leo* caused his Son *Constantine* to be Crowned by the Hands of *Euthymius* the Patriarch. And the Confidence of *Samonas* was by his immoderate Favour grown to that height, as being jealous of a new Favourite named *Constantine* a *Paphlagonian* by birth, which he himself had given to the Empress, he both accused her as being too familiar with him, and made a scurrilous Libel

against

against the Emperour, who upon Inquisition finding him to be Authour of it, caused him to be shaven for a Monk, and made *Constantine* whom at his Suggestions being shaven, he had retaken out of the Monastery, Chamberlain in his stead. About this time the *Saracens* sent out three Hundred Ships under conduct of one *Damianus* a *Tyrian*, and *Leo* of *Tripolis*, which committing the usual Hostilities, *Himerius* the Admiral was sent against them, and ingaged with them at *Samus*, but was beaten, put to flight, and hardly escaped to *Metilena*. The Emperour not long after was seized with the Colick, and brought so low with it, that he could not make his usual Speech in the time of Lent, but calling together the Senate recommended to their gratitude and care his Wife and Son, telling them he should hardly hold out so long as *Easter*. Yet he lived till the Eleventh of *May*, and then dying left the Empire to his Brother *Alexander*, whom with all Earnestness, he desired carefully to educate his Son *Constantine*, to use him as became his Quality, and to leave him his Successour. He reigned two and twenty Years, three Months and four Days.

The *Saracens* infest the Sea Coasts and beat the Emperour's Admiral.

Leo dies.

81. We have brought *Leo* to his end, yet have not done with him, as neither with *Basilius* his Father, and that upon account of a remarkable Alteration made by them in the Laws of the Empire, of which we must necessarily give the Reader an Account. He is then to know, that the Civil Law with so great Care and Industry modelled a-new by *Justinian* was in great danger, not long to survive the Authour. For besides that came not into *Italy*, and the Western European Nations for the space of five Hundred years after his death; being suppressed or kept out by the particular Laws and Customs of the Barbarous Nations which had lately possessed these Parts, as the *Goths*, *Lombards*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, and others, in the City and Empire of *Constantinople* it self, either through the neglect or envy of the Emperours, scarcely for forty years did it continue in any considerable Authority. Indeed through the Reigns of *Justin*, *Tiberius* and *Mauricius*, his Books were received both in the Schools and Courts of Justice, and in *Latin* as they were written, and in the same Language was Justice administred, the Decrees of Magistrates and the Resolutions of Judges published, such honour and respect being as yet given to the Tongue of the *Romans*, to the Valour and Conduct of whom so great Dominion was to be ascribed. But *Mauricius* being murthered, *Phocas* and his Successours had little care either for Preservation of the Language or the Laws, and though the Empire was still called the *Roman* Empire, and their Writers are very carefull to give the Name of *Romans* all along to the Emperour's Subjects, even so far that if they and the *Italians* be mentioned together, yet by *Romans* they ever mean such as were subject to the Constantinopolitan Empire whereever they lived, yet however, *Latin* grew out of use, the *Greek* Tongue being native to the Place (though exceedingly mixed with *Latin* words) drove the practice of it out by Degrees; Generally in other Countries the Emperours were known by the Name of *Greek* Emperours; and some of them vaunted themselves, as the Successours of *Alexander the Great*.

Vide Fabrot. in Edit. Basilic. Baldvin. in proleg. ad Instit.
Duckium de usu & authorit. Juris Civilis. Lib. 1. cap. 5.

82. By these means the Books of *Justinian*, written first in *Latin*, because little regarded, yet of some use they were for two hundred years, till the time of *Basilius Macedo*, the Father of *Leo*. For they had been either in the lifetime of *Justinian* himself, or shortly after translated into *Greek*, as the Code and the Pandects by *Thalelæus* an Antecessour, and the Institutions by *Theophilus*, and besides these, many other Books of the Ancient Lawyers, out of which the Pandects had been Composed. Out of these Translations then and the Constitutions of such Emperours as succeeded *Justinian*, was Justice administred, so as it was, till the time of *Basilius*, though the knowledge and practice of the Law were both very small, for the Reasons now mentioned, and the continual Irruptions and Desolations made by the *Saracens*, during which like disturbances, Laws are wont to make but little noise. But *Basilius* being a Man of Spirit far above his Birth and Breeding, and having good success against the Infidels, as our Historians write, set upon the work of making and reforming Laws. He was moved by this reason, as they tell us, because he perceived the Civil Laws to be very confused and obscure; therefore he resolved to purge them by abrogating the unprofitable ones, by making shorter such as were tedious, and otherwise, of which Design Death preventing the accomplishment, it was perfected by *Leo* his Son. Later writers ascribe

Basilius and *Leo* new model the Civil Law.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς νόμους, πολλὴν ἀσάφειαν, καὶ σύγχυσιν ἔχοντας ἰδὼν, καὶ τούτους κατὰ τὸ πρόσκαιρον προσφόρως ἐπανασώσασθαι ἔσπευσε, &c.
Cedrenus in Basilio.

Ciron. observat. Jur. Canonic. C c. 4. §.

ascribe to his envy at the glory of *Justinian*, what the other attribute to a kind of necessity, and they impute it to his desire, that his Name with his Books should be obliterated and quite forgotten. Out of what principle soever it was, he with his Sons, *Constantine* and *Leo*, first published an Epitome of *Justinian*'s Code, which he called *Procheiron*, and afterward sixty Books called *Basilica*, composed out of the Books of the said Emperour, his thirteen Edicts after the publication of his Novels, with the Novel Constitutions of *Justin* and the following Emperours. These alone had the Force of Laws so long as the Eastern Empire it self lasted, and *Justinian* his Books were quite laid aside, both in the Schools and the Courts of Justice.

Πρόχειρον τῶν νόμων Βασιλικὰ, *quia Principum leges continebant, idem opus* ἑξηκοντάβιβλον *quia ex 60. libris constabat.*

83. Now these Books of the *Basilia*, (*a*) some attribute to *Leo*, and others (*b*) to *Basilius* himself, to whom *Leo* also ascribes them, and indeed this controversie may easily be decided by what we have lately said from the *Greek* Historians, that *Basilius* began, and *Leo* perfected the work; so that both Father and Son had an hand in them, and twenty years after their publication, the Grandchild, not another Son, as one of our Lawyers mistakes, * *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* purged and amended them. But *Leo* after the *Basilia*, published an hundred and thirteen Novel Constitutions which still are extant, and at present since the Recovery of *Justinian*'s Law, in the West are made use of onely in matters wherein *Justinian's* Books are silent. Nay, in the Age of *Leo* himself, they seem to have had no greater Authority, and that from the testimony of *Greek* Lawyers themselves, who cited them onely when nothing had formerly been Constituted concerning such or such a Point, or for explication of the Old Law. Of these several works the *Greeks* seem most to have esteemed the Epitome or *Synopsis*; and chiefly to have been delighted with Breviaries. For from that of *Basilius* first published, and the Constitutions of Emperours as far as *Emanuel Comnenus* did *Constantinus Harmenopulus*, a Judge of *Thessalonica*, frame an Epitome of universal Law: And before him *Michael Attaliates* by command of *Michael Ducas*, the last Emperour mentioned in this work published a shorter *Synopsis*, which he called the *Compendium of a Compendium*. *Michael Psellus*, at the same time Composed another *Synopsis*; and long after *John Leunclavius* published an Epitome of the *Basilica*, out of the Library of *Sambucus*, afterward Chancellour of *Poland*, who found it at *Tarentum* in *Calabria*, which part of *Italy*, as we see, was longest subject to the Emperours of the East. The *Basilica* themselves lay hid a long time, till *Gentiacius Hervetus* first published seven Books of the sixty; afterwards *Cujacius* three more, though he had the whole Number by him, as appears in his admirable works, especially his observations, and at length they were all set forth out of the *French* Kings Library, together with the Scholia and Glosses of the *Greek* Commentatours, by the care and industry of *Fabrottus*, that excellent Lawyer, who by this means has procured much assistence for explication of such matters as are obscure in *Justinian*'s Laws. Yet are not the Glosses of these *Greek* Lawyers comparable for Number to those made by the Western Europeans, upon the Books of *Justinian*. Those now extant are onely those of *Stephanus*, *Nicæus*, *Thaddæus*, *Eudoxus*, *Isidorus*, *Basilius*, and some others, which as the Glosses of *Accursius*, are set in the Margent of the *Basilica*. But thus much concerning these new Models of *Basilius* and *Leo*, which with small alteration contained the onely Law in use and practice till the dissolution of the Empire. Hereby we may perceive that in the Reigns of these two last Princes, Learning and Ingenuity were much revived, by the convenience whereof, and his own Industry, *Leo* arrived to so high a Pitch as to obtain the Sirname of *Philosophus* and *Sapiens*. For his meriting these Titles, there is more produced than his indeavours about the Law. In the Vatican Library are still extant, many Orations of his, as well about sacred as other matters, some precepts of Morality, with a Treatise concerning the Military Art; and a Catalogue of many of them, the Reader if he think it fit may see in *Baronius* his Annals.

(*a*) *Harmenopul. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 1. *Cujac. observat. l.* 17. *alii.*
(*b*) *Gothofred. ad Novel. Leonis. alii.*

* *Constantinus hic fuit Constantinus Leonis filius cognomento Porphyrogeneta qui libros* Βασιλικῶν *repurgavit fuitq; Author* ἀνακαθάρσεως *id est Basilicῶn repetitæ prælectionis. Non Basilii filius qui ante patrem diem suum obierat ut ex Historia nostra constat utq; Gothofredus ad Leonis Novellas notat; lapsus itaq; est in hac parte Duckius nostras.*

Cujac. 17. *Observ.* 31. *Gothofred. ubi suprá.*

Ad An. 911. *num.* 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Leo the Philosopher, *to the Death of* Constantine Ducas, *the twelfth of that Name. A. D.* MCXVII.

The space of One Hundred and Fifty Six Years.

Alexander Emperour.

1. LEO being dead, his Brother *Alexander* succeeded him in the second year of *Anastasius* the Second Bishop of *Rome*, the fourteenth Indiction. *A. D.* DCCCCXI. About his Age when he came to the Empire, our *Greek* Historians are strangely overseen, writing that he was now a young man, about twenty years old, whereas they themselves had formerly told us, that in the third year of his Reign, *Basilius* made his third Son *Alexander Cæsar*, so that by this time he must have past above forty years, from his very promotion to this Title; and if *Leo* Reigned above twenty five, how could *Alexander* be but twenty at his Death, and be his Brother, the Father being dead above five and twenty years before? He had *Constantine* his Brother's Son his Partner in the Empire, yet within a little time purposed to deprive him of all hopes of Succession, by gelding him, and leave the Dignity to one *Basilitzas*, an obscure fellow, but his Companion in his libidinous and extravagant courses. For to such alone he addicted himself; neither thinking nor acting any thing becoming the place he bore, and as hitherto he had lived, so still did he onely intend, a voluptuous life and matters of intemperance, putting small value upon any but such as could accompany and assist him in such like practices. From putting in practice what he intended against his Nephew, he was diverted merely by such as bore good will to the Child for his Father's sake, who still alledged he was young and sickly, and so perswaded him, not thinking of his own Death, that he had time enough farther to consider and resolve. Desirous to be ascertained of his long life, he consulted with such cheaters as pretended skill in those matters, who answered that his Reign should be long, if to a Boar of Brass which stood in the Cirque, he would add Genitals and Teeth which were wanting to it; for that Boar was his Element, as the *Greeks* phrased it, that is, by it he himself was magically signified in opposition to his Brother *Leo*. He giving heed to them, who for his manners compared him to that creature, added those Members to the Boar, as securing his life thereby for a long season. Now elevated by this and other hopes, he banishes *Himerius* the *Logotheta*, as one who had practised something against him in the days of his Brother. The Ambassadours of *Simeon* Prince of the *Bulgarians*, who were come about the renewing of the League and Friendship formerly made with his Predecessours, he uncivily treated and dismissed, whereupon that Prince to be beforehand with him, and prevent the effects of his Threats, broke the Peace, and made War upon the *Romans*. But following on his course of intemperance, after a great fit of gormandizing and drunkenness, too violently exercising himself at Tennis, he broke some Vessels, and died of Bleeding the day following, having so much time and conscience (now in extremity) as to declare *Constantine* his Successour, after a Reign of one year and about a month.

Ex Curopalata Cedrenus oscitans errorem hausit inquiens,
Αλεξάνδρῳ δὲ ὁ τοῦ Λέοντος ἀδελφὸς ἤδη νεανίας ὤν, καὶ τὸ εἰκοστὸν τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ παραμείβων ἔτος, &c.

His Character.

The *Bulgarians* make War upon the *Romans*.

Alexander Dies.

Zonaras sic. σὺν γὰρ, ἔλεγον, ὅπερ, σοιχεῖον ἔστιν, ἀνθ' ὅπερ ἰσάμενος Λέοντι τῷ σῷ ἀδελφῷ. *Cedrenus verò,* σοιχεῖον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον εἶναι προφανῶς. Λέοντι γὰρ ἀνθιμαχεῖται, τῷ αὐτοῦ (φασὶν) ἀδελφῷ. *Hic* σοιχεῖον, *seu elementum vocant rem quæ magicarum artium vi alicujus hominis fortunam gubernet. Qualis (verbi gratia) in Romano Lacapeno, Simeoni Bulgaro Statua in χερολοφῳ fuit, qua truncata is perisit; vide alia exempla apud Xylandrum in Annot. ad hunc locum Cedreni. Hinc autem magi* σοιχειωματικοὶ *dicti, qui in res certis notis & Incantationibus vim quandam ad aliquid præstandum putabantur conciliare, &* σοιχειοῦσθαι *verbum magicis artibus aliquid moliri.*

2. To

Constantine's Nephew, a Youth, succeeds.

2. To *Constantine* who was scarcely seven years old, he assigned for Governours, *Nicholas* the Patriarch, *Stephen* and *John Eladas* being *Magistri*, *John* a Rector and two others whom from the Dunghill, in a manner, he had raised to Senatorian and Patritian Dignity, being his Companions in his lewd Courses, *viz. Basilitzas* we e'er now mentioned, and one *Gabrielopolus*. At this time *Constantinus Ducas*, Son of *Andronicus*, the General or Master of the Schools was absent from the City, who notwithstanding the warning formerly said to be given him by the Emperour *Leo*, nourished hopes of arriving one day at that Dignity, and his Power was so great, and his Dependents and Fewds so numerous and Potent, that therein his hopes seemed not at all to flatter him. His Friends were carefull to give him timely notice of *Alexander*'s decease, telling him, that the Empire now wanted an Head, and was in extreme danger of being ruined, if he, the onely man alive that was fit to govern it, would not take care of it in its necessity, which to doe he would not want incouragement, both the Senate and People being at his Devotion; and it was reported, that the Patriarch himself was in the Conspiracy, not knowing that he was designed one of the Governours, the Testament of *Alexander* not being yet opened. *Constantine* having received the Letters, hastes to the City with a select Company of Men, and late at Night getting in at the Gate next the Castle, went and staid that Night with *Gregoras Iberitzas* his Father-in-Law, whither, upon notice of his Arrival, came to him *Nicetas* the Secretary with *Constantine* a Patritian, the *Eladican Monk*. They before it was light, with Torches and a great Multitude, came to the Gate of the Cirque, and there with lucky Acclamations saluted him Emperour. But here they found stout resistence from within, and as an ill Omen the *Protostrator* of *Constantine*, as he earnestly laboured to get open the Gate, was through some hole in it killed with a Lance. Here then repulsed, they went into the Cirque, and by the Brazen Gate passed as far as the Court of Guard, or the place where ordinarily the Watch was kept. In the mean time *John Eladas* one of the Governours had got together some Seamen and others as he could, and sent them to meet and oppose *Ducas*, with whom they fought, and many falling on both sides, *Gregoras* the Son of *Ducas* was slain together with one *Michael* his Kinsman, and *Curticius* an *Armenian*. He much disordered at their death, put Spurs to his Horse and galloped toward the foremost of his men to incourage them; but his Horse fell upon the Pavement, and it happening that his own men either running away, or not taking notice of it, one of the other Party fell upon him as he lay at that disadvantage from off his Horse, and cutting off his Head carried it to the Emperour. By this his end was the Conspiracy and Tumult quashed, after which *Gregoras* his Father-in-Law and *Leo Cherosphacta* a Patritian took Sanctuary in the Church of St. *Sophia*, but were thence by the Governours taken, shaven, and thrust into a Monastery. In the like sort was served *Constantinus Eladicus*, but not till after he was soundly beaten and led as in Triumph through the City. Some were banished, having their Eyes put out, and others were beheaded in the Cirque by *Philotheus* the Prefect of the City; some were fastened to Posts: But *Nicetas* and *Constantinus Africus*, though much sought for could not be found. The Governours had proceeded and destroyed many other persons of Senatorian Rank though Innocent, if one of the Judges had not taken courage and asked them how they durst doe things of so high a nature in the Minority of their Prince. Yet they farther caused the Wife of *Ducas* to be shaven and sent home into *Paphlagonia*. And his Son *Stephen* to be deprived of his Genitals.

Τὸν μάγιστρον Στέφανον. Ἰωάννην τὸν ῥαίκτωρα.

A Conspiracy against him.

Νικήτας δὲ ἀσηκρῆτις τὸν ἔλευσιν, &c. *Vide quomodo Latinæ voces in Græcum sermonem irrepserunt. Latinè à Secretis & Græcè ἀσηκρῆτις.*

Ἔφθασαν ἄχρι τῶν ἐξκουβίτων.

But punished.

3. While these Disorders were within the City, no less a danger threatned the Government from without. *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* disobliged, as we said, by *Alexander*, had with a great Army invaded the *Roman* Territories, and was come even as far as *Constantinople* it self, before which he incamped himself from *Blachernæ*, as far as the Golden Gate, with no small hope of becoming Master of it in a short time. But such was the good fortune of the Inhabitants, that though thus surprized, by their stout opposition and the strength of the Walls, by degrees they defeated his hopes, and he retired to *Hebdomus*, where he signified he would accept of a Treaty. This Overture was most gladly entertained by the Governours, and Hostages being given and received, *Simeon* was admitted to dine with the Emperour in the Palace of *Blachernæ*, and received the Patriarch's Blessing, after which he departed home richly presented, though as *Zonaras* writes, without any Peace concluded, the Conditions whereof he would not accept, which yet *Cedrenus* signifies to have been accorded. But, the Governours giving no content, by reason of their extravagant Actions and Disagreement, were soon after suffered to take

Simeon the *Bulgarian* incamps near *Constantinople*.

But accepting a Treaty returns home.

Zoe the Emperour's Mother recalled outs all his Governours.

take their ease. The young Emperour making great lamentation for the miss of his Mother, whom *Alexander* had put from Court, they were forced, though against their wills, to recall her, and she being returned, quickly got the power into her hands. By the advice and assistence of *Constantine* one of the Bedchamber, *Anastasius*, and *Constantine Gongglii* Brothers, and *John Eladan*, she put out of the Court the Favourites of *Alexander*, viz. *John* the Rector, *Gabrielopolus*, *Basilitzes*, and others; and at the motion of *Dominicus*, whom she preferred to the Command of the Associates, she also removed the Patriarch from the Palace. As for the Magister *John Eladus* he departed of his own accord out of the Palace by reason of sickness, whereof he died. All the Governours of the young Emperour being thus put out of Office, *Constantine* the Bedchamber man, that he might govern alone accused *Dominicus*, lately mentioned, to the Empress, as indeavouring to compass the Empire for his Brother, which she believing, created him a Patritian; and when, according to the Custome, he went down to pray, commanded him to stay at home, and put into his place one *John Garidas*. And she made one *Damianus* an Eunuch the *Drungarius Biglæ*. Such chopping and changing there was, outing and being outed, as is usual to those, whose narrow Souls (how big soever they look) are taken up with the Vanities and Uncertainties of Courts.

Simeon. lays siege to *Adrianople.*

The *Ameras* of *Tyre* infests the Maritime Coasts.

A Peace concluded with the *Saracens.*

Turning the whole force of the Empire against the *Bulgarians.*

4. But *Simeon* now again harassed *Thrace* without any mention made of breaking the Peace; so that he must rather believe *Zonaras*, who writes, that at his late Entertainment at *Constantinople* nothing had been concluded. *Zoe* considering with her Council how to restrain his Depredations, one *John Bogas* ingaged that if she would promote him to the Dignity of a Patritian, he would procure the *Patzinacæ*, a neighbouring People to fall into his Territories and divert him, and accordingly he went and obtained a Promise from them, confirmed by the delivery of Hostages. But for the present *Simeon* besieged *Adrianople*, which after some time was betrayed to him by one *Pancratucas* an *Armenian* whom he had corrupted with Gold, by which Metal the Empress again shortly after recovered it, sending *Basilius* a Patritian, the Commander of the *Canicleus*, and *Nicetas Eladicus* sufficiently furnished for that purpose. Much about the same time did *Damianus* the *Ameras* of *Tyre*, with a Fleet exceedingly well manned, infest the Maritime Parts, and made a violent Attempt upon *Strofelus*, which he had carried, but that he was snatched away by death to the good fortune of the Town, from which his Forces presently arose and departed. *Zoe* being thus attacked on several Quarters, by advice of the Senate, with which she consulted, resolved to make Peace with the *Saracens*, and employ the whole force of the Empire against the *Bulgarians*, for restraining the Incursions of *Simeon*, and if possible, the absolute destruction or Conquest of that Nation. To this purpose *John Radenus* a Patritian, and *Michael Toxaras* were sent into the East, and compounded all matters with the *Saracens*, from whom now being distinangled she gave order to *Leo Phocas* the Magister and Domestick of the Schools to lead the Army against the *Bulgarians*, having first made amongst the Souldiers the usual distribution of Money called *Rogæ*. A general Muster was made at *Diabasis*, a place so called from the Passage, being a spacious Plain fit for such a purpose, and thither came the chief Priest or Chaplain of the Palace, whom they termed *Protopapa*, and with the usual Ceremonies made them all kneel down and swear they would fight it out to the last, which Oath taken they were led against the Enemy.

The Officers of the *Roman* Army.

Ingaging with them are overthrown.

5. The Army was good, and as well commanded. The Cohort of the *Watchers* or *Excubitores*, as they were called, was led by *John Grapson*, a Man whose Valour and Conduct had appeared in many Battels. The Regiment of those, called *Hicanati*, was commanded by *Olbianus Marula*, a very eminent Man also; the rest by *Romanus* and *Leo*, the Sons of *Argyrus* and *Bardas Phocas*. Besides these, was present at the Expedition *Melias* the *Magister* with his *Armenians*, and many of the other Provincial Officers: And *Constantinus Africanus* the Patritian was joyned as Councellour with *Leo* the General or Domestick of the Schools. On the sixth day of *August* was a fierce Battel fought at the Castle *Achelous* with the *Bulgarians*, who were beaten, and after great loss put to flight. But the General of the *Romans* in a great Sweat and fainting by the extraordinary pains he had taken, lighting at a Fountain to refresh himself so neglected his Horse, that sensible he had no Rider he broke loose and ran amongst the Army, where being known by the Souldiers, they concluded that *Leo* was kill'd, and thereupon all left the Pursuit; and some betook them to their Heels. This was quickly perceived by *Simeon*, who did not make his Retreat in a loose or confused manner, but so

so as he could easily face about and pursue the Pursuers, which he did with such execution, the *Romans* hindering one another, that not onely a great Slaughter was made of the ordinary Souldiers, but very many of the Officers themselves were lost, amongst whom *Constantinus Africus* and *John Grapson*, e'er now mentioned. All this while *Romanus Lacapenus* the *Drungarius* of Naval Affairs, according to order hovered about the Sea Coasts with the Fleet to relieve *Leo* if need were, and give passage to the *Patzinacæ*, whom *Bogas* had brought to the assistence of the Empire. But he and *Bogas* fell into a difference and thereupon they departed home. As for *Leo* he hardly escaped to *Mesembria*.

6. These are the ordinary Reasons given for this overthrow, though another Report was very current, as that when *Leo* was hot in the Pursuit of the Enemy, News was brought him that *Romanus* the Admiral was returned back to *Constantinople* with a design to make himself Emperour while all the great Ones were absent, which so affected him, who had himself the same ambitious purpose, that he retired into the Camp to know the truth, at which his men were discouraged, as imagining it was out of fear, and so changed the course of the Battel. However it happened, a great loss was received, and after the return of the remainders of the Army to *Constantinople*, the business betwixt *Romanus* and *Bogas* was scanned, the issue of which was, that the former was sentenc'd by the Judges to loose his Eyes, for not having according to his duty passed over the *Patzinacæ*, and received such as fled from the Battel, which some attributed to carelesness, but others to Malice and Design; and the Sentence had been executed but that *Stephen* the Magister, one of the Emperours Tutours, and *Constantinus Gongyles* a Patritian, men very powerfull with the Empress had not prevailed for the remission of it. Now was *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* so puffed up with his late success, that again he resolved to attack *Constantinople*, and was on his way, when *Leo* the Domestick, *John* the Commander of the Associates, and *Nicholas* the Son of *Constantinus Ducas* were sent out against him. In a place called *Catasyrtes* they light upon a Party that was foraging, and defeated it with little trouble. Then a fresh one came on which put the men now wearied and wounded much to it, but they were so resolved and courageous that after a sharp Conflict they had the same success, though not without loss of several worthy men, amongst whom none more eminent than *Nicholas* now mentioned, to whose Valour especially the success of the day was ascribed.

Simeon proceeds towards *Constantinople*.

But two of his Parties are met and worsted.

7. So went matters in the Field, and against the Enemy, at home they carried a sadder Aspect, whilst in the Minority of the Emperour several of the Nobility wanted but opportunity and power to divest him of his Dignity, and to reign themselves. Of all others *Leo Phocas* with most confidence hatched and carried on his design, trusting much to the power and interest of *Constantine* the Chamberlain, his Wives Brother, for his private Reputation at Court was very great, besides that Eunuchs in general at this time were much respected. He made himself so sure of his projected greatness, that he would not stick openly to own it, and affirm that the Severeignty of right belonged to him by descent. This *Theodius* the Emperour's School-master taking strict notice of it lest any mischief should thence happen to his Scholar, perswaded him to take *Romanus Lacapenus*, the *Drungarius* of the Fleet to be his Keeper, and if need were his Protectour, who had been a dutifull Servant to his Father, an no less faithfull to him. But *Romanus* often, and with some pertinacy refused to accept of the Charge, till at length seeing the Emperour's Letters written with his own hand and signed, as the manner was, with Purple Letters, he consented, and promised to frustrate as much as in him lay the Designs of the Chamberlain and his Allies. This could not be so much concealed but that it took air, and began to be talked of openly in the Streets, and all places of Resort, but yet *Constantine* was therewith little moved, contemning all Reports out of a vain confidence, that no man durst attempt any thing against him, till going to the Fleet to distribute the *Rogæ*, or pay the Seamen, he was by *Romanus*, who at their first meeting disguised his Purpose, till he got him into the Snare, seized and secured. Great noise hereof being made in the City, and no less than a Revolt expected, *Zoe* called together the Patriarch and some Senatours, and by their Advice sent to *Romanus* to know his meaning, and to require that the Chamberlain should be dismissed; but the Messengers were hindered from delivering their Message by a number of Mariners, who threw Stones and denied them Access. Early in the Morning she went and inquired of her Son and those about him, what their Intentions were, to which, when none else would answer, *Theodore* affirmed this change to have happened by reason of

Leo designs to assume the Purple.

So doth *Romanus*.

Who seizes upon the Emperour.

Leo

his ill management of the Army, and *Constantine*'s ill administration of matters relating to the Court.

8. Now did the Emperour take the power from his Mother upon himself, and presently sent for to Court the Patriarch and *Stephen* the Master, and thence commanded the day following his Mother to be removed; but she weeping and wailing and clinging close to him, wrought so upon his good nature as to permit her to stay. Then fearing *Leo Phocas*, he removed him from his Office, and made *John* the *Magister* Domestick of the Schools. Yet did *Phocas* prevail, as a way of recompence, to have his Son *Simeon* and *Theodorus* his Wives Brother made Commanders of the Associates, and then taking an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperour retired to his House. But shortly after hearing that his Kindred were again dismissed from Court, he resolved to see how he could work upon *Romanus*, to whom posting, he laid open his condition, and bewailed the straits to which he was reduced. *Romanus* fearing, it seems, his great Interest and Alliance, was so wrought upon, as secretly to contract Friendship and an Union with him, which was confirmed by Oath, and the designed Inter-Marriage of their Children. After this *Romanus* went to Court to purge himself to the Councillours of any Conspiracy against the Government, affirming his Design, merely to protect the Emperour from any ambitious attempts of *Phocas*, for which purpose his Resolution was to come to Court, with a sufficient Guard. This the Patriarch would not believe, nor accept his Purgation, whereupon *Theodore* the Schoolmaster importuned him to come up with his Fleet into the Dock of *Bucoleon* near to the Palace, which he earnestly refused to doe, till vehemently urged by those privy to the Design, who prevailed with him in an Hostile manner to sail up to the place, which happened upon the Feast of the Annunciation. Presently hereupon *Stephen* the *Magister* departed from Court, and *Nicetas* the Patritian, a great Intimate of *Romanus* went in and thence removed the Patriarch, which done, after an Oath taken from *Romanus*, with most bitter and heavy Curses that he would never entertain any thought against the Emperour's Dignity or Person, he received him into the Palace, and going along with him to Prayers to the Church in *Pharus*, after Faith given and received on both sides, made him Great Commander of the Associates. Shortly after to sweeten and take off *Phocas*, Letters were written to him, to bid him be of good courage, and continue in his Allegiance, for he should speedily be considered. To this purpose also *Constantine* the Chamberlain was commanded to write to him. And upon receipt of these Letters he kept himself quiet for some time at his own home in *Cappadocia*.

Zoe the Empress forced to quit her Government.

Leo and *Romanus* combine together.

9. But in the fifth Week of *Lent* the Emperour Married *Helena* the Daughter of *Romanus Lacapenus*, and caused her to be Crowned together with himself by *Nicholas* the Patriarch. To *Romanus* himself he gave the Title and Dignity of his Father, with which no Man ever had been honoured before, as *Glycas* observes, and conferred his former Office upon his Son *Christopher*. These things quite turned the Stomach of *Leo Phocas*, who had almost digested former Misfortunes in dayly expectation of what was promised him. Now by the advice of his Friends, aswell as his own Inclinations, he resolved to rise, and for that purpose got to him *Constantine* the Chamberlain, the two Brothers, *Gongylii*, and others, endeavouring to perswade all that he took Arms in behalf of the Emperour *Constantine*. But *Romanus* so bestirred himself, that by Letters conveyed to the Camp signed by the Emperour and sealed with his Seal, he convinced many of his Souldiers of their mistake, of whom several great Officers presently revolted from him. And herewith incouraged, he sent *Simeon* the Overseer of the *Canicleus*, to the Army, who by reading to them another Declaration, whereby he owned *Romanus* for his Father, and declared *Leo* to be a Traytour to him and his Family, wholly brought them all off, and *Leo* shifted for himself by flight to a certain Castle *Atcas*, whence he removed to another, which bore the Name of *Goleon*, as much as to say the Lamentation of *Leo*, which was esteemed an ill Omen; for here he was taken. Upon notice thereof were sent to fetch him up to the City *John Tubaces* and *Leo Pagtelæs*, who in the passage pulled out his Eyes by private order from *Romanus*, or of their own Accord without his knowledge, as he affirmed, pretending to take the matter much to heart. Thus was suppressed the Insurrection made by *Leo*, but all danger not thereby removed from the Head of *Romanus*, against whom Conspired one *Constantinus Crematenus*, *David Cumulianus*, and *Michael* the *Curator Manganorum*, (that is, Overseer of the Engines) who armed certain young men to kill him as he went out to hunt. But the Plot was timely discovered, and the Conspiratours having their Eyes put out were in an ignominious manner led about the

Constantine Marries the Daughter of *Romanus*. Styling him Father of the Emperour.

Upon which he Rebells.

But is taken and punished.

Μιχαὴλ κυρατωρ τῶν Μαγγάνων. *Curator Manganorum id est balistarum & aliorum id genus tormentorum.*

Zoe the Empress shaven.

the *Forum*, and among them *Leo Phocas* upon a Mule. *Zoe* also the Empress accused of a design against his life was shaven and thrust into a Monastery. Moreover for attempting something against him were banished the City *Theophylact*, the Patritian, and even he who had been the Authour of his preferment *Theodore* the Schoolmaster, with his Brother *Simeon*, he perceiving, it seems, and repenting that he had gone too far. They were confined to a place called *Opsicium*, and thither conveyed by the diligence of *Curcuas* the *Drungarius Biglæ*, who seizing suddenly on them conveyed them by Boats into the opposite Continent.

Romanus Crowned Emperour by the allowance of *Constantine*.

Christopher Emperour.

10. Now the way being fully cleared by removal of all Competition, on the four and twentieth day of *September*, and the eighth year of the Emperour's Reign, the Title of *Cæsar* was conferred on *Romanus*; and in *December* following he was by allowance of *Constantine* Crowned Emperour by the Hands of *Nicholas* the Patriarch. Thus possessed of the Imperial Dignity on *Candlemas* day following he caused to be Crowned his Wife *Theodora*, and in *May* on *Whitsunday* his Son *Christopher*, *Constantine* openly yielding his consent and approving, but inwardly repining and deploring the condition into which he was brought. *Romanus* for the security of his Estate banished several Persons upon suspicion; but could not thereby hinder the effects of envy which his high and sudden Advancement had procured. For another Conspiracy was hatched against him by *Arsenius* a Patritian, and one *Paulus Manglabyra*, which yet was discovered, and they lost both their Estates and Eyes. To obviate these Practices and strengthen himself by Alliance he Married his Daughter *Agatha* to *Leo* the Son of *Argyrus*, a man very Noble and of excellent Qualifications both of Body and Mind. But by this time several began to commiserate the condition of *Constantine*, who was thus overpowered by the Upstart, and one *Anastasius*, called *Sacellarius*, framed new Designs to take him off. But this Plot was also discovered, and *Anastasius* for his pains was shaven and made a Monk. Now did *Romanus* publickly command, that he himself having the first, *Constantine* should be onely called and esteemed Emperour in the second place, and under this pretence that this was the onely means to prevent Conspiracies; thus for uncertain things and a fading Empire, making himself perjured and an Enemy to Almighty God, as our Writers observe. About this time it happening that *Adralestus* the Domestick of the Schools dying, he conferred his place, as a farther means to strengthen his Alliance on *Pothus Argyrus*.

Punishes several Conspiratours against himself.

Insults over *Constantine*.

11. Now were the *Bulgarians* again very troublesome, making their Inrodes as far as *Catasyrtes*; and *Pothus*, as his place required, led out an Army against them, with little effect on either side, save that *Michael* one of his Officers being out to scout, did some little hurt to a Party of the Enemy, and received a wound of which he died shortly after. But *Simeon* sent more Forces commanded by *Chaganus* one of his Noblemen, and *Minicius* the Master of his Horse, with Orders to march to *Constantinople* it self without any stop. *Romanus* hearing of it lest they should burn and waste the Suburbs and adjoyning Palaces, dispatched away the two *Argyri*, *Leo* and *Pothus*, *John Rector*, and others to meet and oppose them, who accordingly gave them Battel in the Plain of *Pegæ*, but *John* the *Rector* affrighted at their noise and sudden Onset ran away and gave occasion to a Defeat, wherein many were slain. He hardly escaping got to a Pinnace, which *Alexius* the *Drungarius* of the Navy endeavouring to doe, fell down from the side of the Vessel, and was drowned, together with his *Protomandator*. *Leo* and *Pothus* recovered a Castle in their flight; the rest of the Multitude was either drowned as they indeavoured to escape, were slain by the Enemies hand, or taken Prisoners: And the *Bulgarians* without any opposition burnt the Palace of *Pegæ*, and wasted all the Countrey. The year following being the eleventh of *Constantine*, in the Tenth Indiction, died on the twentieth of *February*, *Theodora* the Wife of *Romanus*, and after her decease *Sophia* the Wife of *Christopher* bore the Title of *Augusta* or Empress. Now made the *Bulgarians* another Inrode as far as the Palace of *Theodora*, which they burnt without any resistence. *Romanus* standing now in need of his Officers, made them a great Feast, and by good words, aswell as the Entertainment, made them ingage to doe their utmost indeavour in defence of their Countrey, so much disgraced aswell as harassed by the so frequent Invasions of that People.

The *Bulgarians* renew their Incursions against the *Romans*.

12. The day following, *Sacritius* the Leader of the *Excubitores* to make good his word, as soon as it was light set upon the Enemy's Camp, and killed all he found therein, the rest being employed abroad in pillaging the Countrey. But understanding by some that had escaped of his Enterprize, they returned thither, and overpowered the *Romans* already wearied by the former Fight; *Sacritius* having

having with his few made opposition a considerable time, and killed many, put spurs to his Horse and fled, but being laid fast in passing of a Ditch, was wounded mortally by those that pursued him; and though by the Assistence of his Attendants he was got out of the Ditch, and came to *Blachernæ*, yet he died there the night following in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to the great affliction of the Emperour, the Army, and all the People. At this time a Rebellion happened in *Chaldia* (a Region of *Syria*, near to *Iberia*) against the Emperour, which was happily suppressed by the diligence of *Curcuas*, Domestick of the Schools, then lying at *Cæsarea*, who on a sudden and unexpectedly fell upon the Conspiratours. In the mean while *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* laid Siege to *Adrianople*, about which he drew a line, and with violence attacqued it. The Governour at this time was *Leo* a Patritian, whom for his too unadvised haste and vehemence against the Enemy, they called *Moroleon*, or *Leo* the Fool. But he defended the City very Gallantly, both by opposition made from the Walls, and several succesfull Sallies, till the Inhabitants, pinched with Famine, gave up themselves, Governour and Town into *Simeon*'s Hands, who remembring of how many *Bulgarians Leo* had been the Destruction, basely caused him to be tortured to Death. Then left he a Garrison in *Adrianople*, which upon its being seized by some *Roman* Forces, delivered it up again into their Hands. At the same time, *Leo* of *Tripolis* with a great Fleet of *Saracens* invaded the Sea Coasts and Islands. Him *John Radenus* the Patritian and *Drungarius* of the Navy, as he lay at *Lemnus*, suddenly Attacqued with such Execution, that scarcely any but himself escaped alive from the place.

A Rebellion in *Chaldia*, but suppressed.

Simeon lays Siege to *Adrianople*.

The *Saracens* invade the Sea Coasts, but are soundly beaten.

13. In the Month of *September*, and the second Indiction, being the seventeenth year from the beginning of the Reign of *Constantine*, *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* Prince, with all the Force he could make, undertook another Expedition against *Constantinople*; having with Fire and Sword wasted *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, he pitcht his Camp near to *Blachernæ*. Hence he sent to require that the Patriarch and some of the Nobility might be brought to him to Treat, who accordingly, upon the Reception of Hostages, were dispatched to him; but when they were about to Treat, he dismissed them, signifying his desire to come to an Interview with the Emperour himself, whom he knew both to be a Man of Prudence and Veracity. *Romanus* was well enough pleased with the offer, and commanded a place to be prepared not far from the Walls, upon the Sea shore, whither he might conveniently come with his Gally; when in the mean time, *Simeon* not able or willing to restrain his Hostility, sent a Party to burn the Church of our Lady of the Fountain, built by *Justinian*, and all things thereabout, giving thereby vehement occasion to suspect that he was no-way inclining to Peace. But on the ninth day of *December*, all things being prepared, they met on the place; first came the Emperour, and expected the other, who made all the shew of Bravery he could by his several Ranks, distinguished by their Gilded and Brazen Targets and Spurs. *Romanus* expostulated with him, that "Being a Christian, he should be so Bloudy, and rejoyce in the "slaughter of those that Professed the same Religion; and putting him in mind "that he must dye, and according to that Faith, give an Account of all his "Cruelties to an Higher Judge; offered him what Wealth he would ask, if it "was that he sought after, by which and other motives he so wrought upon him, "that he promised to conclude the Peace, and so departed richly presented by "the Emperour.

Simeon undertakes another Expedition, pitching his Tent near *Blachernæ*.

Whence an Interview and Peace ensued.

14. On *Christmas* Day following, *Romanus* caused his two Sons, *Stephen* and *Constantine* to be Crowned in the Great Church, reserving the other, *Theophylact* by Name, for the Patriarchal Dignity. *John Mysticus* his prime Minister he honoured with Patritian and Proconsular Dignity, who shortly after was convicted of aiming at the Imperial Power, and for that was shaven a Monk; his fellow Conspiratour, *Cosmas* the Patritian and *Logotheta Dromi* being soundly beaten, and turned out of his Place, who had had a Design of Marrying his Daughter to *Mysticus*. About the same time most horrible Earthquakes happened in *Thrace*, by which many Churches, Houses and Men were swallowed up: *Simeon* the *Bulgarian* making an Expedition against the *Chrobati*, was in the straits of the Mountains overthrown by them in Battel, and lost all his Army. Now the Story goes, that one *John* an Astronomer came to the Emperour, and desired him to send some to cut off the Head of a Pillar which stood over the Arch of *Xerolophus*, toward the West; for by that means *Simeon* should perish instantly, that Pillar being fatal to * him, or Magically signifying Him; which being done, they

Stephen and *Constantine*, Sons of *Romanus* Crowned Emperours.

* Αὐτῷ δὲ ἐστοιχειῶδες τῷ τοιούτῳ στύλῳ. *Hanc ejus esse elementum, ei vi quadam magica esse fatalem.*

Simeon the *Bulgarian* Dies.

Peter succeeds him.

they give out, that in the same instant *Romanus* found that he Died in *Bulgaria*, of a Disease which seized upon his † Heart, or Stomach. His Successour was *Peter* his Son by his second Wife, the Sister of *George Susurbulus* (whom dying, he left Guardian to his Children) for *Michael* his Son, by a former Wife, he had shaven and made a Monk. Now, together with the Death of their Prince, several calamities fell upon the *Bulgarians*. For the Neighbouring Nations, and the *Chrobati*, *Servi*, *Turks* and others hearing of *Simeon*'s Death, prepared to make War against them, and they laboured under a great Famine, their Corn being consumed by Locusts. But they feared especially the *Romans*, and therefore to divert them from their own doors, resolved to begin first, and fright them from any such Resolutions by an Invasion.

† *Cedren.* Νόσῳ καταχρεσίῳ. *Zonar.* καρδιογμῷ.

Who invading *Macedonia*, is met by the Forces of the Empire.

15. *Peter* then makes an Inrode into *Macedonia*, but understanding that the Emperour was coming against him, by advice of *George* his Uncle, sent a Monk with Letters to him, wherein he offered to make a Peace, and a League also with the *Romans*, for farther strengthening whereof, if he thought fit by a Marriage, he would enter into a stricter Alliance with them. *Romanus* was no whit displeased with the Message, but sent speedily away one *Theodosius* a Monk, and *Constantinus Rhodius* a Clerk of the Court to Treat with them in *Mesembria*. The Treaty so well succeeded, that there returned with the Commissioners to *Constantinople* one *Stephen*, a Man of great esteem in *Bulgaria*, and after them followed *George Susurbulus*, with others the most eminent of that Countrey. Coming to Court, they liked exceedingly a Daughter of *Christopher* the Emperour's Son, called *Mary*, a very Beautifull Lady; and ratifying the Treaty of Peace, sent away for *Peter* himself, whom *Nicetas* a *Magister* and Father-in-Law to *Christopher* met on the way, and Conducted him to *Blachernæ*, where *Romanus* himself received him very honourably. The Peace and Articles of Marriage were quickly confirmed, and on the fifth day of *October* the Nuptials solemnized in the Church of our Lady, at the Fountain, by *Stephen* the Patriarch. It happened, that at the third Feast after the Wedding, that *Romanus* entertained *Peter* the Bridegroom, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* the Emperour, and once his Master, of whom we have heard nothing a long time, and his Son *Christopher*. Now by the Arts of *Romanus*, the *Bulgarians* there present being wrought upon, as is probable, made a Disturbance, and exclaimed against it, that *Constantine* should take Place and be preferred before *Christopher* the Father-in-Law of their Prince. To gratifie them you must know, the Emperour caused his Son to precede *Constantine*; and all the Ceremony being now over, the new Married Couple departed into *Bulgaria*, being brought on their way as far as *Hebdomus* by the Parents of the Bride, and *Theophanes* the *Protovestiarius*, which *Theophanes* had managed the whole Affair.

Βασιλικὸν κλειτικόν.

Whence a League and Alliance.

Christopher preferred before *Constantine Porphyrogenitus.*

The *Saracens* of *Syria* beaten by the *Romans.*

16. In the mean time, the Master *John Curcuas*, Domestick of the Schools, did such Execution on the *Saracens* of *Syria*, and took so many of their Towns and strong Holds, laying Siege to *Melitena* it self, that *Apochapsus* the *Ameras* of this place, and *Aposblathus* who Commanded the Souldiers of the Garrison came out to him to Treat, and were sent on that Errand to the Emperour. They gave such satisfaction, that they were received as Friends and Allies of the *Romans*, and ingaged to Fight in their aid against their own Countreymen. But not long after they both died, and with them the Peace ceased to be any longer, whereupon the Domestick, assisted by *Melias* a *Magister* who Commanded the *Armenians*, besieged *Melitena*; after some time took it, and brought all the Countrey adjoining into the Obedience of the Emperour, who reduced it into the form of a Province or Curatourship, as they term it, and by that means much increased the publick Revenue. Much about this time, *Nicetas* Father-in-Law to *Christopher* was accused to have moved him to depose his Father, for which he was Banished the City, and made a Monk. The Winter following, happened so great a Frost in *December*, as continued for an hundred and twenty days, and this was followed by so great a Plague, as if we should believe our Authours, no such ever happened before, the Living scarcely sufficing to Bury the Dead. However, herein they may Hyperbolize, yet this we have found in our Age, that the greatest Plague which hath happened in this City, was ushered in by an hard Winter, whereby the Pores of Mens Bodies were shut, and Perspiration hindred, the greatest means of Health, by reason of the avoydance of those vapours, and spending those humours, which shut in, must needs cause great disturbance and fermentations in the Bodies of those that are accustomed to a milder air; for as for such as constantly live in extremity of cold, nature some other way may

Melitena and the Countrey adjoyning reduced into the Form of a Province.

Τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν εἰς κυρεστωρείαν κατεστήσας ὁ Βασιλεύς.

A great Frost and Plague.

Rebellions in *Bulgaria.*

may discharge her self. About this time, *John* the Brother of *Peter* the *Bulgarian* Prince, with others Conspired against him, and being discovered, his Complices were put to Death, and he beaten and cast into Prison. *Romanus* the Emperour understanding hereof, sent one who, under colour of renewing the League, got him out of Prison, and brought him to *Constantinople.* After this, *Michael* the other Brother of *Peter* Rebelled, and endeavouring to set up for himself, seized on a Castle, and got many to joyn with him. But he presently after died, and then they out of desperation invaded the *Roman* Territories and wasting all before them, proceeded as far as *Macedonia*, *Strymone* and *Greece*, as far as *Nicopolis*, on which they seized, and were not removed out of the Countrey but by much labour and endeavour in after-times. Now fell down a great stone from an Arch in the *Forum*, called the Arch of the World, and killed sixty Men. A terrible Fire also happened near the *Forum* of the Blessed Virgin. And *Christopher* the Emperour Died on the fourteenth day of *August.*

Christopher the Emperour Dies.

17. Some time after this, one *Basilius* a *Macedonian* feigned himself to be *Constantine Ducas*, and perswading many to believe him, had done much mischief, but that he was apprehended by a Captain in the Army, and brought to the Emperour, who caused one of his Hands to be cut off, and so let him goe. But as these Cheats if neglected have ever made greater Disturbances, he got a brazen Hand instead of that cut off, and began to tell his tale over again, by which he got together a multitude of credulous People, and seizing on a Castle, thence made Depredations into all the adjoyning Countrey; but a Party was sent which easily mastered him, and being taken again, when upon Examination it could not be found that any of the Nobility had been Accessory to his Crime, he was Burnt alive. *Romanus* rid of this Danger, Married his Son *Stephen* to *Ann* the Daughter of *Gabalas*, and upon her Marriage bestowed on her an Imperial Diademe. In *April* following, the *Turks* made an Invasion, and wasted all Westward as far as the City; to whom *Theophanes* the Patritian and *Protovestiarius* was sent and bought them off, *Romanus* sparing no cost to redeem the Captives; as to give him his due, he omitted nothing during the great Frost and Plague to relieve the Poor, and lessen the publick Calamity. But thinking to establish his Family in the succession to perpetuity, he married his third Son *Constantine* to one *Helena* the Daughter of *Adrian* a Patritian, an *Armenian* originally, and, she dying not long after, to *Theophano*, who derived her Pedigree from *Mamas.* Not long after, on the fourteenth of *June*, a Fleet of the *Rossi* (a People by others called *Roxolani*, and by *Tacitus Bastarnæ*, of the *European Sarmatia*; their Countrey being now *Ruthenia* and *Russen*, in the Kingdom of *Poland*, West of *Podolia*, their chief City *Leopolis* or *Leunpurg.*) consisting of ten thousand, or as some say, of fifteen thousand Vessels came against the City. Against them was sent with the Navy *Theophanes*, the *Protovestiarius*, the great Man now in Command and Favour, who watching his opportunity, put them to flight, and burnt many of their Ships with that which *Cedrenus* calls Artificial Fire. They that escaped went toward the East, but in their passage *Bardas* the Son of *Phocas* killed a number of them which landed for Provisions, and *Curcuas* the Domestick of the Schools coming suddenly upon many more, made great slaughter of them. This Barbarous People, called *Rossi* or *Russi*, coming out of that Countrey, which still bears their Name, had before their Defeat done things which (to use the Expression of *Greek* Writers) exceeded a Tragedy. For of those Christians they took, some they nailed to Crosses, some they fastned to the Ground, and others they placed as Marks to Shoot at. But such Priests as they found, they drove nails into their Heads; and they burnt many Churches. Being thus worsted, they kept themselves in their ships, and because the *Roman* Fleet attended their motions, thought to slip away; but *Theophanes* was so vigilant, that he fell upon them, and taking or sinking most of their Vessels, very few returned home with the News. Of this Russian Fleet *Luitprandus* makes mention, besides the *Greek* Historians, and says, that the Name of their King or Captain was *Inger.* He calls them *Northmans*; and so it seems were called all sorts of People Inhabiting the Neighbouring Parts of this Frozen Zone.

A Rebellion, but suppressed and punished.

The *Turks* invade the *Roman* Pale.

The *Rossi*, a People of *Poland* infest the Coasts of the Empire.

Σκευασῶ πυρὶ, *Cedr.* Τῶ ὑγρῶ πυρὶ *Zonar.* Wild Fire *Angl.*

But are at length destroyed.

Lib. 3.

18. *Theophanes* for his good service was made Chamberlain; but *Curcuas* upon jealousie was hurried out of his Place, which he had held two and twenty years, and seven months; a Man exceeding Valiant and Wise, who in a manner had Conquered all *Syria*; and for a complete knowledge of whose Actions, *Cedrenus* refers us to one *Manuel*, a *Protospatharian*, and a Judge, who had described them in a Volume consisting of Eight Books. And no less prosperous was *Theophilus*

philus his Brother, Grandfather to that *John* who afterward was Emperour, the Governour of *Mesopotamia*, overpowering the *Saracens* whereever he came. The *Turks* after this made another Invasion, but were the second time bought off by *Theophanes*. To complete these Felicities by a more honourable Alliance, *Romanus* sends *Paschalius*, a Protospatharian and Governour of *Lombardy*, to *Hugh* the King of *France* (of *Italy* our *Greek* Writers mean) to desire his Daughter in Marriage, for *Romanus* his Nephew the Son of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, which was granted, and the Lady *Berta* by Name, his Daughter by a Concubine, being sent with great Pomp lived with *Romanus* five years, and then died. But these serene and prosperous Days were succeeded by tempestuous weather, both in the natural and civil Sense. A Violent wind in *December* did much mischief, and the State and Dignity of *Romanus* was shortly after not shaken onely, but quite overturned. Conscious, as our Authours believe, of his Wickedness and Perjury, in that he swore to be a Protectour onely to *Constantine*, and never to affect the Sovereignty (though he not onely did this, but placed himself and Sons before the Right owner) he endeavoured to expiate this Guilt by certain good Actions, and to appease Almighty God. Besides other charitable Deeds, he paid the Debts of such as owed money, to the Value of nineteen Centenaries, and caused the Bonds to be burnt in the middle of the *Forum*: Moreover he paid the Rents of such as hired Houses in the City. "And truly, saith *Zonaras*, herein he gratified "such as were in Debt, but thereby he himself received little or no benefit. For "what he gave was not his own, it being publick money, and belonging to the "Sovereign Power, of which he had seized by force, and defrauded the Right "owner. Injoying all the Imperial wealth and substance, out of it he spared a "small Pittance, just as if a man having killed his Neighbour's Ox, gives the Feet "onely to the Poor, and he himself devours the whole Body; or as if one that "lies with another Man's Wife, gives some of her Husband's money to those that "are in want, to purchase excuse for his Crime.

Romanus endeavours to expiate his unjust Usurpation and Dealings with *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*.

19. But as Providence (so he farther observes) is usually slow in Revenge to give time and space for Repentance, so is it sure at last to take vengeance of those that will not amend their ways. *Romanus* was now passing the twenty sixth year of his Usurpation, wherein he had made no reckoning of *Constantine* the true Heir of the Empire, who all this while had concealed his Indignation aswell as he could, but notwithstanding was so carefull as to watch a fit opportunity to cast off the Usurper, and recover his former Place and Dignity, having so much Spirit as to be sensible, that nothing was left him but the Name and Habit. He found at length, that the onely means to doe his work was to set the Father and Sons at variance. *Christopher* was already dead, *Constantine* was a Man too solid and wise for him to deal withall; but *Stephen* being of the quite contrary disposition was most fit for his purpose, and he got one *Basilius Volucer*, a very crafty man to inveigle him, and bring about his Design. *Basilius* having wound himself into his Acquaintance by Degrees instilled into him such thoughts as these: that he was imprudent, a Man of his Age, Strength and Understanding, to suffer all to hang by a rotten Thread, as he termed the old Man's Life, and not rather take the Government upon himself being so admirably qualified for it, for which he might be assured of the assistence of *Constantine* his Sisters Husband, who could not take it well to be so lessened, and eclipsed as he was by *Romanus*. With these and the like Flatteries he was so tickled, that he resolved to depose his Father, and having felt a little the Pulse of his Brother *Constantine*, and found him averse to any such Attempt, to go through it, with the Help of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* and *Marianus* the Monk, the Son of *Leo Argyrus*, who gladly joined in the Enterprize, though he was very much beloved by *Romanus*. Taking then his opportunity he seized on his Father, on the sixteenth of *December*, and conveying him into the Island *Prota*, forced him to be shaven and made a Monk; which done, he with his Brother and Brother-in-Law managed all things. But long could they not live without suspicions and jealousies, and especially *Stephen* feared the Interest and claim of *Porphyrogenitus*, and therefore resolved to depose him. This *Constantine* was aware of, and having the same Design upon him was more quick, and that through the instigation of his Wife especially. Having communicated his purpose to *Basilius*, we now mentioned, *Marianus* and others whom he made his own, as the two Brothers dined with him; on the twenty seventh of *January* he caused them to be secured and conveyed away, *viz.* *Stephen* into the Island *Panormus*, and *Constantine* into *Terebinthus*, where they were shaven and made Clerks, *Stephen* was afterwards removed into *Proconnesus*, thence

Who sets the Father and Sons at variance.

Thereby deposing *Romanus*.

And shaving *Stephen* and *Constantine*.

thence to *Rhodes*, and at last to *Mitylene*; and *Constantine* into *Samothracia*. *Stephen* bore his Fortune courageously, and lived many years in *Lesbus*; but *Constantine* grew sullen and impatient, and having often endeavoured to escape, in the second year after his deposing killed one of his Keepers, at which the rest were so inraged, that they slew him. As for *Romanus* their Father he outlived the disgrace some three years.

Becomes sole Emperour.

20. Thus *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, having in his thirty third year recovered his former Estate, in his Government answered not the expectation and hope, that had been conceived of him. For he gave himself up to Wine and Sloth, leaving the management of affairs to others, and yet took no care whom he intrusted, promiscuously and without any consideration conferring Offices both military and Civil. He would punish Offenders without any Mercy, though he looked not at home where *Helena* his Wife, and *Basilius* made merchandize of all Preferments, by which means base and unworthy Persons got into the greatest Places of Trust and Revenue. Yet is he much commended for restoring the Sciences and Advancement of Learning, which now had lain much neglected. He incouraged also Artificers, and very much increased Trade. Moreover he was very gratefull to such as had assisted him in the Recovery of his Power. On *Bardas Phocas* he conferred the Dignity of *Magister*, and the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East; and his Sons he preferred to good Commands in the East, *Cappadocia* and *Seleucia*. To *Basilius Volucer* he gave the Command of the Associates, made *Marianus Argyrus* his *Comes Stabuli*, and one *Manuel Curtices* the *Drungarius Biglæ*. But to establish his Power which he had now recovered, in the first Place on *Easter*-Day he gave a Diademe to his Son *Romanus*: then caused he to be gelded *Romanus* the Son of *Stephen*, as also *Basilius* begotten by *Romanus* the Elder on a Slave, and *Michael* the Son of *Christopher* to enter into Orders. Now he seemed to himself so fixed as nothing could shake him, all Dangers being removed and prevented, when more ways than one he was in peril to loose all again. For *Theophanes* the Chamberlain, was plotting how to reduce *Romanus* out of the Island *Prota*, and to restore him, many joyning with him in the Design: and at the same time several others of great Quality and Interest consulted how they might fetch back *Stephen*, and re-establish him in the Government. The Plots were timely discovered by some of the Parties, and *Theophanes* with his Companions were banished. Those that were for *Stephen* were ignominiously beaten, and loosing both their Estates and Noses were then driven into exile.

His management of Affairs.

A Conspiracy against him, but discovered and punished.

21. The Daughter of *Hugh* dying as we said after five years, having some time consulted to whom he should marry his Son *Romanus*, at length he bestowed on him a Maid of very sordid Parentage, her Parents it's said keeping a Victualling-House, but of admirable beauty and a miracle of Nature, and her Name being *Anastasia*, he changed it into *Theophano*. As for matters of War, *Bardas Phocas* was as we said made Domestick of the Schools, but did nothing worthy of his Title himself, but managed all by his Deputies, incurring such hatred of the Souldiers by his extreme covetousness, that in an Ingagement he was deserted by them, and had been taken or killed but for the pertinacious Valour of his own Attendants, who brought him off alive, but with a great and deep wound he received in his Forehead. But his two Sons *Nicephorus* and *Leo* behaved themselves to Admiration, both in respect of their Valour and Conduct against the Enemy, and the Kindness and Providence for those that were under their Charge. *Leo* took in Battel one *Apolasaems* a very eminent Man, and Kinsman of *Chabdanus* the *Ameras* of *Chalepus*, who with a great multitude had invaded the *Roman* Pale, and after a great slaughter of his Men sent him up Prisoner to *Constantinople*, where the Emperour led him in Triumph, and trode upon his Neck. But *Constantine*, the third Son of *Phocas*, *Chabdanus* took, and carried him away to *Chalepe*, where he essayed by all means to make him abjure his Religion, and when all would not doe poisoned him, which so inraged his Father, that all the Kinsmen he took of *Chabdanus* he put to death. This so irritated *Chabdanus* on the other side, that *Paul* a *Magister* sirnamed *Monomachus*, being sent to treat of Peace could doe no good with him; and he with a great Force invaded the Empire, leading with him *Nicetas Chalentzas* a Patritian, and several other Persons he had taken Prisoners. But *Nicetas* betrayed all his Councils to *Phocas*, who laid an Ambush for him in a very strait place he was to pass, and cut off most of his Men, he himself with a very few escaping. Before his flight, he killed those Prisoners he had in Custody. But *Nicetas* had corrupted his Keepers, and was got away with all such as belonged to him.

He marries his Son *Romanus*.

The *Saracens* make an Invasion into the Empire.

22. *Bardas*

22. *Bardas* to prevent any more Inrodes invaded the Territories of the *Saracens*, where he wasted all in his way, took many strong Holds, and amongst other Places *Adapa* that Noble City as they term it. The Emperour's Succeſs was no way ſuitable to his undertaking, who, as became him, did conſtantly regret the great Loſſes his Subjects ever and anon ſuſtained from thoſe *Agarens* that inhabited *Crete*, to ſtrike therefore a Terrour into them, he prepared a ſtrong Army, and rigged a very conſiderable Fleet to tranſport it. And had his choice of a Perſon to conduct them been as good as his Deſign was laudable, it could not have miſcarried. But General of this whole expedition he made one *Conſtantine Gongylas* a Patritian one of his Bedchamber, a mere Courtier, an effeminate Man not fit at all for a Camp, of which he never had any Experience. He paſſed over into *Crete*, but there did nothing worthy of the Place he bore; neither took care for fortifying himſelf by any Works, nor ſending out any Scouts to give him notice of the motion of the Enemy. The *Saracens* then perceiving what a careleſs and ſilly Enemy they had to deal with, took their opportunity, and falling upon the *Romans* eaſily defeated them; ſome they took, others they killed, and made themſelves Maſters of the Camp, and the worthy General himſelf had ran the ſame Fortune as he deſerved, had not his Domeſticks notably defended him, and conveyed him into the Admiral Gally. Yet was it not out of diſdain for this miſcarriage or for his miſgovernment, that *Romanus* the Son of the Emperour now plotted againſt his Father's Life. But ſo it was, that impatient to dominiere himſelf he could not ſtay his time, but conſpiring with his Wife the Victualler's Daughter, they perſwaded *Nicetas*, one of the Attendants at his Table, to give him Poiſon, inſtead of a purging Potion he was to take. It either happened by chance or was deſigned, that as he was about to drink it he ſtumbled, and ſpilt the greater part of it, ſo that what remained did not work the effect they wiſhed, though he fell very ſick and hardly eſcaped. In the Month of *September*, he would needs travell to the Mountain *Olympus*, as was pretended to beg the Prayers of the Monks, for a ſuccesfull expedition he purpoſed to undertake into *Syria*, but as was thought to confer with *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Cyzicus*, how he might out *Polyeuctus* of the Office of Patriarch, which he had obtained after the Death of *Theophylact* Son of *Romanus* the late Emperour. There, either by the farther practice of his Son upon his Body, or otherwiſe he fell ſick, and being brought back to *Conſtantinople* in his Litter, died on the ninth of *November*, having lived fifty four years and two Months, whereof thirteen he reigned with his Father, Uncle and Mother, and twenty five more (he ſhould have reigned) with *Romanus Lacapenus*, and fifteen after that by himſelf. *Zonaras* gives him Commendation for his Piety to God, and his Love to Learning which he ſhewed by many good Deeds, his Writings and Epiſtles, compoſed though not according to exact Rules of Oratory, yet ſo as they wanted not ſtrains of Rhetorick. And there in *Baronius*, * a Fragment ſtill remaining of an Advice to his Son not to marry with any of the Barbarous Northern Nations, a great Reaſon of which is fetcht from a Precept left by *Conſtantine* the Great. He adds that he was much addicted to all ſorts of Verſes as was to be ſeen in theſe Writings, wherein he deplored the Death of his Wife, and he ſubjoins what's ſuitable to what we ſaid before concerning his reviving of Philoſophy, and the Liberal Arts. But the moſt memorable thing of theſe things is, the Collection which he cauſed to be made out of all Hiſtorians.

The Territories of the *Saracens* invaded but with ill Succeſs.

Conſtantine like to be Poiſoned.

A Little after dies.

* *Ad An.* 96.

23. *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* being dead, *Romanus* the *Boy* (ſo he was called, not that he was a Boy as to years, but to diſtinguiſh him from the Elder *Romanus* his Grandfather) ſucceeds him in the third Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCLX. And as to his manners and carriage he might well enough be termed a Boy. For neglecting wholly matters of Government, which he left to the Management of one *Joſeph Bring*, as the chief of his Chamber, he himſelf attended no other weighty Affairs but thoſe of Mirth and Filthineſs, his chief Companions being either Whores, or thoſe of the other Sex that could pimp for him and gratifie him in ſuch naſty Delights, or tickle his Ears with Ribaldry. One *John* a Clerk, and an Eunuch, whom for his many Villanies *Conſtantine* had thruſt into a Monaſtery, now he received amongſt thoſe of his Bedchamber, the monaſtical Habit being thrown off, and notwithſtanding the earneſt Complaints of *Polyeuctus* the Patriarch, yet he excuſed the matter, and kept him with him as long as he lived; indeed after the Emperour's Death he returned to his Monaſtery, and changed again his Habit though not his Mind. Yet that it ſhould not be ſaid, but that *Romanus* was carefull to keep the Succeſſion in his own Family, on *Eaſter* Day he cauſed an Imperial

Romanus The *Boy* ſucceeds.

Why ſo termed.

He crowns his Son *Basilius.*

Imperial Crown to be set on the Head of his young Son *Basilius*, and shortly after he had another Son born whom he called *Constantine* after his Grandfather, by which Issue he seemed now so confirmed in what at present he enjoyed, that he needed to take no farther care, especially having so good a Commander as *Nicephorus Phocas* to manage his Wars, whom the late Emperour for his great services, had preferred to be Domestick of the Schools of the East. This *Nicephorus* indeed had done things very extraordinary against the *Saracens*, having at several times ingaged and beaten the several *Ameras* of *Tarsus*, *Chalepus* and *Tripolis*, by which having so much testified his Abilities, *Romanus* now made choice of him to go against those of *Crete*. Arriving at the Island with the Fleet, he put such of them to flight as would have hindred his Landing, and then having strongly incamped himself, and his Ships riding safely in Harbour he fell upon the several Towns, and in the space of seven Months took many of them. On the seventh of *March*, he took *Chandace* the most fortified of all others, after which *Curupes* the *Ameras* of the Isle, and *Arcemas* who was his Lieutenant, or next to him in Power fell into his Hands. He had now in a manner brought all *Crete* into obedience, for the settlement whereof when some time required, he was suddenly recalled at the Suggestions of *Joseph* because of an old saying, *That he that conquered that Island, should become Master of the whole* Roman *Empire.* While he yet staid in *Crete*, his Brother *Leo Phocas* was sent into the East to restrain the *Saracens*, from making Inrodes, which at this time they might be prone to doe, on purpose to divert the *Romans* from *Crete*. He ingaged with *Chabdanus* at a Place called *Andrassus*, and gave him such an Overthrow, that an innumerable Multitude of the *Agarens* being slain, the rest were brought away Prisoners to *Constantinople* in such Droves, that all the Houses both in City and Countrey were filled with Slaves. *Chabdanus* with a very few hardly escaped. *Leo* was graced with a Triumph, and otherwise honoured and rewarded as were all the rest, that had well deserved in the Expedition.

The Island of *Crete* subdued.

The *Saracens* on all sides beaten by the *Romans.*

A Conspiracy against him, but discovered and punished.

24. But *Romanus* had not passed the second year of his Reign, when a grievous Conspiracy was hatched against him by the Principal of the Nobility. The Head of them was *Basilius Volucer*, with whom joyned *Paschalius* and *Bardas* the Son of *Libis* both Patritians, and *Nicholas Chalcutzas*, who resolved to kill the Emperour on the Day appointed to the Horse-races, as he should come down to see the Sport, and proclaim *Basilius* his Successour. E'er the Day came, one *Joanicius* a *Saracen* and Conspiratour discovered the Plot, and they were apprehended by *Joseph*, who put them all to Torture except *Basilius*, and on the Day of the Solemnity were led up and down in Derision, then banished and shaven for Monks, yet the Emperour was so mercifull, that after some small time he recalled them, but *Basilius* fell distracted and died in *Proconnesus*, so paying for his several Treasons. *Romanus Saronita*, who was Son-in-Law of *Romanus* the Elder, was so frighted with what had happened to him, and the rest, that lest his Eminent Condition should bring him into danger, he distributed his Estate to his Children, and giving largely to the Poor went into a Monastery, where he lived a Monk many years in great esteem with the succeeding Emperours. At this time raged a great Murrain of Cattel, which having begun in the Days of *Romanus Senior*, continued a long time after. The Emperour at the Instigation of his Wife, now resolved to remove his Mother and Sister from Court, to the Palace of *Antiochus*. The Mother understanding of it, so wrought upon her Son with her Complaints and Curses, that she was permitted to continue; but the Sisters were taken away and made Nunns, though afterwards when there was none left to awe them, they threw off the Habit and fell to Flesh again. But she took their removal so ill, that she shortly after sickned and died on the twentieth of *September*, and was royally interred by her Father.

A great Murrain among Cattel.

Ὁ Κράβα καπνομάζεται. *Qui Craba nominatur.*

25. We said e'er while, that *Nicephorus Phocas* was called out of *Crete*, to which we must now add, that it was without any Permission to return to *Constantinople*; for he received Orders to pass with all his Forces into the East, where * *Chabdanus* after his defeat had recruited himself, and having now got together a considerable Army was expected every day by the Subjects of the Empire, to renew his wonted Hostilities. *Nicephorus* e'er he could doe any harm, got up to him as he came into *Syria*, overthrew him in Battel, and drove him farther up into the Countrey, which done he took *Berrhœa* all but the Castle, therein much Wealth, many Prisoners, and set at Liberty many Christian Captives. This was good News to those of *Constantinople*, though *Romanus* the Emperour scarcely lived to receive it, dying on the fifteenth Day of *March*, after he had lived twenty four years, and

* *Glyca Apochanda.*

Berrhœa taken from the *Saracens.*

Romanus the Emperour dies.

and thereof Reigned thirteen years four Months and five days, as writes *Curopalates* and from him *Cedrenus*, (that is with his Father and by himself, for he Reigned about three alone) some thought he died of Poison, and others through his intemperance as to Wine and Women. He was large of stature though less than his Father, very good natur'd and easily reconciled; and is thought to have been able and fit enough for Government, had not those about him intangled him in pleasures and lascivious courses, that they managing his affairs, might have the better opportunity to enrich themselves. The Empire by his death was devolved upon his two young Sons *Basilius* and *Constantine*, and their Mother *Theophano*, who two days before was brought to Bed of a Daughter they called *Anne*. By the command of the Empress now Regent, though sorely against the mind of *Joseph*, *Nicephorus Phocas* came to *Constantinople* in *April*, and there Triumphed in the Cirque, shewing the Rich spoils taken both in *Crete* and *Berrhœa*, *Joseph* very jealous that he affected the imperial Dignity, of which he being aware and knowing how much it concerned him to avoid the suspicion of him, who at present was chief Minister, came to his House privately, and desiring to speak with him alone, professed he had had for a long time a desire and purpose to retire out of the vanities of the World, to a Monastical Life, but had been hindred from his purpose by the kindness of his Princes, who had forced employment upon him: and he shewed him a Shirt of hair he had next his Skin. *Joseph* surprized at his carriage, and at the sight of the Shirt, fell down at his Feet, and begged his pardon, professing he would give no Credit to such as accused him for the time to come. And so he was permitted to depart to his own House.

Basilius Constantine and their Mother *Theophano* succeed. *Nicephorus Phocas* Triumphed at *Constantinople.*

26. They were also jealous of *Stephen* the Son of *Romanus* the Elder, who still lived in confinement, and after much endeavour by stricter Custody, he was made sure of by Poison, at the procurement of *Theophano*. At the same time, *Peter* Prince of the *Bulgarians*, his Wife being dead, renewed the League with the Empire, and giving up his two Sons *Borices* and *Romanus*, shortly after died. Upon report hereof they were sent home to possess themselves of their Father's power, after which the four Sons of a potent Count of that Countrey, gaped and made a great faction amongst the People. But in the mean time *Joseph* sorely repented that he had let *Nicephorus Phocas* escape out of his Hands, and resolved to recover the prey if possible. He wrote Letters to *Tzimisches*, and *Curcuas* Commanders in the East, and Men of great interest and abilites, promising to procure to the one the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East, and the other that of the West, if they would either get him shaven and made a Monk, or by any other means remove him out of the way. They when they had received the Letters out of their good will to *Phocas* gave him notice of it, and advised him to take good Courage, and put those at *Constantinople* out of all doubt by a sudden taking upon him the Dignity of Emperour, and when he excused himself, and either heartily or cunningly shewed himself averse, they drew their Swords and threatened him with death upon refusal. To save then his Life, as some gave out, he consented, and on the second day of *July*, by procurement of *Tzimisches*, the Towns of the East saluted him Emperour. Others more probably reported that he had for a good while been ambitious this way, but not so much out of love to the Empire as to the Empress *Theophano*, with whom he was exceedingly in love, having sent his trusty Servant several times to her on Messages, had private conference with her himself, and, as some gave out, Communication of closer importance. This *Joseph Bringas* i'ts thought had smelt out, and thereupon increased his jealousie of him.

The League with the *Bulgarians* renewed.

Nicephorus saluted Emperour by the Army.

27. And when the report of his Designment came to *Constantinople*, he was then at his Wits end, the Citizens bearing him no good will, he had born himself so highly, and been difficult for Access. But when he understood that with the Shouts and Acclamations of the Army, he was brought to *Chrysopolis*, he then considered what other he might set up for Emperour, and avoid the Indignation of the Souldiers. Upon the report of *Phocas* his promotion, his Father *Bardas* had taken Sanctuary in the great Church, but his Brother *Leo*, though narrowly watched yet escaped, and got to him safe. This farther perplexed *Joseph*, who was not of an humour to ingratiate himself with the People, but if he went about it was wont the more to displease and provoke them. And now he could not restrain his Inclination, but as he saw them all flock to the Church, and to be tickled with the Change they apprehended, with haughty and severe words he rebuked them, and threatened to raise Corn to an high rate, than which he could not doe nor say any thing more to inrage the multitude. This was on *Sunday* the ninth of *August*, when

A Tumult at *Constantinople.*

when on the Evening of the same Day, *Basilius* the Favourite of *Constantine* the Emperour bearing mortal hate to him, got a Company of his Acquaintance and Servants together, and set them on Work to pull down the Houses of those of his party in several quarters of the City. They levell'd *Joseph*'s House with the Ground, and not onely his, and divers others of the Nobility, but under this pretence, if any of the Company bore a grudge to another Man, down went his House as well as the rest, and not a few were killed in the Tumult. In the mean time all the Streets rebounded with the Noise of *Nicephorus Callinicus* or the brave Conquerour, and *Bardas* was now so incouraged as to leave the Shelter he had taken up in the Church, and *Joseph* very prudently took his place. *Basilius* took with him the Emperours Pinnace, and with the rest of the Fleet, sailed down to *Chrysopolis*, whence he brought up *Nicephorus* to the *Hebdomus*. Hence all the People of the City accompanying him in a solemn Pomp, with Shouts and Musick, he entred the City at the Golden Gate, and going to the great Church was there Crowned on a Scaffold by *Polieuctus* the Patriarch, it being the Lord's day, and the sixteenth of *August*.

Nicephorus Crowned there.

28. *Nicephorus Phocas* thus became Emperour in the sixth Indiction, *A. D.* 963. The first thing he did, was to remove the Empress *Theophano* from Court into another Palace. Then did he banish *Joseph* into *Paphlagonia*, who after two years ended his Life in a Monastery. He gave to his Father *Bardas* the Title of *Cæsar*, and on the twentieth of *September* throwing off the Vizard, he married *Theophano*, and now fell to Flesh again, of which he had not eaten since the death of his Son, who was killed by his Cousin German *Pelusa*, as they were riding and sporting together. The Marriage being solemnized in the new Chapel of the Palace, as they were to pass into the Chancel, *Polieuctus* having him by the Hand, and being entred himself stopt him at the Door, and refused to admit him, till he had made satisfaction for Marrying the second time. At the same time a report flew about the Church, and made no little disturbance, which was, you must know, that *Nicephorus* had been Godfather to one of *Theophano*'s Children, by which spiritual Alliance being her Brother could not Marry her, and therefore the Patriarch required him either to quit his Wife, or he must stand Excommunicated, *Nicephorus* chose the latter of the two, and propounded the matter to be debated by such Bishops of the Countrey as were in Town, and certain select Senatours, who gave sentence that the constitution which pressed him, was made by *Copronymus*, that it did not bind him, and they all subscribed an Instrument of his Absolution. But the Patriarch for all this persisted in his former opinion, and refused to communicate with him, though *Cæsar* affirmed that the Emperour was not Godfather, as was alledged: and *Stilianus* chief of the Court Chaplains, whom they termed *Protopapa*, who was reported first to have raised the Story, before the Council and Senate, swore that he never either saw or said any such thing. Hereupon though *Polieuctus* knew he forswore himself, yet he relinquished the objection of Compaternity, and quiting also his obstinacy as to the Crime of second Marriage, after all this stir recovered to Communion *Nicephorus*. But he was sensible of, and never pardoned the affront as long as he lived.

Marries *Theophano* the Empress.

29. In the first year of his Reign, *Nicephorus* undertook a War against the *Saracens* of *Sicily*, because he judged it an Ignominous thing to pay Tribute to the People, which how it came first to be granted, we must discover by fetching matters a little higher. That People having in the Reign of *Basilius Macedo* Conquered *Sicily*, all but *Panormus*, and thence Invaded *Italy*, and all the Islands of the *Mediterranean* as far, as *Peloponnesus*, were then repelled and beaten into quiet by *Nicephorus Phocas*, then Domestick of the Schools, and Grandfather to this Emperour, who thereby got exceeding much Honour. From that time *Italy* continued in repose till the Reign of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* and his Mother, when these Barbarians taking advantage, fell upon the Countrey, and the Governours finding themselves unable to grapple with both the Western and Eastern Infidels, especially now that the *Bulgarians* had violated the League, thought fit to conclude a Peace with them of *Sicily*, and the accord was made by *Eustathius*, then Governour of *Calabria*, one of the Emperour's Chamber, that a yearly Pension or Tribute, of two and twenty Thousand *Aurei* should be paid to the *Saracens*. The Peace concluded, *John Muzalo* a Patrician was preferred to the Government of *Calabria*, a Man so imperious that he was killed by the People, who gave up themselves to *Dandulphus* King of *Lombardy*, (here probably is meant *Radulphus* King of *Burgundi* and *Italy* against *Berengarius*) much about the time that *Romanus* the Elder seized on the Government. *Romanus* resolved if need were, to send a Fleet

He makes War upon the *Saracens* of *Sicily*.

to recover if possible, these Western Provinces of the Empire, but yet thought fit to send before *Cosmas* of *Thessalonica*, a Patritian well known to *Dandulphus*, who by many Arguments at length perswaded him to quit the Countrey, and embrace amity with the Emperour, and our Authours add that besides him, he perswaded those that commanded other revolted Provinces, to return to obedience and acknowledge their subjection to the Empire. In the mean time *Simeon* the *Bulgarian*, elevated by his many victories and gaping after the Empire it self, sends to *Phatlumus* the Prince of the *Saracens* in *Africk*, propounding Terms of an Alliance with him, and for sharing the Booty of the Conquered *Romans*. But the Messengers in their return with others from *Phatlumus*, fell into the hands of some *Calabrians*, who sent them to *Romanus*. He apprehending well the danger that hung over his Head, committed the *Bulgarians* to Custody, but the *Saracens* he nobly treated, and sent them well presented loaden with gifts to their Prince, with this message, that *Thus* the *Roman* Emperours were wont to require their Enemies.

30. This was so kindly taken by *Phatlumus*, that he remitted half of the Tribute, and the rest was paid till this promotion of *Nicephorus*. When the Governours proved good, all things went well, and the *Saracens* were well enough content; but when otherwise, the Subjects would be Tumultuous, and then happened ruptures. Under *Porphyrogenitus*, one *Crenites* who commanded in *Calabria*, when the *Saracens* of *Sicily* and *Africk* had War made upon them by those of *Cirene*, and thereupon were much straitned for provisions, sold them corn at very dear rates, which he had forced the Subjects to let him have at *Robin Hood's* penyworths, and thereby much inriched himself, the *Saracens* being forc'd to condescend to what price he pleased to set. For this he was put out of command by *Constantine*, his Money was taken from him, and he lived afterward and died in disgrace. During the same War, the *Romans* received and protected the Fugitives of the *Carthaginians*, who all this while durst neither complain of that, nor make any demands of the Tribute, lest they should give them distaste from whence they received their sustenance how dearly soever they paid for it. But when the War was over, they both demanded, the one and the other, and when they received a denial set out a Fleet and Invaded *Calabria*. Now *Constantine* resolved to take another course than *Romanus* had done, not by palliating the matter but by force of Arms, to clear the reckoning, and for that purpose raised a strong Army which he committed to the Conduct of *Malaconus*, a Patritian, with orders to joyn himself with *Paschalius* Governour of *Calabria*, and with him joyntly to manage the War, and one *Maeroroannes*, he appointed to command the Fleet. These Men coming into the Province made it their business to Pill and Harass the People, no otherwise than if it had been an Enemies Countrey, which being known to *Abulchares*, *Ameras* of the *Saracens* (for *Phatlumus* e'er this was dead) he told his Men there was no fear to be had of such Enemies, that handled their own Friends in so rough a manner: taking his Advantage, he fell upon them, gave them a notable defeat, and missed narrowly of taking the Commanders themselves. After this *Constantine* sent one *John Pilate* his Secretary to treat with them, who were no whit difficult to conclude a Truce for a certain time. But this time expir'd they again passed the Sea, and infested *Calabria*, as formerly, to divert them from which he sent another Fleet and Army, the one commanded by *Crambeas* and *Moroleon*, the other by *Romanus Argyrus* a Patritian. They had scarcely put to Sea for *Sicily*, when the *Saracens* having News of vast Preparations (as fame is wont to make all greater than they are) in a Panick fear quitted their Camp and hasted away from *Rhegium* into *Sicily*, but coming near to *Panormus*, were by an horrid tempest all cast away, upon this a Peace was again concluded and continued till the time of *Nicephorus* whereof we spake. Πανικῷ δεῖμα.

31. He accounting it a great disgrace to pay them any Tribute sent away a considerable Fleet, and as strong an Army under command of *Manuel* a Patritian, the base Son of his Uncle *Leo*, who having the Title of Domestick of the Schools was deprived of his sight by the Emperour *Romanus*. This *Manuel* was young and fitter to make a Souldier than a General, was very vitious and so conceited that he would not hearken to good advice, and so cast both himself and his Army away, being shut up in the Craggy and unpassable parts of *Sicily*: and besides this *Nicetas* the Eunuch a Patritian and *Drungarius* of the Fleet was taken and carried away Prisoner into *Africk*. Much about the same time *John Tzimisces* being created Domestick of the Schools of the East, was sent into *Cilicia*, where he defeated a great number of *Agarens* got together. About five Thousand of them quitted their Horses and betaking themselves to a Craggy hill near at hand by the

But his Army is defeated by the unskilfulness of his Commanders.

the Advantage of the place stoutly defended themselves. *Tzimisces* seeing their resolution, resolved to attack them in their own way, and dismounting, led his Foot on himself, and fell upon them, of whom not a man turned his Back, but fighting out to the last were all slain, and from their Bodies issued such Streams of Bloud into the Plain, that the Hill got the Name of the *Bloudy Hill* upon this occasion. The year following, and the second of his Reign, in the Month of *July*, *Nicephorus* himself taking his Wife and Children along with him led a strong Army, consisting partly of his own Subjects, and partly of the Associates, *Iberians*, and *Armenians*, into *Cilicia*. Having left *Theophano* behind in a Castle called *Drizium*, he entred the Countrey, and took three Cities, *Anabarza*, *Rossus* and *Adana*, besides several Castles; but not daring to venture upon *Tarsus* or *Mopsuestia*, the Season of the Year being almost spent, he left a strong Guard and went into *Cappadocia* to Winter. In Spring he returned and dividing his Forces into two parts, the one he committed to *Leo*, with orders to fall upon *Tarsus*, and he himself led the other against *Mopsuestia*, which attacking with much violence he was therein assisted by the Famine which raged among the Inhabitants, so that the River *Sarus* dividing the Town into two parts, of one of them he got possession, though fired by the *Saracens*, and not long after the other with all that had made resistence, fell into his hands. Those of *Tarsus*, affrighted with this success, sent to him and surrendred their City, to the assistence of which, after three days, a Fleet came from *Ægypt*, but finding no incouragement to land, it was most of it lost in its return, either by Tempests or taken by *Roman* Ships. Thus prosperous was *Nicephorus* wheresoever he bore his Arms. Besides this, he recovered *Cyprus* to the Dominion of the Empire from the *Saracens*. He invaded *Syria*, made *Tripolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*, and *Damascus* Tributaries, and having Conquered all the rest, both situate near the Mountain *Libanus* and upon the Sea, he removed to *Antioch*, which the Inhabitants stoutly defending, his Provisions failing, and the place being very moist, he raised his Siege and returned to *Constantinople*. This we must say of him that he was the most victorious Warriour that of long time had worn the Purple, and inlarged the Dominions of the Empire far and wide.

He leads an Army into *Cilicia*.

Inlarging the Dominions of the Empire very much.

32. But he was not so much admired and feared abroad as hated by his Subjects at home, who rejoyced not in Conquests acquired by great expence of their bloud, and especially their Treasure, delighting not at all in such grinning honour. The Story went that he could easily have taken *Antioch*, but forbore upon a Saying there was, That *the Emperour that should conquer that City should not live very long after*, and upon this account he gave charge to *Peter* and *Burtzas* whom he left in the Countrey to secure what he had already got, to make no Attempts upon it. But *Burtzas* lying near to the City could not forbear, but having corrupted one of the Townsmen to a Discovery, seized upon two Turrets of the Wall, and then sending for *Peter* easily overpowered the Garrison, and took the City, for which the Emperour instead of other reward, disgraced him and turn'd him out of his Place. This procured him much ill will, but here lay not the hundred part of the burthen. At his very first Promotion when his Souldiers were very Insolent and committed many outrageous Acts, he would give no ear to any complaint; nay, though they rifled the Houses of Senatours and such as had assisted him in obtaining what he had, alledging, that in such a Multitude it could not be but that some would carry themselves uncivily. Then under pretence of his Wars he raised Taxes, and laid unsufferable burthens upon the People, not abstaining from Rapine and violence. Part of what was usually given to Senatours he stopped in the Treasury, as also such Pensions as by his Predecessours had been granted to Monasteries, Churches, and other Pious uses: And by a Law he forbade any more Lands to be given to the Church, a Crime more heinous than all others in the opinion of the Ecclesiasticks. They farther laid to his Charge, that taking advantage of a difference betwixt the chief * *Pastor* (so *Zonaras* calls the *Patriarch*) and the chief Priests concerning Jurisdiction (he denying that they could approve or Elect without him) he challenged to himself all the right of nominating Bishops, by an Edict commanding that none should be admitted to any Church without his leave. Accordingly when any Bishop died he sent an Officer sparingly to defray Charges, and the rest of the Revenue he took to himself. Nay, during his Government all Countries swarmed with Collectours and Informers, who squeezed, even out of the poorest of the People, all that ever they had; such as had been in publick Service before, were raised to more chargeable Employment. As if formerly in the Navy, now they were constrained to serve

He is hated at home by his Subjects upon several accounts.

* Εἶτα τῆς τότε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιπόιμενος πολυσύκτε διαφερομένων περὶ τῆς ψήφου. *Zonaras in Nicephoro Phoca.*

serve on Land, and if before as Foot, now as Horsemen at their own Charge.

33. War was his onely Element, neither could he think or say any thing but what had relation to it. Therein he placed the Measures of good and evil, insomuch, that he laboured to introduce a Law which should give to them that lost their Lives in Fight, equal Honours and Veneration with the Martyrs, and but for the vigorous opposition of the Patriarch and Bishops he had published the Edict, they contending, that on the other hand the Canon of *Basil* the Great did bar such of the Communion as had killed, though but an Enemy in Battel, for three years. But what did more provoke the Multitude he debased the Coin, causing some of less intrinsick value to be made, which done, all Payments to himself he exacted in that of the greater, and caused all Issues out of the Treasury to be made of the lesser sort. And whereas all Money stamped with the Images of Emperours, if of the same weight and goodness went at the same Rates, he inhanced the value of his own Coins above those of his Predecessours. This caused extraordinary difficulty and damage in Commerce, which added to the dearness of all Commodities, made very great disturbance. But that which inraged most, was the fortifying of the Court or Palace, because it was told him, that in it he should die. He pulled down very fair Houses of private Persons adjoyning to it, and close to it erected a Cittadell, wherein were built Granaries, Store-houses, Ovens, and Bakehouses, filled with all sorts of Provisions. To these publick Grievances there were other particular Accidents, which being ill taken, however designed, farther increased the general hate against him. A great Tumult happening betwixt the Seamen and *Armenians*, wherein many were killed, and *Sisinnius* the Prefect of the City hardly escaped, he to be revenged on the Citizens, whom he concluded to have been Authours of the disorder, was thought to have drawn them into a Snare in this manner. He appointed some Exercises on Horseback, and either to let the People see the manner of fighting or to terrifie them, caused the Riders to draw their Swords and skirmish together, which cast the Multitude into such a fright, that all ran headlong down from the Theatre, over the Precipices and Ditches, and treading one upon another many were pressed to Death, many more hurt, and greater had been the mischief but that they observed him to sit on his seat not at all concerned, which made them change their Opinion of him, and to stop their Flight. But the Relations of such as were killed, not long after, as he returned into the City, reviled him, and cast at him Dirt and Stones, and had not some of the more sober sort become his Guard, he had easily miscarried.

34. In the fourth year of his Reign, the tenth Indiction, in *June* going to visit the Cities of *Thrace*, when he came to *Great Suda*, he wrote to *Peter* Prince of *Bulgaria*, not to suffer the *Turks*, as they called them, to pass the River *Ister*. This he objected for several Reasons that he could not doe, but especially he insisted on this, that when that People had invaded his Dominions, then the Emperour had refused to give him any assistence: That therefore he was forced by necessity to make a Peace with them, which his Interest would not permit him now to break. To be revenged of him, for this repulse he procured *Sphendosthlabus* King of the *Russians* the following year to invade *Bulgaria*, where committing all sorts of Hostility, they destroyed many Towns, and returned with much Booty, acting the same part over again the next year after. In the mean time happened a terrible Earthquake in *Paphlagonia*, and elsewhere. And in *May* following the Corn was so blasted by scorching Winds, that a great Famine followed, at which *Nicephorus* took advantage to fill his own Coffers, and made a Jest of the Calamity of his People, boasting that he had sold his Wheat at a double Rate. Both he and his Brother Rejoiced in the Miseries of the Poor, or their Actions were such, as they could not afford a better Interpretation, and drew some Expressions from the Oppressed, which taxed him with mis-government to his Face. "On a time as he was Mustering his "Souldiers, an ancient man with a gray head desired to be listed amongst them, of "whom when he demanded why he that was now old and feeble, would desire to "go to the Wars, he told him that he found he was much stronger than when he "was young; for now, since he was Emperour, he could carry Corn of that "value on his own Back, with which then he was wont to load two Asses. So much was he hated abroad, and at home, and in his own House he was as little beloved. *Theophano* his Wife did now loath him, either because he was no good Womans man, or she was jealous that he designed to geld her Sons, and leave the Empire to his Brother. *Glycas* writes expresly that it was because he lived chastly,

He ingages the *Russians* to invade *Bulgaria*.

In time of Famine he raises the price of Corn, which adds to his hatred and oppression.

ly, abstained from her Bed, and was wont to sleep on the ground, being much delighted in taking his rest in that manner. Following her intemperate humour she had cast her affections upon *Zimisces*, whom as a suspected Person, the Emperour had confined to his own House.

35. She procured him to be discharged of his Confinement, and when *Nicephorus* refused to let him come presently to *Constantinople*, she not onely got him secretly conveyed thither, but by Night to be drawn up into the Palace in a Basket, with five of his Friends, *viz. Michael*, *Burtzas*, the Patritian, whom *Nicephorus* had disobliged, *Leo Abalantius*, an Officer in the Army, and one *Atzypotheodorus* (so named from the swarthiness of his Complexion) more intimate with him than all others. Being got in, they went directly to seek the Emperour, and not finding him in his Chamber in the Bed wherein he ordinarily slept, they were going down the way they came, concluding that their Design was discovered. But by a Fellow that belonged to the Womens Apartment, they were brought where he lay asleep on the ground in a Bears skin, as his Custome was, which Skin he much valued because given him by his Uncle *Michael* a Monk. *Zimisces* first gave him a kick with his Foot and awakened him, then as he leaned on his Elbow indeavouring to rise, *Leo Abalantius* with his drawn Sword mortally wounded him in the Head, the Skull being pierced. Then they dragged him before *Zimisces*, who had placed himself in the Emperour's Seat, and used him with all sorts of Indignities, while he onely said, *Lord have mercy upon me, and the Mother of God help me.* By this time the Alarm was given to those of the Guard that then watched, and they were hasting to his Relief, which the Conspiratours perceiving, dispatched him, and cutting off his Head shewed it to them out of the Window, which sight quieted them; the Tragedy being already over and not to be prevented. Some reported that ten days before his death, by a Writing left in his Chamber, warning was given him to beware of *Zimisces*: Nay, that by a certain Clerk that very Night the Conspiracy was revealed the same way. But some reported, that he imagining the Paper to contain onely some Petition, never open'd it; others said he did open and reade it, but made no reckoning of it, his Fate so vehemently pressing upon him: And there wanted not who affirmed, that he both took notice of the thing, and committed the Inquiry thereof, and the Defence of his own Person to the *Protovestiarius*, and also wrote to his Brother *Leo*, then at his own House, to come to him sufficiently armed and accompanied with all speed; but he being busie at Chess, with which Game he was wonderfully delighted, neglected to open the Letter till it was too late, which perceiving, with his Son *Nicephorus* he took Sanctuary in the Great Church. However to such an end came this Emperour, who by his Example abundantly shewed the truth of that old Saying, *That Magistracy, especially in Sovereign Power, discovers the Disposition of a man.* Formerly he had taxed that Vice in his own Father, to which he himself, when he had most ample opportunity of getting Wealth, was inslaved. In how sad and uncertain a condition those that wore the Diadem in those days perpetually were, and how much of that liberty which the old *Roman* Legions took of disposing of the Empire according to their own Lust and Ambition, was still usurped, the Reader from more than this one Instance cannot but take notice. *Nicephorus* lived fifty seven years, and thereof Reigned six, with as many Months.

A Conspiracy against him which takes effect to his Destruction.

Zimisces seizes on the Empire, making *Basilius* and *Constantine* his Collegues.

36. The Murther committed, *John Zimisces* seized on the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCLXIX. *Basilius* and *Constantine*, the Sons of *Romanus*, he made his Collegues, he being in the seventh and this in the fifth year of his Age, as *Cedrenus* writes, which could not be, considering how long it was since the death of their Father; so that herein greater credit is to be given to *Panvinius*, who reckons *Basilius* to have been fourteen, and *Constantine* about twelve, at this Alteration. For his prime Minister he made choice of *Basilius* of the Bedchamber, to whom *Nicephorus*, having been advanced in a great measure by his indeavours, had given a new Title of *President*, being a man of great experience, which he gained under *Romanus* his Father, and his Brother-in-Law *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, by his Wars against the *Saracens*, and other Negotiations of greatest Concernment. He as soon as intrusted, to discharge his Duty, first removed all such as he knew to have been addicted to *Nicephorus*, from all Commands both Military and Civil, and substituted others in their Rooms, whom he knew to be faithfull to him in present power. Such as *Nicephorus* had banished, he recalled, and especially the Ecclesiasticks, whom for opposing him in Matters relating to the Church, he had driven from their places. These things premised for

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for the establishing of his Power, *Zimisces* thought he might take the Ensigns of the Dignity, and to the great Church he went to receive the Diadem from the hands of the Patriarch. But here he was stopped at the Door, *Polyeuctus* affirming that it was not lawfull for him to enter that Place, whose hands still smoaked with the Bloud they had so lately shed, for which he must make satisfaction before he could be admitted. He received the Reprehension in good part, promising to perform all things that could be reasonably injoyned him; but alledged he had laid no violent hands on the late Emperour, who was slain by *Abalantius* and *Atzypotheodrus* by Command of the Empress. The Patriarch then required that she should be banished from Court into some Island, as also the Murtherers of *Nicephorus*, and that the Edict made by him concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs should be rescinded. The Murtherers by *Zimisces* his command were presently removed, and *Theophano* Banished into *Proconnesus*, whence afterward escaping and betaking her self to the great Church, she was thrust out by *Basilius*, and carried into the Province of *Armenia*, and there close shut up in a Monastery, after many bitter and reproachfull Speeches uttered against the present Emperour and against *Basilius*, to whom she had given a Cuff on the Ear, and loaded him with the Names of *Scythian* and *Barbarian*. Her Mother also was removed from the City, and the Edict of *Nicephorus* against the Privileges of Church-men openly produced and torn in pieces.

Banishes *Theophano* the Empress.

Zimisces Crowned at *Constantinople*

37. These things performed, and the Emperour having promised for expiation of his Crime, to give all the Estate he had been Master of when a Private Man to the use of the Poor, he was admitted by *Polyeuctus* into the Church, and on *Christmas* day was there Crowned by his hands. While there was this changing and shifting at Court, Affairs of the Empire both in the Eastern and Western Parts, were but in a ticklish condition. For the Cities taken from the *Saracens* in *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia* and *Cœlosyria*, were inclining to revolt. And *Nicephorus* his procuring of the *Russians* to invade *Bulgaria*, as it happened, had brought the Territories of the *Romans* into much greater danger. *Zimisces* thought he should provide in some measure for the security of the East, by preferring to the Bishoprick of *Antioch* upon the River *Orontes*, or that near *Daphne*, one *Theodorus* a Monk, a man of very good Desert, who always told him that he should come to be Emperour, but always advised him not to be hasty in his Attempts that way. He had also perswaded him that as soon as he should get the opportunity by his preferment to remove the *Manichees* out of the East, which he performed afterward, causing them to be transported to *Philippopolis*. All this while the *Saracens* intermitted no thoughts nor means for recovery of their Cities, especially of *Antioch*, in which their Reputation was most concerned. By the Agitation of those most principally concerned, a strict League and Alliance was entred into, not onely by that People in what parts soever they lived, but by all other Nations, professing their Religion, particularly, as *Cedrenus* reckons them, the *Ægyptians*, *Persians*, *Elamites*, both the sorts of *Arabians*, (inhabiting the Desart and *Happy Arabia*) and *Sabæans*, vast Forces they gathered together, the Command of which was given to those of *Carthage*, as the most experienc'd in War both by Sea and Land, who transferred it upon *Zochares* a man very fit for the place of General. They laid Siege to that *Antioch* near to *Daphne*, as our Authours call it, to distinguish it from all others of that Name, and omitted nothing proper to take it, but the strength of the place and the Courage of the Besieged held them to it till such time as the Emperour had sent orders to the Governour of *Mesopotamia*, to raise what power he could and relieve them, and dispatched away *Nicholas* an Eunuch most intimate with him to be General of the Expedition. He mustering all the Forces he could possibly get together, though not once to be named with their Multitudes, set upon them, gave them Battel, raised the Siege, forced them to disperse, and betake themselves to their own Countries, such of them as escaped the Slaughter; and confirmed the Cities of these Quarters in their Obedience.

The *Saracens*, &c. in the East indeavour to revolt.

Syriæ Metropolis Antiochia ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ vulgo vocata. Daphne erat suburbium ob arbores umbriferas & aquarum copias amœnissimum. Quod enim in Italia Baiæ, ad Alexandriam Canopus, id erat in Syria Suburbium, Antiochiæ Daphne.

But are reduced to obedience.

38. Thus matters in the East very well succeeded; but in *Bulgaria*, which the *Rossi* had overrun, things went not according to expectation; for this People having made themselves Masters of the Countrey, and got into their hands *Borises* and *Romanus* the two Sons of *Peter*, finding it much more pleasant and fertile than their own, resolved to fix in it, and brake the Covenants they had made with *Nicephorus*. In this their Resolution they were confirmed by one *Calocyrus*, who ingaged that if by their means he could come to be Emperour of the *Romans*, he would freely quit to them *Bulgaria*, make a perpetual League with them, and double

double the Tribute or Pension, which had been promised them. Puffed up with these his Offers, but especially with present possession, they challenged *Bulgaria* as their own acquired by War, and the Ambassadours of the Emperour, who offered to confirm and make good whatever *Nicephorus* had granted, they rejected with scornfull Language and Deportment. *Zimisces* then finding himself obliged by force of Arms to obtain what by good words he could not compass, sent Orders for all his Forces to march Westward, over which he made General, one *Bardas* sirnamed *Sclerus* or *Hard* his Wives Brother, resolving in the Spring in Person, to be at the Head of the Army. The *Russians* hearing of these preparations, to prevent him, raised to themselves as many of the lately conquered *Bulgarians* as they thought convenient, and drawing into their Assistence the *Patzinacæ*, and those our Writers call *Turks*, inhabiting the Western Parts of *Pannonia* (the *Hunnes* or *Hungarians*) made up an Army of three Hundred and eight thousand Men, with which passing *Æmus*, they laid waste all *Thrace*, and sate down before the Walls of *Adrianople*. *Bardas* could scarcely muster above twelve thousand Men, and therefore so very much over-matched in Numbers, resolved to try if he could be superiour in skill and strategeme. He contained himself within the Walls of that City, and however challenged and provoked by the Enemy would not fight, making a shew of great fear and diffidence. This made them secure, so as they kept no order, observed no rules, were negligent in their watches, as not doubting but with convenience enough to seize upon the Prey.

He orders his Forces to march Westward.

39. He watcht his opportunities, and when he saw his time sent out *John Alacasensis* a Patritian, with a Party to skirmish with the Enemy, and by little and little retreating to bring them into an Ambush he had conveniently placed for them. The Barbarians were divided into three Bodies, whereof the *Russians* and *Bulgarians* composed one, the other two consisted singly of the several Nations of *Patzinacæ* and *Turks*. It happened, that *John* light upon the *Patzinacæ*, with whom skirmishing and gently retiring till he came to the Place of the Ambush, he then fled as fast as his Horse could carry him, and they breaking all Order, and pursuing fell into the Army of *Bardas*, which compassing them in, cut them all off, or very few escaped. This incouraged him to complete his Victory by falling upon the rest, who though discouraged by what had happened to their Friends, yet made stout resistence, and the success continued doubtfull a long time, till a *Scythian* taller and bolder than the rest singled out *Bardas*, as he rode up and down incouraging his Men. He gave him a blow on the Head, but his Helmet was of such tried Metal, that his Sword could not enter, though that of *Bardas* was so much better temper'd, that with one stroke he both clave his Head-piece and Head in sunder. And *Constantine* a Patritian, the Brother of *Bardas*, coming in to his Relief had as good Success. For they write, that grapling with another *Scythian* who assisted his Countreyman, and fetching a stroke at his Head as he declined the blow, he cut off the Head of his Horse, and then cut the Throat of the Master as he lay grovling on the Ground. These Atchievements of the *Roman* General, and his Brother so discouraged the Barbarians, that they would no more abide it, but shifted for themselves aswell as they could, but had not Night prevented farther pursuit, none had escaped, most being killed, and the rest in a manner all taken Prisoners, of whom there were very few to be seen, that were not wounded. Yet if we may believe some Writers, of the *Romans* were killed but five and twenty Men. But none escaped without having received the marks of their Valour upon their Skins.

Who ingageing with the Barbarians rout them.

40. Scarcely was this *Scythian* War brought to an end, when one Intestine which threatned more danger if not to the Empire, yet to the Emperour, recalled *Bardas* to *Constantinople*. *Bardas Phocas* who had been banished into *Amasia* had fled from thence, and having held secret Intelligence with his Kindred and Acquaintance, was up in Arms, having seized on *Cæsarea* the City of *Cappadocia*, where he had got together considerable Forces, and several Eminent men being come to him had assumed the Imperial Title and Ornaments. *Leo Curopalates* his Father had drawn in many, some by Gifts, and others by large Promises, by the means of the Bishop of *Abydus* especially, and had purposed with his Son *Nicephorus*, to steal out of the Island *Lesbus*, whither he had been confined, into *Thrace*. But the Bishop being apprehended and examined revealed all the Plot, and both the Father and Son were condemned to death. This Sentence of the Judges, was by the Emperour mitigated to the loosing of their Eyes. Yet was he so farther merciful, as it's said, he gave order to the Executioners to make shew onely of blinding them, and to spare their sight, and give out that it was not by his

Bardas Phocas usurps seizing on *Cæsarea*.

Command, but proceeded merely from their pity towards them. In the mean time *Bardas* the General was come into *Asia*, as far as *Dorylaus*, having given him in charge from *Zimisces* to shed no more bloud than was necessary. By large Offers therefore he first endeavoured to draw *Phocas* and his Complices from what they had undertaken. But finding them so confident, that with scorn and heat they rejected his Proposals, he marched to *Cæsarea*, where he was scarcely arrived, when these Promoters and Followers of the New-made Emperour, upon farther consideration, and weighing of what had been offered, with what their utmost hopes might amount to, found their best Game would be to undoe what they had done, and accordingly one *Diogenes Adralestus* and *Ampelas*, with *Theodorus* and *Nicephorus* the Sons of *Theodulus*, who had been the Authours of the Revolt first came over, whom all the rest followed, so that *Phocas* was left attended onely by his own Servants.

Dorylaus, quæ etiam Dorylæus, Magnæ Phrygiæ Civitas, juxta quam oritur Hermus amnis.

But is deserted by those that set him up.

41. Much discontented at the Falseness of those, wo had perswaded him to these ambitious Courses, and, as they say, farther discouraged by a Dream, he fled toward a Castle called *Tyropæum*. The General sent a Party if possible to overtake him, and it reached him as he came to the Foot of the Hill, on which the Castle stood. There one *Constantinus Charon*, bolder and more forward than any of the rest came soonest up with him, and giving him other contumelious Language called him Coward, bidding him stay if he durst, and receive the Reward of his Treasons from his Hands. *Phocas* perceiving who it was, stopped his Horse, and turning towards him, put him in mind how idle a thing it was without consideration of the Instability of Humane Affairs, to insult over a man that was merely oppressed by the Inconstancy of Fortune, and that he ought rather to commiserate the Condition of one, whose Father was *Curopalates*, Grandfather *Cæsar*, and Uncle an Emperour himself. *Charon* to this returned more outrageous words, calling him Villain, and telling him that he should sooth up Boys with such idle Stories, and not think therewith to delude him; and very fiercely made up to close him. But *Phocas* being aware of him up with a Club, or Poll-axe, which hung concealed, and his Helmet not being strong enough to keep off the blow knocked him on the Head, whom thus having dispatcht, he put Spurs to his Horse again, and recovered the Castle, the Pursuers when they came where *Charon* lay dead, were so astonished at the sight, that they followed him no farther. But not long it was e'er *Bardas* came up, and by Messages urged him to yield, professing his kindness to him as an Allie (for to *Sophia* the Sister of *Phocas*, was married his Brother *Constantine*) and undertook to procure his Pardon from the Emperour. *Phocas* then receiving from him an Oath, that he should not be rigorously proceeded against, yielded himself. And the Emperour made good what *Bardas* had ingaged, being satisfied with his entring into Orders, and Confinement to the Island *Chius*. This danger thus happily over, *Bardas* received Command to return into the West. To which our Writers of the *Byzantine* History mean *Constantinople*, and those Parts of *Europe* still subject to it, as by the East the Provinces of *Asia*.

Flying to the Castle *Tyropæum*, capitulates.

Is shaven and confined to the Island *Chius*.

42. These things happened at the beginning of the Reign of *Zimisces*, who much about the same time his former Wife being lately dead, married *Theodora* the Sister of *Romanus* the Third, and Daughter of *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, as our *Greek* Historians write, though *Panvinius* whomsoever he follows, makes her the Daughter of *Romanus* by *Theophano*, and the Sister of *Basilius* and *Constantine*, the Collegues of the present Emperour. In the second year of his Reign, resolving in Person to make War against the *Rossians*, he used all endeavours possible to make his Designs effectual. By his bounty he made his Souldiers chearfull and courageous. He set over them prudent and valiant Officers, took care that no Ammunition or Provisions should be wanting; and not onely set all things in good order at Land, but provided as well for the Sea, setting forth a very considerable Fleet under the Command of *Leo*, the *Drungarius* thereof at present, but afterward preferred to be *Protovestarius*. Having finished his Devotions for good Success, and setled all matters at home, in the beginning of Spring he set forward, and in his Journey at *Rædestus* met with two Persons, who under shew of an Embassie were sent from the Enemy to spy how matters stood with him, making great complaints of great Injuries offered to the Nation of the *Scythians*. He knowing well enough on what errand they were sent, caused them to take a view of all his Forces, and therewith bid them be gone, and tell their Masters with how great and well disciplin'd an Army he was coming against them. With five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse fit for expedition, he marched away ordering

Zimisces marries *Theodora* Sister to his Collegue.

Undertakes an expedition into *Bulgaria*.

Laying siege to *Persthlaba.*

dering the rest to follow under Conduct of *Basilius* the President, and passing over *Hæmus*, laid siege to *Persthlaba* the principal City of *Bulgaria.* This struck a great terrour into the People, and *Calocyrus* being in the Town without any opposition made, secretly withdrew himself into the Camp of the *Rossians*, who upon sight of him, and hearing the Emperour himself was in the Field, were not a little dismaid. But *Sphendosthlabus* their General comforted them, aswell as he could by words fit for the present exigence, and caused them to remove nearer the City, where they incamped. A Party of Eight thousand, exercising themselves near the City-Walls *Zimisces* fell upon and did great Execution, whom others issuing out to succour in confusion ran the same Fortune, the ways being intercepted at their Retreat, so that multitudes were slain and as many taken, amongst whom *Sphagellus*, the next in Authority to their General. Animated with this Success the *Romans* fell upon the City, and were forced off more by the Darkness of Night, than the Valour of the Defendants.

Which he takes by storm with *Borises* their King.

43. Early in the Morning appeared *Basilius*, with the rest of the Army to the great Joy of the Emperour, and shewed himself upon an Hill to strike greater Terrour into those that kept the Town. Now did *Zimisces* endeavour to perswade them to save themselves by yielding, to which finding them averse, he gave order for the Forces jointly to begirt and attacque the Place. So violent an Onset the *Romans* made, by their showres of Arrows driving the Defendants from the Walls, and then scaling them with their Ladders, incouraged by one of their Fellows who first mounted, and was more pertinacious than the rest, that a sufficient Number got in and opened the Gates, and then the Army entring filled all Places with slaughters. The Women and Children were made Prisoners, and *Borises* King of the *Bulgarians* was taken with his Wife and Children, who in his Royal Robes was brought to the Emperour. He used him very courteously, gave him the Title of King, and set at liberty all the *Bulgarians*, professing himself their Friend, and an Enemy onely of the *Rossi*. But all this while, when he thought his work was done as to *Persthlaba*, Eight thousand of the stoutest *Scythians* had seized upon the Castle, and were first discovered by the Mischief they did, making several Sallies and Slaughter of many they surprized. He caused his men to attacque the Place, but they were very faint in the Service, not so much for the Valour of the Defendants, as the natural strength of its Situation, which he perceiving armed himself, and with Sword in his Hand led them on, which sight wrought so much shame upon them, that striving who should put himself forwardest betwixt his Prince and Danger, they broke through all opposition by Fire and Sword, and Master'd the hold; those that resisted, being either killed or driven headlong down the Rocks and Precipices, or intercepted by the Fire and burnt. Thus was this City fully conquered, in the space but of two Days. The Emperour took order for repairing of it, and called it after his own Name *Joannopolis*. He left a strong Garrison in it, and furnished it with all sorts of Provisions. Having therein attended the Devotions of *Easter*-Day, the Day following he departed for *Dorostolus*, which also had the Name of *Distra.*

Changing the Name to *Joannopolis.*

44. All this while *Sphendosthlabus*, was incamped in expectation of the coming of the *Romans*, till surpriz'd with the News of the taking of the City. He concealed his grief and exhorted his Men to shew themselves the more courageous, the more opposition they met with, and no longer to expect but to march and find out the Enemy. The Emperour in the mean time ranged about, and took and wasted many Towns and Castles, the plunder whereof he gave to the Souldiers for their Incouragement. But having notice of the approach of some *Rossians*, he ordered one *Theodorus* of *Mistheia*, with a select Party of three hundred to go before to view them, and give him an account of their Condition, and if occasion were to skirmish with them till he should come up to the main Body. It proved onely a Party of some seven thousand men, sent out as it seems upon the same errand with which yet he ingaged, and they imagining because of his small Number some Strategeme to be in the case, fled amain to the adjoining Woods and Mountains, and so took their way for *Distra*, not far from which, all but such as fell in the ingagement and persuit, joyned themselves with *Sphendosthlabus*, and his Army. There it was now resolved, that twelve Miles from that Town they should incamp, and stay for the coming of the Emperour; being in all three Hundred and thirty thousand Men, and those unanimous, for three Hundred *Bulgarians*, whom they had suspected, they had put to death. The *Romans* animated to a great height by their Victories were presently with them, and then both Armies prepared for a Battel, at the beginning whereof, though the late Victours

Then meeting the Army of the *Rossians*, in Battel defeats them.

did great Execution, yet the Numbers of their Enemies were equivalent to their Alacrity, and thereby incouraged, they made such resistences, that the success was very doubtfull. Twelve times Fortune seemed to change her Face the distressed side still reinforcing it self, till at length Night now coming on, the left Wing of the *Rossians* gave more ground, which as they endeavoured to recruit the Emperour in person led on a Reserve,and with Spear in Hand so bestirred himself, that his Example put new life into all his Souldiers, whereby he carried the day.

Flying to *Dorostolus*.

The *Rossians* fled to *Dorostolus*, very much lessened in their Numbers, and thither followed the Emperour after he had done his Devoirs to St. *George*, on whose Day this Victory was obtained.

Which upon the arrival of his Fleet *Zimisces* begirts.

45. He sate down before the Town, but would make no attempt upon it, till his Fleet arrived, because the Defendants might easily escape by the River. In the mean time *Sphendosthlabus* commits to safe Custody in Fetters no fewer than twenty thousand *Bulgarians*, lest they should revolt or make any disturbance in the Garrison, and prepared for a Siege. The Fleet being arrived the Emperour buckled himself to his business, and the Enemy making several Sallies, he still repelled with good Success. Now the *Rossians* horsed several Companies contrary to their former Custome, and in an Evening when the *Roman* Soldiers were dispersed, at their Supper, made a very brisk Sally out of two several Gates, the one toward the East, where *Peter* the chief Commander of the Camp lay with the *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, and the other to the West, which Post was assigned to *Bardas Sclerus*, with the Eastern Forces. A very sharp Conflict there was, and the Success for some time inclined to neither side, but the *Romans* had the better at last, and killing many, forced the rest back into the City without so much as one of their own Men either killed or hurt as our Authours affirm; onely three Horses perished in the Ingagement. The Barbarians much discouraged at this repulse, with great Howlings and hideous Cries, bewailed the Death of their Fellows lately slain, and for the greater security of the place, sent for all their Countreymen that lay in the Garrisons round about. *Zimisces* hereupon drew out his Army into the adjoining plain, and offered them Battel, which they refusing he had time to give Audience to Messengers that came from *Constantia*, and other Forts beyond the River *Ister*, to beg pardon and yield themselves, whom he gratiously received and sent Garrisons into the Places so given up. But the besieged, though they refused a pitcht Battel, yet their Number being increased issued out in the Night at all their Gates at once, and furiously assailed the Besiegers when they little expected it. And at the first, as was to be expected, they had the better, till *Sphagellus* was slain, which so discouraged them, that they remitted much of their former Alacrity. Yet they kept the Field all the Night, and till Noon the next Day, when perceiving that a Party was sent to get betwixt them and home, they then began to shift for themselves, and finding the ways leading to the Town beset, they stragled through the Countrey, and many of them were slain. The Night following *Sphendosthlabus*, began to draw a Trench about the Walls, with which having more strongly fortifyed the Place, he resolved to hold out till the last.

After several skirmishes.

He resolves to starve them out.

46. But Provisions failing, and all ways by Land being blocked up, he took along with him two thousand Men, and in a dark and rainy Night passed down the River in Boats, and fetched in Corn and other Necessaries, without the least apprehension of the Besiegers, till at his Return he killed many of their Foragers, and the rest escaped with the News, which arrived not till he was got out of danger. At this the Emperour was very much disturb'd, and threatned the Officers of the Fleet with death,if any such thing happened for the time to come; for having spent now forty Days to no purpose in Hostility, he was resolved to starve them out, and having taken care for stopping up of all Avenues, took his ease and expected the Event. In the mean time while he sought after new Conquests, what he had formerly possessed was in great danger, for *Leo Curopalates*, and his Son *Nicephorus* no-way obliged by his Clemency, who had caused their Eyes to be spared, when they had been sentenced for their former Treasons to loose their sight, again broke out into Rebellion, and having corrupted many Officers in several Places, left the Island, to which they were confined, and by Night came to *Constantinople*, where they imagined they could doe great matters, in the Absence of the Emperour. But *Leo* the *Drungarius* of the Fleet, to whom with *Basilius* the Rectour, the care of the Palace and City was committed, timely before they could get their Complices together, sent a Party of Souldiers to secure them, of which having notice they betook themselves to the great Church, but were

Another Rebellion at home.

But suppressed and punished.

were thence drawn out and sent into the Island *Prota*, where the former Judgement was now executed with effect upon them. To return to the Siege, the Defendants were both sorely pinched with Famine, and distressed by Engines of the Enemy, with which among so many stout and young Warriors, some would ever be trying their skill, and attempting something. One *John* a *Magister* the Son of *Romanus Curcuas* with a Machine he had, did them most mischief, so that they resolved to make a Sally by some of their stoutest men, to break or disable it. *Curcuas* to rescue his Engine rushed in amongst them, was knocked down from his Horse and slain, but his Souldiers though they could not save his Life yet preserved the Ram, and drove back the *Rossians* into the Town.

The besieged make an universal Sally.

47. On the twentieth day of *July*, they resolved to make an universal Sally, by the Advice of one *Jernor*, a man who for his desert was the second in Repute amongst them. A fierce contest there happened, till *Anemas* one of the Emperour's Guard singled out *Jernor* and slew him, at which sight in Confusion they retired, and many by reason of the straitness of the Ways, were either killed by the Pursuers, or trampled down by their own Fellows, *Sphendosthlabus* himself with difficulty escaping. When the *Romans* came to strip the slain, they found many Women in Mens Clothes had accompanied their Husbands, and fought stoutly. And courageous enough they were of both Sexes and all Conditions, but what prospect of any hope there was to succeed, the most prudent amongst them could not see. For on all sides, were they surrounded with insuperable Difficulties. Of any relief there was no probability, their Friends and Countreymen being so far off. The Neighbouring Nations refused to meddle, being awed by the Power of the Emperour; who by his Fleet and Army being now Master both at Land and Sea, barred them of all Access, while he and his Souldiers abounded, not onely with all things necessary but delightfull, and was recruited with perpetual Supplies of Men. Great deliberation being had about their matters, some were for flying away by Night, others moved that they should yield, others propounded other ways and Methods, but all concluded that a Period was to be put to this War. But *Sphendosthlabus* affirmed, this was not to be done in any cowardly manner, lest they should be derided by all their Neighbours, and Eternal Infamy should stick to their Nation, and therefore he perswaded them once more to try it with the Besiegers, and prefer a glorious Death before an ignominious Life.

But retreat with great Loss.

After which they consult.

Resolving to leave the City and try it out by Battel.

48. Unanimously the next day they quit the City, and make fast the Gates that no hope of retreating thither might any more remain. Such a Fight followed as is usual with a resolved and desperate Enemy. The *Romans* less accustomed to hardship were most distressed by the heat of the Weather, whom their Emperour carefully relieved by bottles of Wine and Water mixed, and then caused them thus refreshed to renew the Fight. The narrowness also of the ways was a great hinderance to them, of which he being sensible, commanded that his Officers should by degrees retire, and when they were come into the open plain, then to fall on again with their former violence. The *Rossians* imagining they fled, made after them with great earnestness, till the *Romans* being arrived at the appointed place, furiously charged them a-fresh. Now the service being hot on both sides, *Theodorus* of *Mistheia* his Horse was killed under him, and a sharp contention followed, while the Enemy endeavoured to kill, and his Friends laboured as hard to preserve him. He clearing himself of his Horse as well as he could, cought one of the *Rossians* fast by the Girdle, and bestirring himself, thrust the Man on this side and that side of him, where he saw the danger was, and used him as a Target to receive the Strokes or Darts that were designed aganst him, and this he did till he was rescued and brought off. But *Zimisces* seeing the Enemy fight rather more courageously than ever, the success doubtfull, and pitying the dangerous condition his Men were in, to prevent greater effusion of bloud sent to *Sphendosthlabus*, and challenged him to deside the quarrel by the single Combat of them two. The Barbarian refused it, proudly answering that he understood himself better than did the *Roman* Emperour, who if he was weary of his Life, might find ways enough to be rid of it, while he should mind what he had to doe. The Emperour resolving with all his force and dexterity, to drive the Affair in that manner, which alone remained and by this one days action, to finish both this War, and Siege, sent *Bardas Silerus*, with his Troops to hinder them all Access to the Town, *Romanus* the Patritian, the Son of *Constantine Cæsar*, and Grandson of *Romanus* the Elder, together with *Peter*, another great Commander in the Army, he ordered with their forces to give a fresh charge, which was so warmly both given and received, that still the success remained absolutely uncertain: but *Anemas* lately mentioned, Son of the

Ameras

In which *Sphendosthlabus* is dismounted and the *Rossians* overthrown.

Ameras of *Crete*, with a blow given upon the side on the Head, beat *Sphendosthlabus* from his Horse, and while he indeavoured in vain to kill him, by reason of the strength of his Armour, was himself cut in pieces. At length the faint and starved *Rossians* gave way to the stout and vigorous *Romans*, who put them to flight, and in the Pursuit through the Plains killed an innumerable Multitude of them, all the rest being also said to be wounded. The Victours not ascribing the Victory all to themselves, took notice that Heaven fought for them, by a Storm of Rain which blew so violently upon the Faces of their Enemies, that they could not with their wonted Alacrity and Conduct manage the Fight. And much was ascribed to *Theodorus the Martyr*, on whose day the Battel happened, whom some said they saw fighting at the Head of the Army. And the Emperour's Faith was herein so strong and operative, that he repaired a Church dedicated to him, and the Name of the Town wherein it stood he changed from *Euchaneia*, to *Theodoropolis*.

Which obliges them to send to the Emperour.

49. " Now *Sphendosthlabus* having herein satisfied himself, that he had done " all things becoming a prudent Man, for the maintenance of his cause and Coun- " trey, and that nothing succeeded, betook himself to the last refuge, of sending " to the Emperour. But greater things he required, than one would judge to " have been suitable to his condition; as that on the publick Faith he might be re- " ceived as a Friend and Ally of the Empire, that safe Conduct should be granted " to him and his Countreymen, to their own Homes, and that free Commerce " should be established betwixt the Nations. These things he thought it pru- " dence to ask, though not to stand by them, but govern himself according " to the humour and answer of *Zimisces*, who either weary of the War, or afraid " farther to provoke a desperate Enemy, of whose courage he had had sufficient " experience, granted what he ask'd, excusing it with this old saying, that *It was* " *the Custome of* Romans, *to overcome more by kindness than force of Arms.* The Accord being made, he desired to come to an interview and discourse with the Emperour, which was also granted. It was covenanted that the *Patzinacæ* should be comprized in the League, and for that purpose the Emperour should send to them, to signifie that he would accept of them as Friends and Allies, and to desire free passage for the *Rossi*, through their Territories to their own Countrey. The *Patzinacæ* agreed to all except the free Passage, but the *Rossi* in the case they were in, must needs put them to the Trial. After their departure *Zimisces* fortified all the Towns and Castles upon the River, and then returned to *Constantinople*, where the Patriarch with his Clergy, the Senate and People received him with all expressions of Joy imaginable. They met him with Crowns, and a Chariot drawn with four Horses splendidly furnished, in which they would have him enter in solemn Triumph. But he would not admit of any of this, but bore himself very modestly entring upon a white Horse, and putting into the Chariot the Vestments of the *Bulgarian* Princes, and over them the Image of our Lady, as the Protectress of the City, which he ordered should go before him. Having in the *Forum* received the Acclamations of the Multitude, and finished his Devotions, in the sight of them all, he devested *Borises* of the Ensigns of Majesty which were a Golden Crown, a Silken Vestment and Purple Shoes, and then going to the Great Church offered the Crown, and there left it. Which done, he promoted *Borises* to the Dignity of a *Magister*, and so departed to the Palace. In the mean time *Sphendosthlabus*, in his Return, passing through the Countrey of the *Patzinacæ* fell into the Ambushes, laid by them for him, and was cut off with all his men; they objecting it as a Crime, that he had entred into League with the *Romans*.

Who accepts of their Terms.

And returns to *Constantinople* in Triumph.

Where he releaces his Subjects from Hearth-money.

50. But the Emperour farther to testifie his Gratitude for his late Success, re-edified the Church which stood upon the Arch of *Chalce*, sparing no Cost in the Workmanship. He eased all his Subjects of the Smoke or Chimney-money, and gave order, that as well in the Golden Coins, as in the *Obolus*, the Image of our Saviour should be stamped (which formerly had not been done) with this Inscription, *Jesus Christ the King of Kings*, and this was afterward observed by his Successours. But to put him as well as other Mortals in mind, what Accidents and Inconstancy threaten humane Life, in the Month of *August*, and the third Indiction appeared a Comet, which because of its shape of a Beard, they were wont to call *Pogonia*, and it continued till the Eighth Month of the fourth Indiction, foreshewing as was afterward believed, the Death of the Emperour, and those Distempers never to be cured, wherein the State by reason of Civil Wars was thenceforth involved. After this, *Zimisces* undertook an expedition against

A dreadfull Comet appears.

Zimisces makes an expedition as far as *Damascus*.

against those Cities which having been Conquered by *Nicephorus*, had afterward revolted, and Travelling as far as *Damascus*, some by fair words, others by rough deeds he recovered, and having setled all things according to his will, returned home. In his Journey as he passed by *Anazarbahe*, *Podandus*, and other places, seeing there most pleasant and fruitfull grounds, he asked to whom they belonged. It was answered that they all belonged to *Basilius*, the President, who had obtained the possession of them all, though part got by *Nicephorus*, other portions by this or that Domestick of the Schools, and some share by the Arms of *Zimisces* himself. Hereat he grew very sad, and perceivingthe publick had got little by the Accession of those Territories, broke out into this expression; " My Com- " panions, it's a very odd thing that the publick Treasure must be wasted, and " the *Roman* Armies undergo such difficulties, and yet whatsoever has been gain- " ed by so much labour and expence, must be ingrossed by one Eunuch. This was not so well meant as ill taken by *Basilius*, from whom considering his place, it could not be hid, and thenceforth he resolved by some means or other to make away the Emperour. This e'erlong he effected by procuring his Cupbearer for some reward in present, and more in promise to give him Poison, not such as should speedily kill, but by degrees in a Languishing manner dispatch him, which carried him off yet e'er he reached *Constantinople*, with the Symptoms of Carbuncles upon his Shoulders, and avoidance of much Bloud by his Eyes, after he had Reigned six years six Months and something more. An excellent Prince, who is onely guilty upon Record, for the Murther of his Predecessour (however the Patriarch absolved him), although as we may see by frequent examples, such ambitious seeking after Sovereignty and Dominion, was scarcely counted a Crime in those days.

But in his return is Poisoned by the procurement of *Basilius* the President.

Basilius and *Constantine* 10. succeed.

51. *Basilius* and *Constantine* the Sons of *Romanus*, according to his own Designment, succeeded him in the month of *December*, the fourth Indiction, *A. D.* DCCCCLXXVI. Now our Authours speak more probably of their Age than formerly, that the one was about twenty, and the other three years younger. They bore the Name, but all the Power still resided in *Basilius* the President, who presently to ingratiate himself with them and their Mother, sent a Pinnace and fetcht her out of Banishment. To provide against the Usurpations of others, he had greatest cause to suspect *Bardas Solerus*, who had already been guilty that way, and had narrowly escaped the losing of his eyes, but at present Commanded all the Forces of the East, by which advantage he might easily perswade the Souldiers to any thing he pleased. The Command of the East therefore he took from him, and gave him the Government of *Mesopotamia*, with orders to restrain the Incursions of the *Saracens*. In like manner he dealt with *Michael Burtzas* for the same reason; and to draw him from the company and Neighbourhood of *Bardas*, made him Governour of *Antioch* upon *Orontes*; and the Command of all the Forces in the East was given to one *Peter*, formerly the Servant of *Phocas*, an Eunuch, but a Man of much valour and experience. Hereat *Bardas* was exceedingly inraged, so as he could not refrain himself, but fell into grievous invectives and reproachfull words against *Basilius*, who for all that was not moved, but admonished him to quiet himself, and settle to the business enjoined, or else expect to be deprived of all Command whatsoever, and confined to his House. Hereupon he departed into his Province, and having broken his Design to some Officers of the Army, resolved to break into Rebellion, knowing all the Souldiers to be at his Devotion. But his Son *Romanus* was at *Constantinople*, and therefore he durst not attempt any thing till he had got him thence, which he effected by the Industry and Dissimulation of one *Anthes*, who coming to the City, spake all bitter things against him, and so passing for his Enemy, had opportunity to steal away the Youth. Then did he openly assume the Title and Habit, and was saluted Emperour by his whole Army, the *Armenians* herein giving example to the rest.

Bardas Solerus breaks out into Rebellion and usurps.

52. For maintaining what he had now done, and going through with his Enterprize, he seized upon all Collectours of the publick Revenue he could, and constrained them to pay it to his Officers. Such as were rich he forced to contribute, and many there were who in hope of receiving it back with good Advantage, voluntarily sent him in large sums of Money, all which he laid up for a Reserve in a certain Castle of *Mesopotamia*, called *Charpote*, where he placed as strong a Garrison as the concern required. With his Neighbours the *Saracens* he contracted Friendship, which was strengthned by closer Alliances and Marriage, by virtue of which he received from the two *Ameras* of * *Amida* and

Joyning with the *Saracens* proceeds towards *Constantinople*.

* *Saracenis Emet.*

and * *Martyropolis* much money, besides three hundred *Arabian* Horsemen for a supply. Thus furnished in the beginning of Spring, and farther encouraged by a Dream of a certain Monk, he set forward for *Constantinople*, whither the Report flying disturbed both the Emperours and all men that were not delighted with change, and loved to fish in troubled waters. Orders are dispatched to *Peter* to have the Army in a readiness, to Rendezvous at *Cæsarea*, and *Stephen Syncellus* the Bishop of *Nicomedia* is sent to *Bardas*, by his Eloquence, if possible, to perswade him to desist. But all he could say not in the least shaked the Determination of the Usurper, who to make a short Answer to his long Oration, thrust out his right Foot, and shewing him his Purple shoe, told him, that " He that had once worn that colour abroad, and in the sight of People, " could not be easily induced to put it off, and bid him tell those that " sent him, that if they would not freely admit him for Emperour, he would en- " deavour to establish himself as such whether they would or no. This Answer returned, command was sent to *Peter*, that he should not begin the War, but watch and observe *Bardas*, secure the Passages, and make resistence if Attacqued. Accordingly he stopped up the ways, and after some bickerings of small Parties, they came to Encamp one against the other. *Bardas* now shewed himself backward to Fight, till some convinced him that he injured himself by delays, which would most certainly bring him into contempt, and cause his Friends to fall off from him.

* *Miepherkin.*

53. Convinced by this Reason he dislodged, and in the space of three days marched into *Lapara*, called afterwards *Lycandus*, a Part of *Cappadocia*; and *Peter*, lest he should be prevented, followed after, night and day, and thither came up close to him. Yet neither of them had any mind to Fight, but endeavoured by wiles to circumvent each other, in which craft, *Bardas* was superiour after this manner. He caused meat to be prepared as if all the Army was to take Refreshment, but yet commanded every Man to be ready to Fight. This perceived by the Enemies they also fell to Eating, as concluding that for that day they might take their ease, and there would not be any Ingagement. In this posture he fell upon them, and though they flew to their Arms and made stout resistence yet perceiving they should be compassed about by his two Wings, and the Mercenaries he had ordered to fall on their Backs, they ran away, and with the first *Burtzas* the Governour of *Antioch*, whether for fear or out of design is uncertain. Many were killed, and *Bardas* took their Baggage wherein was much treasure found. Thence he removed, and took in a City called *Tsamandus*, and by this success got such reputation that many came over to him, and took his part, as *Burtzas* we now mentioned, *Andronicus* a Patritian, *Lydus* an Officer in the Army, and the inhabitants of *Attala* laid hands on *Michael Curticas*, the Commander of the Emperour's Fleet, which they carried all to *Bardas*, and from him received orders under his command, to make War against the *Cibyrræotæ*. These things being reported at Court, it was there resolved, that some of the Emperour's Friends should be invested with absolute or imperial power to give, grant and act whatsoever he should think convenient for the suppression of this Usurper. Against him then was created, *Dictator* (as we may Term him) *Leo* the *Protovestiarius* and one *John* a Patritian a very eloquent and eminent man was sent with him as an assistent or Councillour. Joyning with *Peter* at *Cotyacius* a place of *Phrygia* he first essayed secretly by great promises to draw the most considerable Persons from *Bardas*, but all his Art this way was so far from doing any good, that it confirmed them in an Opinion of his weakness and of his Inability to proceed any other way.

Meeting the Emperour's Army by Stratageme he overcomes them.

Upon which *Leo* as *Dictator* is appointed to suppress him.

54. Finding this project to fail him, by the night time he gave *Bardas* the go-by, and held on his course toward the East, which marvellously perplexed those about the Usurper, both in that they feared their Treasure, and also were solicitous for their Relations, left behind them in those parts. And this consideration so wrought with them, that many departed and fled to *Leo*; *Bardas* his affairs were brought into that posture, that he had just cause to fear that all his Forces would speedily fall away and disperse themselves. There was no way therefore but one; to send *Burtzas* and *Romanus Taronita* a Patritian, two that he could trust to stop the course of *Leo*, by continual Allarms, sudden on-sets and intercepting his Provisions, yet so as to be sure not to venture a set Battel. But they were forced to break their orders. For News was brought that betwixt the two Armies were shortly to pass some *Saracens* who were carrying the Annual Tribute,

Tribute, due from the Eastern *Berræa* to *Constantinople*, which would fall as a certain Prize to those that could compass it, and therefore the Souldiers were not to be restrained. It occasion'd an Ingagement, wherein *Burtzas* was beaten, and many of his Men were slain, especially the *Armenians*, to whom no Quarter would be given, because they first revolted to *Bardas*. He having notice how matters went, hasted with the Body of his Army, and incamped, as conveniently as he could against *Leo*, expecting a fit opportunity to ingage. But *Leo* was wary and drew out the time in length, which he was incouraged to doe, finding that his strength increased by the daily coming over of some or other to him. And the opinion of the Elder and Wiser about him was, that by delay he should still manage his Matters; but those of the younger and hotter sort were all for fighting, and as we are apt to yield to the worst, he suffered himself to be overruled, and to give Battel. *Bardas* divided his Forces into three Parts, whereof he himself led the middle Battel, to his Brother *Constantine* he assigned the right, and to *Constantine* the Son of *Gabras* the left Wing. They had not long ingaged when *Leo*'s Souldiers, not able to sustain the violence of his Horse, placed at each Wing, gave ground and occasion to a total Defeat, which immediately followed. *John* the Patritian was killed, and *Peter* the Master of the Camp, with many other persons of great Quality. *Leo*, with several other men of Office and Dignity was taken Prisoner. He was committed to Custody; but the Eyes of *Theodorus* and *Nicetas Hagiozacharitæ*, two Brothers, at the Head of the Army were digged out, because they had broken their Oaths and fallen off to *Leo*.

But in a Battel is also overthrown.

55. This Victory so exceedingly advanced the Interest of *Bardas*, that the whole Empire seemed now at his Devotion. But *Basilius* the President, was all this while very intent upon his business, and though he neglected no means for increasing the Land Forces, yet his especial care was for setting out a strong Fleet; for *Michael Curtices* the General of *Bardas*, had wasted almost all the Islands; and was shortly expected at *Abydus* in the *Hellespont*, which must needs cause *Constantinople* it self to tremble. Having made all preparations the time would give him leave, he sent out the Navy under Command of *Theodorus Carentenus*, a Patritian, who finding out *Curtices* at *Phocæa*, fought with and defeated him, by which means the Seas were all cleared. Then *Basilius* applying himself wholly to the War by Land, sent away *Manuel Eroticus* to command the City of *Nice*, the *Metropolis* of *Bithynia*, against which in a short time after *Bardas* shewed himself and fell upon it with all violence. But not able to Master it, so vigorous and successfull was the resistence which *Manuel* made, he resolved to starve him out, and from his hands forced him to betake himself to his Wits, so much were the Inhabitants pressed with want. He caused the Granaries therefore of the City to be filled with Sand, and Corn to be strowed so thick upon it, that the Sand could not be discovered by the Eye. Then did he shew to some Prisoners he had the said Granaries, and bragged how able he was by that means to hold out; but withall signified, that if he and those with him might have leave honourably to depart, he would quit the place. This was not unwelcome News to *Bardas*, who upon report of the full Granaries, granted them such Conditions as they desired, and so with Bag and Baggage they marched out, and went to *Constantinople*. Thus *Bardas* became Master of *Nice*, but in such a way, and by such means, as he was ashamed to own. However, he put a strong Garrison into the Town, under Command of one *Pegasius*, and then attended his other Affairs.

The Seas cleared of the Usurper's force.

But by Land he obtains the City of *Nice*.

56. *Basilius* the President perceiving his matters now desperate, *Bardas* being shortly expected at *Constantinople*, betook himself to his last refuge in making use of a Person to which Necessity alone could oblige him. This was *Bardas Phocas* whom for this purpose he speedily recalled out of Exile, and judging him the onely Person he could oppose to his Namesake, received of him an Oath of Fidelity to the Emperours, and conferring on him the Dignity of a *Magister*, made him Domestick of the Schools, and committed the War to his management. *Phocas* having received Power and Instructions, indeavoured to pass over to *Abydus*; but finding *Romanus* the Son of *Sclerus* to command the *Hellespont*, returned to *Constantinople*, and there light of a Vessel which wafted him over to the opposite Shore, whence travelling by Night, he came to *Cæsarea*, and there joining himself with *Eustathius Maleinus* and *Michael Bartzas*, who had again turned to the Emperour's side, and gathering what Forces he could together, went on to *Amorium*. *Sclerus* having notice of his Arrival, now concluded, that he was to deal with his Match, not with Eunuchs and Effeminate Persons, and to *Amorium* he

Which causes *Bardas Phocas* to be recalled and made General.

Who is twice worsted by *Sclerus*.

marched, where coming to an Ingagement, the Forces of *Phocas* being disheartned by the Defeats they had lately received, failed of Courage and of Success, and were driven out of the Field, yet so as the Retreat was very fair and leisurely, *Phocas* himself bringing up the Rere and facing about and charging the Pursuers as he had advantage. He got away to the Castle of *Charsianus*, and there refreshed his men, and received many that came to him upon the Emperour's Account, whom he promoted according to their Qualifications. *Sclerus* was not long behind him, but coming and incamping not far off provoked him to fight, who as readily consenting, they joined Battel again, wherein *Phocas* had the worst, not being able to make his men stand their ground, though with his Poll-axe in his Hand he rode about to the several Ranks, and killed many of the Enemies, discharging all Offices both of an expert Commander and valiant Souldier.

57. After this Defeat he went into *Iberia*, where he desired and obtained a supply from *David* the Prince of that Countrey, with whom he had contracted a particular Friendship when formerly he commanded *Chaldia*. Joyning these Forces with the remainders of his own, which he had rallied, he marched to *Pancalea*, a large Plain lying upon the River *Halys*, to seek out his Enemy, who there lay incamped. Another bloudy Contention followed, wherein *Phocas* perceiving his men again to give ground resolved to indure no longer the ignominy of being beaten, but espying *Sclerus*, ran violently at him with purpose to kill or be killed. But *Sclerus* was so aware of him that he fetch'd the first stroke, some say with his Poll-axe, and others with his Sword, which missing him, cut off one of the Ears of his Horse, and his Bridle in sunder. *Phocas* his hand was more steady, who gave the other such a blow upon his Helmet as struck him down upon the Neck of his Horse, which done he galloped up to an Hill and restrained the flight of his Souldiers. *Sclerus* dazled with the stroke, and fainting, was by his Followers carried to a Fountain to have his wound cleansed, who concluded that *Phocas* and his Cause were both now lost, and therefore were the more careless. Not taking heed to their Master's Horse when they had taken him off, he got loose and with his Main all bloudy ran amongst the Souldiers, who thereupon concluding that the Rider their General was slain, instead of pursuing, ran away themselves, and that with such fear and haste, that some tumbled down Precipices, and others took the River and therein were drowned, while *Phocas* to his great amazement beholding what happened and looking upon it as an extraordinary mercy from Heaven, took the Advantage offered him of giving the Chace and obtaining an unexpected Victory. *Sclerus* with a few escaped and got to *Martyropolis*, whence he sent his Brother *Constantine* to *Chosroes* the Prince of *Babylon*, to desire his Friendship and Assistence. *Chosroes* making delay, and neither granting his Request nor returning a denial, when his Brother came not back with any answer, he himself went thither with all his men. The Emperour *Basilius* being informed by *Phocas* of his late success, and how *Sclerus* was gone to *Babylon*, sent an Ambassadour to *Chosroes* the *Amermumnes*, desiring him to consider, as he was a Prince, of what ill example and consequence it might prove to harbour and protect Rebels, and Letters were written also to *Sclerus* and those about him, offering them free pardon for what was past, if they would return to obedience, and every man to his own Home, which when *Chosroes* understood, not thinking himself fairly dealt with, he committed both the Ambassadour and *Sclerus* to Custody. Such of his Party as did not accompany *Sclerus* to *Babylon*, seized upon one or two strong Castles in the Province of *Thrace*, whence for some considerable time they made excursions into the neighbouring Territories, and did much mischief, till by *Nicephorus Parsacutinus* a Patritian, upon promise of Indemnity from the Emperour, they were perswaded to desist, and were brought in.

But in the third Ingagement obtains the Victory.

Sclerus flying to *Babylon*,

Is there committed into Custody.

58. Such was the Issue hitherto of the Rebellion of *Bardas Sclerus*; how matters went in the mean time in the Western Parts of the Empire, we must now discover. The *Bulgarians*, notwithstanding all the pains of *Zimisces*, in that Countrey continued no longer in obedience than he in life. Not long after his Death, resolving to be governed by those of their own bloud, they committed the supreme Power to four Brothers, *David*, *Moses*, *Aaron* and *Samuel*, called commonly *Cometopoli*, because they were the Sons of an eminent Count amongst them. For of the stock of *Peter* none was left whom they could prefer. His two Sons *Borises* and *Romanus*, that were, as we said, brought to *Constantinople*, had thence upon the death of *Zimisces* made their escape back into *Bulgaria*. But *Borises* passing through a Wood in a *Roman* Habit, was killed by a certain *Bulgarian*, who took him for one of that Nation: *Romanus* indeed was alive, and returned some time

The *Bulgarians* invade the Western parts of the Empire.

time after to *Constantinople*, but he was an Eunuch, having been gelt by *Joseph*, that eminent Bedchamber man, formerly mentioned. Now of all these four Brothers *David* died presently after. *Moses* in the Siege of a place called *Serræ* was killed by a blow given with a Stone, and *Aaron* being suspected to favour the *Romans*, was by *Samuel* murthered with all his Children, one *Blackosthlabus* excepted, called also *John*, who was preserved by *Kadomer* (otherwise also named *Romanus*) the Son of *Samuel*. This *Samuel* was a man of a restless disposition, a very good Souldier, and while the Empire was sufficiently intangled with the War against *Sclerus*, plagued all the West with his Incursions, not onely *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, with the Parts near to *Thessalonica*, but *Thessaly* also, *Greece*, and *Peloponnesus*, and took many strong Holds, the chief whereof was *Larissa*, the Inhabitants of which with their whole Families he transported into *Bulgaria*, inrolled them amongst his Souldiers, and used them against the *Romans*.

59. Matters thus standing with the *Bulgarians*, the Emperour *Basilius*, as soon as the business with *Sclerus* was over, began to reflect upon his own Power, and resolved now he was of years sufficient to undertake the War against them upon his own score, to shew he was in a condition to be out of Pupillage. Without acquainting *Phocas*, though the Domestick of the Schools, or any other of the Captains of the East, he invaded *Bulgaria*, through the Countries, lying near *Rhodoptes* and the River *Eurus*, leaving *Leo Melissenus* behind him to secure the Straits, whilst he coming about by the difficult Passages and Woods, lying near to *Triaditza*, or as it was in old time called *Sardica*, came into a place known by the Name of *Stoponium*, resolving to lay Siege immediately to *Sardica*, being the more incouraged so to doe because *Samuel* was reported, out of fear, to keep himself in the mountainous Parts of the Countrey, not daring to come down, but when he saw he had an Advantage by Strategeme or Ambush to effect something considerable. But while he prepared for this Siege, *Stephen* the Domestick of the Schools of the West, for the smallness of his Stature called *Contostephanus*, but a very great Enemy to *Leo Melissenus*, came to him by Night, and with most vehement words perswaded him to set all other Considerations aside, and return with speed to *Constantinople*, because *Melissenus* had a Design to Usurp, and for that purpose was hasting toward the City. The Emperour easily frighted with such a Story gave orders for the Army to march, and then *Samuel* seeing his time, fell upon them as a flying Enemy, and put them to flight indeed, taking all their Baggage, and therein the Emperour's Ensigns of Majesty, who with much adoe got through the Straits, and escaped to *Philippopolis*. There he found *Leo* at his Station intending diligently what had been injoyn'd him, whereupon sensible how they had both been abused, he reviled *Contostephanus* as a Lyar and Authour of so great Infamy as this ridiculous Expedition must needs procure, and *Stephen* demeaning himself very arrogantly, and indeavouring to defend what he had done, he leap'd from his Seat, and catching fast hold of him by his Locks and Beard pulled him down to the ground.

Upon which *Basilius* the Emperour enters *Bulgaria*.

But in his return looses his Baggage, &c.

A great Earthquake.

60. A great Earthquake happened after this in the Month of *October*, and the twelfth year of the Emperour *Basilius*, and *Constantine*, of whom we hear little or nothing, being wholly given up to Idleness and Pleasure, and willingly leaving all to the management of his Brother, who now casting off his former Neglect, took matters into his own Hands, and seriously applied himself to business. By the Earthquake were not onely many Churches and private Buildings overturned, but also part of the Globe of the Great Church, which he magnificently repaired with so great expence, that the very Scaffolding stood him in ten Centenaries of Gold. But his late Expedition into *Bulgaria* had that operation upon several of the Nobility, especially *Bardas Phocas*, that thinking themselves exceedingly neglected in that he would not consult with them, and thence taking a measure of what they must expect from him in time to come. Some two Months before the Earthquake in the Month of *October*, meeting at the House of *Eustathius Malenius*, who had been ignominiously dismissed the Service, at *Charsianum* they proclaimed the said *Phocas* Emperour, giving him a Diadem, and investing him with the other Imperial Ornaments. At the same time word was brought that *Sclerus* (whom *Baronius* strangely makes the same with *Phocas*, writing that *Sclerus Bardas*, sirnamed *Phocas*, was this year Proclaimed and Crowned Emperour) was coming out of *Syria* being delivered out of his Prison at *Babylon* upon this occasion.

Bardas Phocas saluted Emperour.

Quod ad res pertinet Orientis, inveniesse bella Civili, Sclerus Bardas Cognomento Phocas Tyrannus, Imperator acclamatur, ac coronatur. *Baron. ad A. D. 987. num. 4.*

The *Persians* endeavour to cast off the Yoke of the *Saracens.*

The Nation of the *Persians* being subdued and inslaved by the *Saracens*, endured the Yoke with much Reluctancy and Repining, and the most Noble and Potent of them were watching but for a fit opportunity to shake it off. Of these one *Inargus* more concerned himself than all others, being of a great Family, very Eloquent, and a Complete Souldier, who observing *Chosroes* very imprudently and negligently to manage his Affairs, resolved not to let slip such an Advantage, but drew to revolt all the *Achæmonidæ* or *Achæmenidæ*, a Part of *Persia*, and hired twenty thousand of the Eastern *Turks* (so they term them, as the *Hunni* or *Hungarians* the Western) and then openly makes War, killing all the *Saracens* wherefoever he could light on them. *Chosroes* often in Person, and as often by his Officers ingaged with him in Fight, but still came off with loss, which struck such terrour into his Souldiers, that they could not endure to hear a *Persian* named. This made him think of his *Romans* now in durance, and to consider, that were not *Sclerus* a man very considerable, aswell for skill in War and Courage as other Matters, he could never have waged war with the Emperour, nor brought him to such Straits as he did, nor would so many Noblemen have sided with him, and given him the Title. Communicating his thoughts with his Council, he delivered him out of Prison, and after much Caressing of him, desired that he would undertake the War against the *Persians.*

Achæmenia pars Persidis ab Achamene filio Ægei sic dicta, ut ait Stephanus. Achamenes autem erat Rex Persarum, nomen teste Ammiano, Rex Regibus imperans sonat.

Upon which *Sclerus* and the *Romans* in *Syria* are let out of Prison.

61. *Sclerus* at first pretended an Averseness, affirming that He and his Fellows being kept so long in Prison, were thereby rendred unfit for Employment of that Nature. But *Chosroes* promising him ample recompence for the Injury that had been done him, with much Treasure and great Force for carrying on the War, he undertook it, yet so as he would not meddle with the *Arabians*, *Saracens* or other Subjects of *Chosroes*, but desired that the Prisons of *Syria* might be opened, and all *Roman* Captives set at Liberty, with whom and no other Army he would doe his work. By this means, getting together about three thousand Men, he caused them by bathing and other ways to recover their former strength, and new clothing and arming them, led them against the *Persians*, whom by a manner of fighting unusual to them, and especially by the Violence and Courage of his Souldiers he totally defeated, so that scarcely remained any to carry away the News, and *Inargus* himself fell in the Croud. Now the *Romans* inriched with great booty, and many Horses would by no means return to *Chosroes*, but taking the Rode that led into the Territories of the Empire, by great Journeys without the Knowledge of the *Saracens*, they escaped thither. Thus some reported. Others affirmed that they went back to *Chosroes*, were courteously received by him, and that dying not long after he gave Order to his Son to conduct them with Honour and Safety, into their own Countrey. And a third story there was, they getting away without his Knowledge, he sent after them a great Multitude to bring them back, with which they fought, and reducing them to a smaller Number than themselves, such slaughter they made, then without any opposition prosecuted their Journey.

Who ingage and defeat the *Persians.*

And return into the Empire.

62. However it was, *Sclerus* with his Followers got safe into the Territories of the Empire, where understanding how *Bardas Phocas* had also assumed the Title, he found himself much at a Loss what to doe. To make himself sole Emperour, he was not sufficiently provided, and to join himself either to *Basilius* or the other he esteemed a mean thing, and below him, and should he take the Part of one and make the other his Enemy, it might prove a matter of great danger, therefore he resolved to give words to both, and so ingratiate himself with the one, that he should not disoblige the other. To *Phocas* he sent and offered to suppress *Basilius*, and share the Empire with him, but secretly at the same time he caused his Son *Romanus* to go to the Emperour at *Constantinople*, under pretence of running away and revolting, with this Design, that if *Phocas* got the better, the Father should intercede for and bring off his Son, and if *Basilius* overcame, his Son should make the Father's Peace. *Romanus* was kindly received, preferred to the Dignity of a *Magister*, became a great Favourite and a Councillour to *Basilius* in his Wars, who had now taken all matters out of the Hands of *Basilius* the President, and fearfull that for his so doing, he might as he had done to others practise something against him, had removed him from Court to his own House. There perceiving that he was very unsatisfied, and turbulent, and was hatching some Design for recovery of his Power, he banished him, and seized upon most of his vast Estate both to inrich himself, and hinder him from attempting any new matters. The Monastery lately built by him, he rifled, and seized on all his Curiosities, which so afflicted the old Man, that he pin'd away and died.

Cajolling *Phocas*, and sending his Son to *Basilius* the Emperour.

Basilius

Basilius being rid of him, and wanting some to assist and advise him, the more welcomely received *Romanus*, knowing him to be both a prudent Man, and an excellent Souldier.

Sclerus and *Phocas* make an Agreement.

63. In the mean time an Agreement was made between *Sclerus* and *Phocas*, on these terms, that their Designs succeeding, *Sclerus* should for his share have *Antioch*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Cœlosyria*, *Mesopotamia* and *Egypt*; and *Phocas* obtain *Constantinople*, with the rest of the Provinces. This was confirmed by oath on both sides, and *Sclerus* joined himself with *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*, for the better carrying on of the War. But *Phocas* watching his Advantage, spoiled him of the Imperial Ensigns, and then committed him to Custody, which done he prevailed with his Souldiers to fight under him, and now seeming to himself to have sufficiently provided for his Interest, sent one *Calocyrus Delphinus* a Patritian, with part of his Army to *Chrysopolis*, over against *Constantinople*, on the shore of *Asia*, and with the rest of the Forces he himself removed to *Abydus*, by this means to block up *Constantinople*. *Basilius* by this time had received some Succours from the *Rossians*, to the Prince of whom, *Blœdimere*, he had married his Sister *Anne*. With these *Rossians* by Night having wasted over, he fell unexpectedly upon *Delphinus*, easily overpowred and took him Prisoner, whom he caused instantly to be nailed to a Post, and having animadverted as he thought fit upon the rest, that he there took, then returned to *Constantinople*. In the mean while *Phocas*, with might and main endeavoured to get into *Abydus*, but the Inhabitants made stout resistence, being incouraged by *Cyriacus* the *Drungarius* of the Fleet, who was sent thither for that purpose. But presently *Constantine* the Emperour passed over, and was soon followed by his Brother *Basilius*, whom *Phocas* with part of his Forces speedily encountred, leaving the rest to continue the Siege of *Abydus*. Before the Armies joined doubtfull of the Event, and perceiving *Basilius* to ride up and down, to view the Troops, give directions and animate his Men, he resolved to single him out and kill him, by which Act seeming not at all difficult, their years and experience considered, he should put an end to the Quarrel, and secure the Empire to himself. Accordingly with all his Force he made towards him, but stopped in his Carreire, before he came near to the Emperour. Some reported his Horse threw him: the Emperour *Constantine* gave out that he fell by his Hand, but the general and most received opinion was that making toward an Hill near at hand, finding himself surprized he laid him down and died of Poison, which by procurement of *Basilius*, one *Simeon* a Servant whom he most trusted had given him, although it was also given out, that in his Passage from the Hand of some Enemy he received a mortal wound. At first it was onely imagined that he there rested himself, but when he was found to be dead, and the Rumour was thereof spread into the Army, his Men then fled in disorder, and the Emperour's giving the Chace obtained a Victory at a very easie rate. Amongst the Prisoners were *Leo*, and *Theognostus Melisseni*, *Theodosius Mesanyctus* and many others whom *Basilius* led in Triumph, being set upon Asses. Onely *Leo Melissenus* he exempted from this Ignominy, because when the Armies were preparing for Battel, he rebuked with Tears his Brother *Theognostus* for reviling the Emperours, and beat him when he would not cease his contumelious Language.

But when joyned *Phocas* trepans him and commits him to custody putting in for the whole.

But is poysoned by Procurement of *Basilius*.

64. *Basilius* finding himself now Emperour indeed, upon the removal of such a Competitour, with his Fortune quite changed his Humour, scarcely thinking or doing what he had been accustomed to before. Considering what solicitude and pains his place required, he quitted all his former pleasures, left off all his brave apparel, renounced his wonted Intemperance both as to Wine and Women, and applied his mind wholly to the Art and Practice of Government, wherein he left nothing to his Brother but the mere Name and Lustre, assigning him a Guard, but that very small, and not answering the Dignity, which he did not at all take in evil Part, contenting himself with his Freedom and Ease, and prizing his Hunting and Conversation with his Friends, above whatever Domination and troublesome Command could afford. But *Phocas* being dead in the Month of *April*, the second Indiction, and the fourteenth year of *Basilius* and *Constantine*, *Sclerus* was thereupon set at Liberty, by such as kept him in the Castle of *Tyropœum*, and continued in the same mind of assuming the Title as formerly. *Basilius* laboured to take him off, expostulating with him for imbroyling the Empire, and being the cause of so much Bloud-shed contrary to his Christian Profession; and herewith he was so much moved, or rather by consideration of his great Age, and the little means he had to compass his ends, that having received security for his Indemnity, and the Dignity of *Curopalates*, he made an Agreement, and

Who in effect is sole Emperour. *Constantine* Indulging himself in ease and pleasure.

Sclerus is set at Liberty.

But by Agreement with *Basilius* quits his pretensions.

and was content to lay down his Pretensions. When the Emperour saw him led to him by two that supported him, for by reason of his Age and Corpulency he could not walk, or as some gave out in his way to him he had lost his sight, he smiled to think in how great fear he had stood of such a Man, and perceiving that he still wore his Purple Shoes, which he had forgot to put off, having devested himself of all other marks of Majesty, he refused to admit him to Discourse. He then put off the Shoes before the Door and approaching the Emperour's Seat, *Basilius* rose up to him, and taking him by the Hand caused him to eat and drink with him. According to the Agreement he was made *Curator* of the Palace, and such of his Followers as had under him enjoyed any Places or Estates, were permitted to enjoy their Estates and to keep their Places, or elsewhere preferred to others of like value.

And is kindly received.

65. *Basilius*, being freed now from all Usurpations and trouble of Civil Wars, consulted how to be revenged on *Samuel* the *Regulus* of *Bulgaria*, and others who during those Rebellions had taken the Advantage to infest the Borders of the Empire. He made a Progress into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, and going to *Thessalonica*, there left a strong Party under Command of *Gregorius Taronitas*, to repress the Incursions of *Samuel*, and returning to *Constantinople* shortly after took another Journey into *Iberia*. *David* the *Curopalates* or petty Prince of that Countrey being lately dead, had made him his Heir, he therefore took possession of his Inheritance, and forcing *George* the Brother of *David* to be content with the *Inner Iberia*, received his Son for an Hostage, and then took his way for *Phœnicia*, where the several *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, *Damascus*, *Tyre* and *Beritas*, had, during the Usurpation and Wars of *Sclerus*, made a League amongst themselves and set upon *Antioch*, the Governour of which *Damianus* a Patritian they had slain in fight. But he now frighted them into a Compliance, forced them to submit themselves, and having received Hostages for their dutifull demeanour for the time to come, returned back to *Constantinople*. As he passed through *Cappadocia*, the *Magister*, *Eustachius Meleniius* entertained him with his whole Army, with which kindness he pretended he was much pleased, but inwardly dissatisfied that a Subject should be possessed of such an Estate, to the endangering of the Government, which was so often shaken, through the too great Wealth and Power of the Nobility; under shew of kindness he carried him with him to *Constantinople*, where he took care he should live very plentifully, but never would permit him to return home; and after his death seized on all his Estate. To prevent the Mischiefs thence arising by a Law, he ordained, that the Great men should not increase their Possessions or Lands, which (saith *Cedrenus*) had been formerly enacted by his Grandfather *Constantine*, and *Romanus* (the Elder) his Father-in-Law.

Basilius revenges himself for the Incursions of his Neighbours during these Civil Wars.

Ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κυροπαλάτης ἐτεθνήκει Δαβίδ. *Hoc ex loco Cedreni apparet Regulos istos, ut bene innuit Xylander, seu Regionum Romanis Vicinarum Dominos vocari Curopalatas. Et suprà quoque facta est alicubi Iberiæ Curopalatæ mentio.*

And by a Law decrees that Noblemen should not increase their Possessions or Lands.

66. The Constitution of *Romanus* the Elder, here mentioned, is yet extant and published by *Bonefidius*, in the first Book of those three, which he set forth concerning the Oriental Law, bearing the name of a Novel. "It "prohibits any of the conspicuous *Magistri*, or Patritians, "any in command or power, any Honoured with principal Dignities, whether employed in Functions, Civil or "Military, Magistrates, chosen or substituted, any Metropolitans or Archbishops, Prefects or those that had the "oversight of Religious Houses, or any other preferred to "any secular Honour, by purchase gift or any other "means, to get into their Hands, or come to the possession of any Territories or "Lands. If any such should presume so to doe, after the publishing of this present Constitution, it ordains that without Restitution of their Money, they be "put out of Possession, and loose all their Labour and Charges, they had been "at both in getting and bettering what they had so obtained. Besides this "they shall forfeit the value of the Lands to the Emperour if they be the more "eminent and Illustrious Persons; and if meaner condition, they shall be forced "from them without any the least satisfaction made, and farther punished as "they shall deserve. The reason of the making and Re-inforcing of this Law is, as we may very well observe from the course of this History, to be fetched from those frequent Usurpations, of the great ones, to which they were inabled by their great Revenues and Possessions, which both afforded them Treasure, and many Dependants out of their Tenants and Vassals. Hence do we reade of one Domestick of the Schools, able with his own Retainers to Wage War with several

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Καὶ ἡ νεαρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Γέροντος, ὅτι φησὶ μηδένα μηκέτι τῶν τελείων Μαγίστρων, ἢ πολιτικῶν, &c.

Ἀγρῷ ἢ δωρεᾷ ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς χωρίων, ἢ ἀγρῶν κτήσεις.

The reason of that Law.

Ameras

Ameras of the *Saracens*, and we Translate the word Territories, as well as Lands or Grounds. For such were intirely possessed by *Basilius* the Bed-Chamber-man, or President, as we have seen, that *Zmisces* complained to the loss of his Life. Hence it was that the imperial Purple was so dangerous to be worn, such murthering of Princes, such alterations in the Government. And we see *Basilius* the Emperour was not onely directed by a care of his own preservation, but much warranted by former Laws, in proceeding with *Basilius* the Eunuch so as he did. Κοιάστ.

67. But to return to our Story, *Samuel* the *Bulgarian* was now come against *Thessalonica*, the Conquest of which he knew would much conduce to the Mastering of the whole Countrey. He placed some of his Army in Ambush, and then sent others to face the Town to the very Gates, to draw out the Garison into the Snare. And the device so far took that *Gregory* the Governour sent out *Asotes* his Son with a party to make a discovery of the Enemy, who fell into the Ambush while without any fear he pursued those that fled from the Gates. Upon notice *Gregory* issued out to relieve him, but being also intrapped and overpowered, he himself was slain, and his Son taken Prisoner, which being known at *Constantinople*, *Nicephorus Uranus*; who had corrupted his Keepers and escaped out of Prison at *Babylon*, the Commander of all the West, was speedily dispatched thither. Coming to *Thessalonica* he found that *Samuel*, grown insolent upon the Death of *Gregory*, had passed *Tempe*, crossed the River *Peneus*, and made an Inrode into *Thessaly*, *Bœotia*, *Attica*, and through the *Isthmus* of *Corinth* into the very Heart of *Peloponnesus*. He marched therefore with his Army by the foot of *Olympus* to *Larissa*, whereleaving his Baggage, by great Journeys he proceeded into *Thessaly*, and passing the *Pharsalian* Plains, and the River *Apidanus*, incamped himself on the Bank of *Spercheius* opposite to *Samuel*, who lay on the other side of the River at this time so swollen with Rain Water that no passage could presently be had to come to an Ingagement. Yet *Uranus* by much searching at length found a Ford, and by Night passing the River, fell upon the *Bulgarians* as they securely slept, and made vast Slaughter of them; and *Samuel* with his Son *Romanus* were sorely wounded, and had been taken but that they lurked amongst the dead Bodies, and the following Night stole away into the Mountains of *Ætolia*, by the Tops of which they escaped to the Hil *Pindus*, and so into *Bulgaria*, here he was constrained to Marry his Daughter to *Asotes* his Prisoner the Son of *Gregory Taronitas*, for being desperately in love with him, she had declared that if she might not have him, she would kill her self.

Samuel the *Bulgarian* takes *Thessalonica*. Killing its Governour.

And wasting the Countrey adjacent.

But is found out by *Uranus* the Emperour's General and defeated.

68. The Wedding being over, he sent his New Son-in-Law with his Wife to *Dyrrachium*, making him Governour of that Countrey. They had not been long there, but he having easily perswaded his Wife to Accompany him and taking the opportunity of the Emperour's Gallies which were then crusing on the Coasts, went to *Constantinople* where he was honoured with the Dignity of *Magister*, and she with the Title of *Zosta* or *of the Robes*. He brought Letters also to the Emperour from *Chryselius*, one of the principal Officers in *Dyrrachium*, who thereby covenanted to deliver that City into his Hands on condition that the Dignity of Patritian might be conferred on himself and his two Sons; but this seems to have been prevented by the Death of *Chryselius*, which the maimed Text of *Cedrenus* hints to us, though it be not clearly expressed; however the Emperour became Master of the place not long after, although by some other means. But about the same time *Paulus Bobus* Magister the chief Man in *Thessalonica*, and *Malaceinus* a Person eminent for wisedom and eloquence being accused of favouring the *Bulgarians*, were sent away and confined, the one to *Constantinople*, and the other to *Palias* in *Thrace*, which report flying to *Adrianople*, some of the most eminent there that had also been suspected out of fear betook themselves to *Samuel*. The Emperour that he might obtain the Friendship of the *Venetians* to their Prince or Duke gave in Marriage the Daughter of *Argyrus*, and Sister to him who afterward Reigned. He now invaded *Bulgaria* by the way of *Philippopolis*, which City he committed to the care of *Theodorocranus* a Patritian, and having taken many Castles or Forts in *Triaditza*, returned to *Mosynopolis*. Afterward he sent a great Army against such of the *Bulgarian* Garrisons as lay beyond the Mountain *Hæmus*, commanded by *Theodorocranus*, and *Nicephorus Xiphias* a *Protospatharian*, who took both the greater and the lesser *Persthlaba*, with *Pliscoba*, and victoriously returned Home. Zωστὴ ἀ Νεστε.

Basilius invades *Bulgaria* by way of *Philippopolis*.

69. The following year *Basilius* in person made another Inrode into *Bulgaria* by the way of *Thessalonica*, and received *Berrhœa* from the hands of *Dobromerus* the Governour, who for his good service was rewarded with the Honour of *Proconsul*.

Another Invasion by way of *Thessalonica*.

sul. But one *Nicolas* for the smallness of his Stature nicknamed *Nicolitzas*, stoutly defended *Servia* against him which yet he took by force, and having therein placed a strong Garrison took *Nicolitzas* along with him to *Constantinople*, and conferred on him the Dignity of a Patritian; but there he did not long continue, making an escape back to *Samuel* with whom he came, and again beseiged that place. The Emperour upon Notice hasted thither and easily raising the Seige beat away *Samuel* and *Nicolitzas*, who was taken shortly after, and then commited to close Prison at *Constantinople*. *Basilius* after this went into *Thessaly* where he caused to be repaired those Castles which *Samuel* had dismantled, such as still were held by the *Bulgarians* he recovered, and removing them to a place called *Bolerus* re-inforced them with strong Garrisons, and thence removed to *Bodena* a fort situate on a Craggy Rock through which Water passeth unseen from the adjoyning Fenns and then presently appears again. This he took by force, and removing the Defendants (such mercy he used) to *Bolarum*, furnished it with all conveniences, and then went to *Thessalonica*. The Governour, *Drexanus* by name, a very good Souldier, defired leave of him to live at *Thessalonica*, and there he Married a Wife the Daughter of the chief *Pribatarius* of the Church of St. *Demetrius*. After she had born him two Children he endeavoured to run away, but was taken, and at the intercession of his Father in Law, pardoned. The second time he committed the same fault, and found the same indulgence. But after the birth of two Children more relapsing into the same Crime the Emperour would extend no farther mercy to him, but being again surprized he was there fastned alive to a Pole.

Τὴν δυγατέρα τοῦ πρωτοπριβαταρίου. *Quid sibi velit iste Pribatarius nondum constat, simile aliquid nonnulli putant nostri temporis Prebendarius.*

The *Arabians* infesting *Cœlosyria* and *Africk* are suppressed.

70. In the mean time the *Numaritæ* and the *Ataphitæ Arabians* grievously infested both *Cœlosyria* and *Africk* with their Depredations. To restrain them the Emperour made *Nicephorus Uranus* Governour of *Antioch*. One *David Arianita* a Patritian being ordered to succeed him in his commad at *Thessalonica* as *Nicephorus Xiphias* succeeded *Theodorocranus* in the Government of *Philippopolis*, who resigned it for Age: *Uranus* shortly after his arrival at *Antioch* in three Battels defeated *Cistrinatos* the Captain of the *Arabians*, and forcing him to live quietly, procured Peace and Rest to those parts. The year that followed being the fifteenth Indiction, the twenty seventh of the two Brothers, *Basilius* laid Seige to *Bidyna*, which City he took by storm after a Seige of eight Months, and then returning toward *Constantinople*, took or Demolished many forts of the *Bulgarians* in his way. Being come as far as the City *Scopiæ*, he perceived that *Samuel* lay with his Army in great carelesness and disorder beyond the River *Axius*, called afterward *Bardarius*, to the depth whereof lately increased by Rains he trusted. But the Emperour having discovered a Ford passed over, and falling upon him so unexpectedly, struck such Terrour into his Men that they all ran as fast as their Legs could carry them, not one shewing his Face to the Enemy. His Camp and Pavilion was taken, and the City *Scopiæ* was delivered up to him by *Romanus Simeon* the Governour the Son of *Peter* and Brother of *Borises*, who for a reward was made a Patritian and Governour of *Abidus*. Thence *Basilius* proceeded to a place called *Pernicus* which one *Cracras* so stoutly descended, that finding it two strong for him to Master at present, by *Philippopolis* he returned to *Constantinople*. " Here he made " a Law for the payment of *Allalengyum* as it was called, which was this. When " any by reason of their Poverty could not pay the usual Tribute, the Sum was " made up by their Neighbours that had wealth enough to doe it. This seems " the same with the *Epibole* of which we formerly spoke in the life of *Justinian*; so that *Basilius* rather renewed than made a Law for the Payment of this duty. As formerly * at other times this payment was opposed especially by the Ecclesiasticks, so now also the Patriarch *Sergius*, and many other Prelates and Religious Men laboured to diswade this Emperour from it. But in vain.

Bydina taken by storm.

Samuel's Army routed by *Basilius*.

Who returns to *Constantinople*.

Αλλαλέγγυον.

* *Vide Alemannum in procopii Arcanam Historiam in voce.* Ἐπιβολή.

71. For by this time grown insolent upon so many Victories, he was become very lofty in his Conversation, and desired rather to be feared than to be beloved by his Subjects. Neither was he more indulgent to the Souldiers, than others in Civil employment, contrary to the Custome of his Predecessours, who esteemed it their greatest Interest to gain the affections of Military men. Of Learned men he made no Account, neither did he at all value Learning it self, but accounted it a thing formal, vain and useless, as ignorant and effeminate Princes are wont to doe: for which reason he made no distinction of Men, but preferred to be Secretaries and other Employments, Persons of no Education nor Ability, and he was served accordingly, their Actions being as much derided and scorned as their Persons. His Treasury he kept full, but the Doors thereof fast locked. Of Gold Coin

Basilius his management of affairs.

Zonaras.

Coin alone he was reported to have two Hundred thousand Talents in his Coffers; besides of those of other Metals, Summs not to be counted, and vast quantities of Pearls and Gemms, none of which he ever used or wore but when he gave Audience to Ambassadours, or on high Festivals. In the management of his Wars he was of various humour, as the several Diversities of Accidents wrought upon him, in time of Peace and Rest more earnest, and vehement than ordinary. He endeavoured to conceal his Passion; but easie Provocation would discover it to the Cost and Pain of Delinquents, against whom he was severe, resolute, and inexorable after Sentence passed. This was his natural Temper and Disposition throughout the Course of his Reign, which was both long and full of Action, as we shall farther see.

And Character.

72. In the thirty fifth year thereof and the eighth Indiction, *Azizius* the Prince of *Egypt* for very slight Causes, and not worthy the mentioning as our *Greek* Writers relate, breaking the League betwixt the *Romans* and himself, destroyed the sumptuous and beautifull Church of our Saviour's Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, together with the Monasteries, the Monks whereof he caused to be driven away. Another Historian will have this done by the Prince of *Babylon*, induced thereto by the cunning and malitious Insinuations of the *Jews*, who from *Orleance* in *France*, sent Letters to him written in *Hebrew* Characters, whereby they perswaded him that by reason of the vast Confluence of Christians to *Jerusalem*, he was in danger of loosing his Principality. Another calls this Prince *Homer*, Prince of the *Saracens*, and these *Latine* Historians fix this Action at the seventh Indiction, the preceding year, moreover adding what greater Massacres were made of the *Jews*, in all Places upon discovery of the Treachery, with other matters thereon depending more proper for to be related with Ecclesiastical matters. A very hard Winter followed, wherein all Waters were frozen up, the Sea aswell as Rivers and Fenns, and in *January* happened a most dreadfull Earthquake (the stopping of the pores of the Earth, producing the same Effects of disturbance in it, as the Retention of fuliginous Vapours doth in the Body of Man) which continued by Fits till the Ninth of *March*, on which Day it caused to tumble down the Cupoloes of the Church of the Forty Saints, and of the Church of All Saints at *Constantinople*, besides much mischief done both there and in the Provinces. This was thought to presage those motions which presently followed in *Italy*, where by the perswasions of one *Meles* a powerfull man in those Parts, the *Lombards* took Arms against the *Romans*. The Emperour sent to reduce and quiet them, *Basilius Argyrus*, and *Contoleo*, the one Governour of *Samus*, and the other of *Ciphallenia*; but *Meles* gave them a very notable defeat, killed many of their Men, and the rest forced to an ignominious flight. Thus the *Lombards* revolted from the *Romans*, as our Authours word it, by which you must understand, as they ever do those that had relation to New *Rome*, or rather those that were Emperours and Subjects of that *Roman* Empire which still remained unaltered, and unconquered in those Parts, although *Rome* it self the first Seat thereof, with most of the Provinces about it had run a quite contrary Fortune through several Hands; which quite altering the Property, our *Greek* Writers contend, that the Western Empire fell with *Augustulus*, and what after happened could not make a sufficient Title, neither for an Empire nor Emperour.

The Church of our Saviour's Sepulchre at *Jerusalem* destroyed.

Glaber.

Guil. Tyrius.

A hard Winter and dreadfull Earthquake.

The *Lombards* revolt from the *Romans*.

Δυνάστης τῶν τῆδε ἐπιφανὴς ὁ Βασίλειος τέταρτος Μέλης, ἀφεστηκὼς ἐν Λογγοβάρδοις λαὸν, ὅπλα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων αἴρει. *Cedrenus.*

73. Notwithstanding these things *Basilius*, every year made an Inrode into *Bulgaria*, wasting all the Countrey as he passed. *Samuel* had received so many Defeats, that he durst not venture any more to fight; but indeavoured by Bulwarks and Trenches to intercept his way in the straits of *Cimba Longus* and *Cleidius*, where he also placed a strong Guard. And this Guard having the Advantage of the Ditch, and the height of the ground, so effectually made resistence, that the Emperour despaired of breaking through, till *Nicephorus Xiphias* the Governour of *Philippopolis*, found out the means which in such like cases had ever succeeded. He advised him to remit none of his Intention and Earnestness in his indeavour to force the Passage, while in the mean time he would with a convenient Party get over the Hill, that lay to the South called *Balathista*, and come upon the Back of the Enemy, whom he could thereby quickly constrain to quit his Post. This, with much difficulty having passed over so high and steep an Hill, he effected on the ninth Day of *July* in the twelfth Indiction, so that putting the *Bulgarians* to flight, *Basilius* had easie entrance, and gave the Chace. Many were killed and many taken. *Samuel* himself hardly escaped by the great Valour and Conduct of his Son, who made as fair a Retreat as the Condition they were in would permit, and after many facings about

Another expedition into *Bulgaria*.

Obtaining a Victory.

Basilius puts out the Eyes of 1500. sending them to *Samuel*, who thereupon dies.

and renewed skirmishes, horsed his Father and carried him off into the Castle of *Prilapus*. Of all the Prisoners to the Number, it's said, of fifteen thousand the Emperour caused the Eyes to be put out, and to every Hundred assigned a man that had one Eye left, under conduct of which Leaders he sent them away to *Samuel*, who beholding such a Spectacle coming to him in such Rank and Order was not able to bear up against so great a Calamity, but instantly fell down in a swoon. Those that were by with Spirits, and other things at hand, did what they could to recover him, and he came to himself again, and asked for some cold Water. Which having drunk, he fell into a *Cardiogmus*, or Pain and Faintness at his Stomach, and died of it two Days after.

Gabriel succeeds him.

74. *Gabriel* who was also sirnamed *Romanus* his Son, by a Captive Woman of *Larissa*, succeeded him, one superiour to him in strength of Body, but in that of mind far inferiour. When he had not reigned all-out a year, he was as he went out to hunt, killed by *John Bladisthlabus* the Son of *Aaron*, whose Life he had once preserved. But before this happened, one *Nestoritzas* was sent by *Samuel*, with a considerable Force into *Thessalonica*, in the Government of which City, one *Theophylact Botaniata* had succeeded *David Arianita*. This *Theophylact* with his Son *Michael*, sallied out against him, put him to flight, and having got much Plunder in his Camp, then went to the Emperour as he lay in the Straits. Having passed the Straits and followed the Chace after *Samuel*, as far as he thought convenient, *Basilius* took in a Castle called *Matzucius*, and then passed on toward *Strumpitza*, from which place desirous to have a way cleared to *Thessalonica*, he put *Theophylact* upon that task, to clear the Hills of Fortresses, and open the ways through the Woods, and he undertook the work with all Alacrity, and prosecuted it with diligence, but was intrapped and compassed by the Enemy, in a place where there was neither means of escaping, nor good opportunity to fight, and cut off with most of his Men. The Emperour much troubled at the News durst not proceed but retreated, and in his way had a very strong Castle called *Melenicus*, through the powerfull Oratory of *Sergius* an Eunuch, whom he employed to the Garrison Souldiers, delivered up into his Hands. Having kindly entertained those that gave it up, and therein put a strong Party of his own Men, he removed to *Mosynopolis*, where on the four and twentieth Day of *October*, he heard of *Samuel's* death. Thence marching to *Thessalonica*, he moved into *Pelagonia* without doing any harm to the Countrey, save that he burnt *Buteliana* the Palace of *Gabriel*, and took in the Castles of *Prilapus* and *Stypeius*. Then passed he the River *Tzerna*, with Boats and Bladders as he could and came to *Budena*, whence on the Ninth day of *January*, he arrived at *Thessalonica*.

But is kill'd by *John*.

Basilius pursues his Victory.

At length comes to *Thessalonica*.

Another invasion into *Bulgaria*.

75. At the beginning of Spring he again invaded *Bulgaria*, where having recovered the Castle of *Budena* which had revolted, he caused two Castles to be built in the middle of the Straits, one by the Name of *Cardia*, and another by that of St. *Elias*, and returned to *Thessalonica*. As he here lay, one *Romanus Cheirotmetus* brought him Letters from *Gabriel*, wherein he promised to turn his Subject and Vassal; but he giving no credit to them, sent *Xiphias* and *Constantine Diogenes* at present the Governour of *Thessalonica*, with an Army into the Countrey of the *Moglenians*, which having wasted and laid Siege to the City, he himself came up with the rest of the Forces, and by a Ditch caused the River to be drained from the Walls, the Foundations whereof when he had undermined the Inhabitants with Lamentations and Prayers, gave up what they could not keep. Therein were taken *Domitianus Caucanus*, the principal Councillour of *Gabriel*, with *Elitzes* the chief Man of the Countrey, besides many other Noblemen, and a multitude of the inferiour sort of Souldiers, of which such as were fit for service he transported to *Aspracania*, and caused to be burnt a Neighbouring Castle called *Natia*. On the fifth day after came *Cheirotmetus*, bringing with him some of the Servants of *John Bladisthlabus*, the Son of *Aaron*, with Letters to the Emperour, wherein he signified that he had taken away the Life of *Gabriel*, and that the Kingdom of *Bulgaria*, now was reverted to him who should own himself his Subject and Vassal. *Basilius* returned him an Answer in Golden Characters, after which within a little time *Cheirotmetus* returned and brought with him not onely Letters from *John*, but from the *Bulgarians* who owned themselves the Emperour's Subjects. And to him came *Caucanus*, the Brother of *Domitian Caucanus* lately mentioned, and was honourably entertained.

Taking several of the Noblemen of the Countrey.

Upon which they pretend to submit to the Emperour.

76. But

Another Expedition into *Bulgaria.*

76. But for all this the Emperour being assured, that *John* dealt deceitfully with him, and was practising matters quite contrary to his Ingagements returned into *Bulgaria*, and wasting the Countrey of *Ostrobus*, *Gosens* and *Pelagonia*, put out the Eyes of as many of the Inhabitants as he took. He proceeded to *Achris*, the Seat of the *Bulgarian* Princes, which having taken and setled all things there, he resolved to go to *Dyrrachium*, where matters very much required his Presence. So long as *Trymalia*, and the nearer Parts of *Servia* continued under the Government of *Bladimere* the Son-in-Law of *Samuel*, all things were there in repose, for he was a man very just, and a great lover of Peace and Vertue, but he being (through the Treachery of *David* the Archbishop) perfidiously murthered by his Command, after *Gabriel*'s Death all were in great confusion and disorder, *John* sometimes by his Officers, and otherwhiles in his own Person falling upon the City. The Emperour purposed to visit them again, but for this time was prevented of his Journey upon this unpleasing occasion. He had left behind him a strong Party to harass all the Parts of *Pelagonia*, all which the *Bulgarians* having drawn into an Ambush, cut them off with their Commanders, being headed by *Ibatzes* a man of great Nobility, and as great Valour amongst them. *Basilius* much concerned for this ignominious loss, returns into *Pelagonia* in pursuit of this *Ibatzes*, and from *Thessalonica* proceeds to *Mosynopolis*. He sends *David Arianita*, with a sufficient Power to attacque *Strumpitza*, who in room of it takes another Castle called *Thermitza*. Another Party he dispatches away under command of *Xiphias*, to take in the several Forts of *Triaditza*, and all those in the plain he took together with a Fort which they called *Boion*.

The Region of *Chatzaria* subdued.

Upper *Media* put into the Emperour's Hands.

77. In *January* the Emperour returned to *Constantinople*, and thence sent a Fleet into *Chatzaria* commanded by *Mongus* the Son of *Andronicus Ducas* the *Lydian*, who by the assistence of *Sphengus* the Brother of *Bladimer*, who married *Basilius* his Sister, subdued that Region, having taken *Tzulus* the Prince thereof in the first Conflict. At the same time *Senacherrimus* the Prince of the upper *Media* (afterward called *Aspracavia*) not able to resist the *Saracens* who pressed sorely upon him, gave up himself, his Family and Countrey into the Emperour's Hands. Hereupon for a reward he was made a Patritian, and in lieu of his quitted Dominion received the Cities of *Sebastea*, *Larissa* and *Abara*, with other large Revenues. Of *Aspracavia* was made Governour, *Basilius Argyrus* the Patritian, who for his ill administration or bad success was not long after put out of Command, and *Nicephorus Comnenus* was sent his Successour, who partly by force and partly by perswasion brought the Countrey to submit. But all other Designs, Expeditions and Accessions seemed to the Emperour of no value, so long as *Bulgaria* remained unconquered, which having invaded so often in his own Person, he was much concerned in honour to have the work perfected, and for that purpose could give himself but little rest. This same year being the fourteenth Indiction, he marched again into *Triaditza*, where he laid siege to the Castle of *Pernicus*, which he lay before and violently attacqued for eighty days together, but those within as earnestly and pertinaciously making resistence after much loss of his men, he was forced to rise, and departed to *Mosynopolis*. Here having wintred and refreshed his Army, in Spring again he breaks into *Bulgaria*, where he takes a Castle and gets great booty out of *Pelagonia*, but having in vain attacqued the City of *Castoria*, he retreats. That which moved him so to doe, was the Intelligence he had receiv'd, that *Cracas* was joyned with *John* having a vast Army, and that being assisted by the *Patzinacæ*, they were resolved to make an Inrode into the Territories of the Empire. Disturbed at this report he retired, but in his way took and burnt the Castle of *Bosograda*, relieved *Beræa*, and having demolished several other Forts, then made an Halt, having now received more welcome News, how that the designed Expedition of *John* and *Cracas* was come to nothing, the *Patzinacæ* refusing to join with them.

Bulgaria once more invaded by the Emperour.

78. However proceeding in his Return, after this little Pause he took by storm the Castle *Setæna*, where had been laid up much Corn, which being removed he commanded Fire to be set to the Place. Now hearing that *John* was not far off, he sent against him the *Cohorts of the Schools* (so they termed them) of the East, and of the *Thessalonicians* under Command of *Constantine Diogenes*, who was either not so wary, or had not so good intelligence as the Emperour. For, *John* had placed an Ambush for them, which *Basilius* understanding and solicitous for his men rode on fast before, bidding all such as were Souldiers to follow him, which being perceived by those that *John* had sent out, they fled in great fear to their Camp, making much Noise with these words *Bezeite Tsæsar*, by which we

suppose was meant *Runne*, here's *Cæsar*, (*as most Nations Termed him*) *or the Emperour*. *John* and all his Army thus putting themselves to the Rout, *Diogenes* and his Men pursued them, did great Execution, and took the Horses and Baggage of *John* with one of his Kinsmen, which done the Emperour returned to *Bodena* and so home to *Constantinople* on the ninth of *January*, the fifteenth Indiction, and the two and fortieth year of his Reign. *John* being by his retreat eased much of his fears, in confidence of his good fortune goes against *Dyrrachium*, where ingaging in fight he is slain, uncertain by whom, after he had born the Title of Prince or King of the *Bulgarians* two years and five Months. The Emperour was no sooner certified of his death by the Governour of that City but rather flew than went to *Bulgaria* in hope that the long looked for Prey would now fall into his Hands. And so far good fortune complied with his Wishes, that when he was come on his way no farther than *Constantinople* the Brother and Son of the famous *Cracras*, so often mentioned, there met him to give up *Pernicus* and five and thirty Castles more, whom he courteously received, and having admitted *Cracras* to the Dignity of a Patritian, then held on his way to *Mosynopolis*. Thither came Ambassadours both from *Pelagoma*, *Morobisdus* and *Lipenius* to give up other Cities; and when he had reached *Serræ* there *Cracras* himself met him with the Deputies of those that yielded up the five and thirty Castles, and were kindly entertained. And hither came also *Dragomuzus* to surrender *Strumpitza*, and was also made a Patritian, because he brought along with him *John* the Governour of *Chaldia*, who being taken Prisoner by *Samuel* had continued in Prison two and twenty years.

John, Prince of the *Bulgarians* routed.

Is afterward slain,

And the Countrey delivered up to *Basilius* the Emperour.

79. When the Emperour drew near to *Strumpitza*, *David* the Archbishop of *Bulgaria* met him with Letters from *Mary* the Widow of *John* which hinted that on certain conditions she was willing to quit all pretences to *Bulgaria*. Here also met him *Bogdanus* the Lord of the Castles that stood farther within the Countrey, who also received the Dignity of a Patritian having formerly held with the Emperour, and killed for this purpose his own Father-in-Law. He proceeded now as far as *Scopia*, in which leaving a strong Garrison, he returned by the Castles of *Stipeius* and *Prosacus* being every where welcom'd with the Prayers and well-wishes of his new Subjects. Then he went to *Achris* where he was received with the lucky Acclamations of the People. This *Achris* was situate upon an high Hill near to a vast Lake out of which the River *Drinus* issuing toward the North, after no long space turneth Westward and entreth *Ionium* (by which the Historian seems to mean the Countrey lying upon the Adriatick Sea) near the Castle *Ilissus*. The Emperour now seized on the Treasure of the *Bulgarian* Princes which was very great, as besides other things several Rich Crowns adorned with Pearl, and an hundred Centenaries of Gold which he bestowed as a Donative upon his Souldiers. Returning to his Camp he there received the Widow of *John Bladisthlabus* with three Sons and six Daughters: and she brought along with her a Bastard Son of *Samuel*, and two Daughters of *Radomere* besides six Sons one of which had his Eyes put out by *John* at such time as he slew *Radomere* with his Wife and his Son-in-Law. She had other three Sons by *John*; but they were fled into the Hill *Tinorus*, one of the Tops of the *Ceraunick* Mountains, where much pressed with difficulties by reason that the Emperour had given order to beset the Mountain they sent to him to yield, and within a while came to him as he lay at *Diabolis* in his Journey from the Lake *Prespa*, where on a Tribunal erected for this purpose he kindly received them, and comforting them with most gentle words honoured *Prosranus*, who seems to have been the Eldest, with the Dignity of *Magister*, and the rest with that of Patritians. And hither was brought, whom it most concerned him to see, *Ibatzes* deprived of his sight; how and by whom, it's not an unpleasant Story to relate.

Who receives his new Subjects with great kindness.

80. *Bladisthlabus* being dead, and his Wife and Children with all the Nobility having yielded themselves and Countrey into the Emperour's hands, he alone refused to comply with the time and present posture of Affairs, and seized upon a Mountain most difficult of access. (Some called it *Brochotus*, others *Pronista*) where was a neat Castle of the *Bulgarian* Princes, with Gardens and other things of solace and divertisement. This in no little measure perplexed the Emperour, who had sufficient cause, by reason of the Man's Qualifications, to suspect the consequence of this unexpected Usurpation. " He omitted his Journey as he had " intended, and turning Southward, spent some time in soliciting him by Letters " to consider what he did, and not to expose himself to certain destruction by enter- " prizing so impossible a thing on his own Head without any advice or assistence, " to which he answered ambiguously, drawing out the time in length and in ex-

Ibatzas onely standing out.

pectation,

" pectation, he held *Basilius* against his will five and fifty days at *Diabolis.* The care and anxiety the Emperour was in being taken notice of by *Eustathius Daphomelus* a Patritian, whom he had lately preferred to the Government of *Achris*, he resolved upon a strange course, to rid him of this trouble, which he communicated to none but two of his Servants whom he could trust, and he knew would stand by him in any undertaking. The Feast of the Assumption of our Lady was solemnly observed by *Ibatzes*, and to it were invited as well strangers as Neighbours, and to it though not invited *Daphnomelus* would go, and being discovered by the Sentinels, he openly declared who he was, and sent to let *Ibatzes* know that he was come to be merry with him. He wondred to hear that one should come of his own accord, and put himself into an Enemies Hands, but he bad them bring him in and very kindly entertained him. Morning Prayer being over, and all others gone to their Appartments, he went to him and desired that they two might discourse in some convenient and secret place, for he had a matter of great importance, and which was for his own good to Communicate to him.

But is reduced by the valour and cunning of *Eustathius Daphnomelus.*

81. *Ibatzes* suspecting nothing but that he would join with him in his Rebellion, led him into an Orchard very thick beset with Trees, so that they could scarcely either be seen or heard, whither being come *Eustathius* being strong and nimble, and watching an advantage struck up his Heels, set his Knee upon his Breast, stopped his Mouth, and called his two Men who watched their motions constantly for this purpose. They thrusting their Cloths into his Mouth, forced both his Eyes out of his Head, which done they let him goe, and all three with their drawn Swords, got up into one of the highest Chambers in the House, expecting what instantly followed. For assoon as the fact was divulged, a great multitude came running together, some with Swords, some with Spears, others with Bows, not a few with Stones, some with Wood, others with Fire, and others with other Combustible matter, Crying out *cut their Throats, Burn them, Tear them Limb from Limb, Stone them, let no Body spare the Villains. Eustathius* seeing and hearing this could have small hope to escape their fury, yet advised his Men not to let fall their Courage, nor by any means to resign themselves into their hands who would most certainly tear them in pieces in this Rage. " Putting his Head out of a Win-
" dow by the motion of his hand he procured silence, and then told them that
" for his part there had not been the least enmity or grudge betwixt *Ibatzes* and
" him, the one being a *Bulgarian* and the other a *Roman*, as they should judge,
" being born not in *Thrace* or *Macedonia*, neighbouring Countries, but in *Asia* the
" less at a very great distance from *Bulgaria.* Therefore all that were wise a-
" mongst them, must needs conclude that it must needs be some extraordinary
" thing that had put him upon such an enterprize, and that nothing but Neces-
" sity it self could have engaged him in so dangerous an Attempt. He told them
" that what was done, was done by the Command of the Emperour, who had
" onely made use therein of his hands; and therefore if they were resolved to kill
" him, kill him they might, he was in their power, yet resolved with his Ser-
" vants to sell his life at as dear a rate as he could, and fight it out to the last
" Breath. If they killed them, as it was no Mastery being so many to so few,
" they should not be unhappy in their death leaving behind them so powerfull
" an Avenger, against whom as it seemed they were resolved to struggle as long as
" possibly they could. This Speech especially the dread they had of the Emperour therein mentioned produced such an Alteration in their minds, that they all shrunk away by degrees, and the wiser sort wished him Prosperity, and promised obedience. *Eustathius*, then without any opposition carried away *Ibatzes* to the Emperour. He rewarded this notable service with the Government of *Dyrrachium* and all the movable goods of *Ibatzes*, who was committed unto Custody.

82. At the same time *Nicolitzas* who had been so often taken and so often dismissed, having lurked in the Mountains, and been forsaken of well-nigh all his Men (who were frighted by a Company, sent on purpose to hunt him out) of his own accord came to the Camp, and declared it was with Resolution to yield himself to the Emperour, who would not see him but gave order that he should be kept Prisoner at *Thessalonica. Basilius* having all things according to his Wish in those Parts, and given leave to as many *Romans* as he had found in Captivity either here to remain or to follow him, removed to *Castoria.* Here were brought to his presence two Daughters of *Samuel*; which beholding *Mary*, the Widow of *John*, to stand by him, presently flew in her Face, and had made an end of her, if the Emperour himself had not interposed, and by good words mitigated their wrath, promising

Basilius having visited most places of *Bulgaria*,

mising them also to provide well for them. On *Mary* he conferred the Honour of *Zoste*, and sent her with her Sons to *Constantinople*. Then by the Industry of *Xiphias*, did he domolish all the Castles in *Serviæ* and *Soscus*, and came to the Castle of *Stages*, where *Elamagus* Prince of the *Belegradi* presented himself to him in a servile Habit with his assistents. Thence proceeding towards *Athens*, in his passage thorough *Zetunium*, he beheld with Admiration the Bones of those *Bulgarians*, that were slain in the Defeat given to *Samuel* by *Nicephorus*, and much more the Wall called *Scelos* built on *Thermopylæ*, at a Place called *Rupena* to restrain the *Bulgarians*. Arriving at *Athens*, he gave Thanks to our Lady for his good Success, and offered very largely in the Church. And thence returned to *Constantinople*, which he entred in Triumph through the great Doors of the Golden Gate, with a Golden crested Crown called *Tuphus* (from the pride, saith *Zonaras*, of those that wore this kind) *Mary* with the Daughters of *Samuel*, and the rest of the *Bulgarians* going before him. With the Shouts and Acclamations of the People he went to the Great Church, and there having given thanks to Almighty God, went and reposed himself in the Palace. This Conquest of *Bulgaria* happened in the second Indiction, the forty fourth year of *Basilius* and *Constantine*. *A. D.* 1019.

Returns in Triumph to *Constantinople*.

83. After his Return *Sergius* the Patriarch was very earnest with him, to make good what he had promised in case of this Conquest, that he would remit the *Alleleng yum*, but could not prevail. His mind was wholly bent upon Covetousness and Dominion, to gratifie which immediately after his Success in *Bulgaria*, the Neighbouring Nation of the *Chorbati*, by the Hands of their two Princes, Brothers, gave up themselves. There onely remained *Sermo* the Lord of *Sermium*, who refused to row by this great stream, and therefore speedily made shipwreck of his life and all. *Constantine Diogenes* Governour of the Neighbouring Province, sent to him to desire Conference, and if he feared any deceit or Ambush, he desired that each should come onely with three Servants in his Company to the Rivers side that ran by them. *Sermo* agreed and met him, but when he expected a Discourse, *Diogenes* prevented it by thrusting a Dagger into his side, which he had hid in his Coat, and instantly slew him, which his Servants seeing fled as fast as they could, lest they should be serv'd in the same manner. Then gathering together such Forces as he commanded, he went to *Sermium*, which partly by threats and partly by promises he brought the Widow to surrender, which done she was sent away and married to one of the Principal Citizens of *Constantinople*; and *Diogenes* was made Governour of the newly (however) gained Territory for his pains. In the mean time, to make himself acceptable by something how little soever, *Basilius* supplies the City abundantly with water, by cleansing and repairing the Aqueduct of *Valentinian*. But his thoughts were quickly diverted from Employments of this Nature by a message brought, that *George* the Prince of the *Abasgians* had broken the League betwixt them, and invaded in hostile manner the adjacent Territories of the Empire. He presently marched against him with a complete Army, leaving behind him *Xiphias* and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Bardas Phocas* both Patritians.

The *Chorbati* give up themselves.

Sermium taken.

The *Abasgians* breaking the League, *Basilius* marches against them.

84. Now whether they took it ill that they were left behind, or for other more tempting reasons, they got together a power of men, and broke out into Rebellion. This much disordered the Army, and the Emperour more out of fear that they should be beset with the Rebels on one side, and on the other by the *Abasgians*, with whom it was reported, that they held secret Intelligence. *Basilius* in this strait wrote Letters both to *Xiphias* and *Phocas*, but gave order to the messenger so to deliver them, that the one should not know of any the other received. However upon the receit of them, *Phocas* was so free as to reade his to *Xiphias*, who denying that he received any, on a certain day sent for the other to speak with him, and when he came, having before hand laid his snares, took away his Life. Which the Emperour having understood, sent against *Xiphias Theophylact*, the Son of *Damianus Delassenus* who took him Prisoner, and sent him to *Constantinople*, to *John* the Prothonotary who shaved him, and made him a Monk in the Island of *Antigonus*. In this manner, *Basilius* freed from all danger of this Rebellion gave battel to the *Abasgians*, but with no Success at first; but in a second Conflict which happened on the eleventh of *September*, and the sixth Indiction, *Lipariles* their General fell, and with him the greatest part of their Army. *George* fled into the more distant Mountains of *Iberia*, whence shortly after he sent and made his Peace, submitting to what Terms the Emperour pleased to impose, and gave up for an Hostage his Son *Pancratius*, whom *Basilius* honoured with the Dignity of *Magister*, and so departed home.

A Rebellion at home but suppressed and punished.

The *Abasgians* forced to submit.

85. There

He animadverts upon the Accomplices of the Arch-rebels.

85. There did he animadvert upon the Accomplices of *Phocas* and *Xiphias*, by confiscating their Estates, and condemning them to Prison; none he put to death but *Phersa* a Patritian, who had first of all sided with the Rebels, had killed four Officers of the Neighbouring Princes, and beheaded one of the Emperour's Eunuchs with his own Hands. There was also one of the Emperour's Chamber cast to the Lions, for attempting to poison him for the sake of *Xiphias*. A little before this, *Anne* the Sister of *Basilius*, and a Widow of *Bladimer* the *Rossian* Prince died, after whose decease *Chrysochir* a Kinsman of her Husbands, put Eight hundred men on board, and with them came to *Constantinople*, pretending he would serve the Emperour. But he requiring that he should lay down his Arms, and then to ask what he pleased, he refused to doe it, and passing over the *Propontis* went to *Abydus*, where he defeated easily him that lay there for defence of the Coasts, and then went to *Lemnus*, where he and all his Men were cut off deceitfully by the Fleet of the *Cibyrræotæ*, *David* of *Achris* the Governour of *Samus*, and *Nicephorus Cabasila* the Commander at *Thessalonica*. After this *Basilius* prepared for an Expedition into *Sicily*, and for that purpose sent before *Orestes* one of his most faithfull Eunuchs, with great Forces. But he was prevented by his Destiny from following, dying in the Month of *December*, and the Ninth Indiction, after he had lived Seventy saith *Cedrenus*, Seventy two years saith *Zonaras*, and born the Title of Emperour as many, but reigned alone in effect, though his Brother also had the Name the space of fifty. He left his Brother his Successour, and desired him to see him buried in the Church of St. *John* the Evangelist and Divine at the *Hebdomus*, who therein fulfilled his will.

Preparing for an expedition into *Sicily* *Basilius* dies.

Constantine X sole Emperour.

86. *Constantine* the Tenth of that Name, came to the management of the Empire in the Ninth Indiction, *A.D.* 1026, and therein did little or no good to it, but much mischief. Being a man of most depraved manners, he neither acted, nor thought any thing worthy of his Place and Dignity. His Delight was in running Races, jesting with loose and silly drolling Persons, and drinking whole Nights together, and thus was willing to spend his time, while his Brother (who was content it should be so) attended Affairs of State, and increased both the Reputation and Bounds of the Empire. In chusing of his Officers (the great Tryal and Indication of a Prince) he had onely respect to those of his own humour, such vertuous Persons as himself, drunken Slaves and the most profligate Wretches, no Man either for his Birth, Abilities or Education, being at all considered. *Nicholas*, the chief Man of his Chamberlains, he made Domestick of the Schools, and of his Bedchamber. *Nicephoras* the next after him *Protovestiarius*, and *Simeon* who was in the third Place his *Drungarius Biglæ*. One *Eustathius* far inferiour to these, he created Captain of the Associates. To one *Spondyles* he gave the Government of *Antioch*, and that of *Iberia* to one *Nicetas*, both Persons very infamous. These Ministers under such a Prince undid all, bringing all things into disorder, and almost ruinated the Empire, which since the time of *Romanus*, had so exceedingly flourished under *Nicephorus Zimisces* and *Basilius*. And not onely did he prefer unworthy, and scandalous Persons, but every man eminent for any worth or goodness, asmuch as in him lay, he laboured to disgrace and undoe, especially the most Noble or Illustrious Persons. He pulled out the Eyes of *Constantine* a Patritian, Son of the *Magister Michael Burtzas*, having born him malice, for discovering his naughty Courses to his Brother. And other most excellent Persons he blinded, as we shall see; for as he began so he proceeded, the same Causes ever producing the same effects, when not hindred by Incapacity of the Subjects, or the Intervention of more powerfull Accidents.

His Management of Affairs.

87. At this time *Nicephorus Comnanus* governed *Aspracania* (*Baspracania* or *Basprania* as it is variously written) a Man very wise, and as valiant as any of his time, with such Success, that he forced all his Neighbours to live quietly about him. But after some time finding his Souldiers begin to fail in their Courage against the *Saracens*, by all the means he could use, he endeavoured to resuscitate in them their wonted Courage, and upbraiding them much with the Alteration, procured them not onely to promise but to take a formal Oath, that they would not forsake, but stand by him to the last extremity against the Enemy. This being reported at *Constantinople*, *Constantine* and his effeminate Ministers, incompetent Judges of matters relating to War or Fortitude, put him presently out of command, and being sent for up to the City he was condemned of Treason, or a designed Usurpation, and had his Eyes put out, to the regret of all good men: and in the same sort he dealt with *Bardas* a Patritian, descended from *Bardas*

Condemning and putting out the Eyes of several *Romans*.

Phocas

Phocas the *Magister*, whom he procured some of his Creatures to accuse of a Conspiracy against his Person. About the same time, *George* the Governour of *Nawpactus*, for his Folly commonly call'd *Morogeorgius*, by his perpetual Exactions and other Injuries so oppressed the Townsmen, that they broke out into a publick Rage against him, kill'd him and rifled his House, for which Deed the Emperour not onely used great Cruelty in punishing the Authours of the Riot, but caused the Eyes of the Bishop of the Place to be put out. There happened a Quarrel, and this was followed by a Combat betwixt *Basilius* a Patritian, the Son of *Romanus Sclerus*, and *Prusianus* the *Bulgarian* a *Magister*, and Captain of the *Bucellarii*, which judging to be a Crime no less than Treason, he banished them both. Being told that *Basilius* indeavoured to escape, he commanded his Eyes to be put out; and *Basianus* when he expected the like measure, he most mercifully discharged. But he pull'd out the Eyes of *Romanus Curcuas*, who had married *Prusianus* his Sister, of *Bogdanus*, *Gleba* and *Gudeles*, and to give himself some diversion by variety, cut out the Tongue of one *Zacharias* (possibly out of his wit to make him like the Priest of that Name, who was struck dumb) pretending that they all had designs against him.

The *Patzinaeæ* invading *Bulgaria*, are forced to return beyond *Ister*.

88. But to leave this odious Subject, let us see if we can find any other thing of publick Consequence, and worthy the mentioning, in his Reign. In his first year the *Patzinacæ* broke into *Bulgaria*, and there did much mischief, killing many of the People with several Officers and their Companies. Against them he created *Diogenes* the Governour of *Sirmium*, General of *Bulgaria*, who falling on them as they stragled, after much slaughter forced them to return beyond the *Ister*. During his whole Reign there was a great Drought, which dried up both Fountains and Rivers. His Brother *Basilius*, how hard and difficult soever in the case of the *Allelengyum*, yet herein was wont to gratifie the poorer sort, that he did not exact Payments just when they were due, but bore with them till they could better doe it, so that at his death, the Tribute of two years was behind.

A Great Drought.

But *Constantine* notwithstanding the Drought, not onely when he came to the Government exacted all the Arrears, but forced the Payment also of three years to come, which not onely undid the Poor but much distressed the Rich, and those that were not wont formerly to complain.

The *Saracens* infesting the Islands *Cyclades* are defeated.

And now did a Fleet of *Saracens* infest the Islands *Cyclades*, which was happily defeated and dissipated by *George Theodorocranus*, the Governour of *Samus*, and *Periboas*, who commanded *Chius*, twelve Ships being taken. On the Ninth day of *November* in the twelfth Indiction, the Emperour fell suddenly sick, and being given over by Physicians, then thought upon a Successour. A messenger was sent to fetch *Constantine Delassenus*, living then in *Armenia*, whom he designed to create *Cæsar*, and marry him to one of his Daughters. But *Simeon* so wrought out of his Love to *Romanus Argyrus*, that he altered his purpose, and another was sent to bid *Delassenus* stay where he was. *Romanus* then was brought to Court, and leave given to chuse whether he would loose his Eyes or part with his Wife, and marrying the Daughter of the Emperour be declared *Cæsar*. He paused at it, but his Wife fearing what might happen to him, voluntarily shaved her self and renounced the secular Life for the saving of his Eyes, and procuring him the Empire.

Zoe Constantine's Daughter married to *Romanus*.

Constantine had by *Helena* the Daughter of *Alynius*, an Eminent Patritian, three Daughters; of which *Eudocia* the Eldest being disfigured by the Plague was turned Nun, and *Theodora* the youngest refused to marry *Romanus*, either because they were too near a Kin, as she pretended, or for that his lawfull Wife was yet living: but *Zoe* the second was very well content to accept him for her Husband, and the matter of Kindred being discussed, and dispensed with by the Patriarch and Ecclesiasticks, to her he was joyned in Marriage, and declared Emperour.

Constantine dies.

The third day after the Wedding, *Constantine* died, when he had lived Seventy years and upward, and Reigned three wanting one Month.

Romanus and *Zoe* succeed.

89. *Romanus* the Fourth of that Name, beyond all his expectation, together with *Zoe*, took Possession of the Empire in the twelfth Indiction, *A. D.* 1028. and at his beginning was very acceptable to his Subjects, though he had not come after such a Predecessour. For he not onely took away the *Allelengyum*, so much complained of, which *Cedrenus* tells us (I know not what ground there is to believe him) *Constantine* would have done, had he not by death been prevented, but he increased the Salaries wont to be paid out of the publick Treasury to those of the Quire of St. *Sophia*, discharged out of Prison such as were guilty of slighter Faults, and not onely paid the publick Debts, but those of private Men, and redeemed the Captives out of *Patzinacia*. He did many good things relating

relating to the Church not here to be discourſed of, relieved many that were in great poverty, or otherwiſe diſtreſſed, for the health of his Father-in-Law's Soul they tell us expended a great Sum of Money, and made reparation to ſuch as he had injured either in way of Honour or Fortune. *Romanus Sclerus* who had Married his Siſter and had loſt his Eyes by Command of *Conſtantine*, he promoted to the Dignity of a *Magiſter*, and recalled out of Baniſhment *Nicephorus Xiphias*, who was turned Monk: And now as reconciled again, God gave convenient Rain, and abundance of all fruits followed, eſpecially of Oil. But theſe Acts of mercy *Romanus* mixed with others of ſeverity, which being accompanied with Juſtice and publick ſafety, did not eclipſe but more ſet off the other. *Pruſianus* the *Bulgarian* for Conſpiring with *Theodora* the Siſter of the Empreſs, and affecting the Sovereignty was deprived of his ſight, and his Mother *Zoſtica* expelled the City. *Conſtantine Diogenes* who had Married the Emperour's Brother's Daughter, and was Governour of *Sirmium* being removed to the Command of *Theſſalonica*, was accuſed by *Oreſtes*, one that had ſerved *Baſilius*, of a purpoſe to rebell, and for that was ſent to govern the *Thracians*, where his Crime being clearly diſcovered, he was brought bound to *Conſtantinople*, and caſt into the Tower, and his Complices ſix or ſeven men of eminency were beaten, and then carried in diſgrace through the City into Baniſhment. *Theodora* was alſo baniſhed from Court to *Petrium*.

His kindneſs and Juſtice at firſt.

90. On the laſt day of *October* a Comet appeared, ſeeming to move from Weſt to Eaſt, and on the ſame day the *Roman* Intereſt ſuffered much damage, under Command of *Michael Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*. Great Rains alſo fell and continued to fall till *March*, which cauſed mighty Floods every where, by which, and the rottenneſs of Graſs, moſt Cattel periſhed, and becauſe that the Seed corrupted in the ground, great ſcarcity happened the following year. The Emperour to redeem much loſs and diſgrace, by this time ſuffered in *Syria*, reſolved upon an Expedition to *Berræa*, ſending before his Siſters Husband *Conſtantine Carentenus* a Patritian, with a flying Company, to diſcover the Paſſages, and infeſt the Enemy, but not to hazard a Battel till his Arrival. While he prepares for his Journey it happens, that *George* the Prince of *Abaſgia* dies, whoſe Widow ſends away her Ambaſſadours to deſire he would renew the League made formerly with her Husband, and aſſign a Wife to her Son *Pancratius*, to which he willingly aſſenting, both renewed the League, and ſent *Helena* his Brother *Baſilius* his Daughter into *Abaſgia* to be Married to *Pancratius*, whom he honoured with the Title of *Curopalates*. Now *Romanus* haſtens his Preparation for *Syria*, the ſtate of which Countrey we muſt declare before we bring him thither by fetching matters a little higher. The Reader is to remember, that the Emperour *Nicephorus* very much inlarged the Bounds of the Empire, in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, where he recovered moſt of the Cities, and that *Zimiſces* following on what was begun, extended its Dominion as far as *Damaſcus*. *Baſilius* after them, being at firſt employed in Civil Broils, and afterward wholly taken up with the *Bulgarian* War, neglected the Eaſtern Parts, which gave the *Saracens* opportunity to lay their Heads together and conſult, yet they openly attempted nothing during his Reign. But under the diſſolute Government of his Brother *Conſtantine*, they neglected not their Advantage, the moſt potent Cities of the Eaſt now caſting off the *Roman* Yoke, and aſſerting their liberty, and the *Saracens* openly ſet upon many places, took them, and put the Garriſon Souldiers to the Sword. Above all, the Governour of *Berræa* (or *Chalep* as they call'd it) plaid his Pranks, by his frequent Incurſions ſorely diſtreſſing *Antioch*, and the adjoyning *Roman* Pale. *Spondyles* the Governour of *Antioch*, endeavoured to reſtrain him but came off with loſs and diſgrace. And he ſuffered himſelf to be overreached by one *Aſaraptius* an *Arabian* a Priſoner in that City. This man perceiving his fickle humour vaunted of great matters he both could and would perform for the Emperour againſt the *Saracens*, if he were but ſet at Liberty; and particularly ſhewed him a Platt of ground, on which if a Fort were but built and committed to his keeping, he doubted not but to doe wonderfull things. *Spondyles* not onely believed what he ſaid, but ſet him at Liberty, built a Fort in the place, and therein putting a thouſand men, gave him the Command of it, who now being where he would, entertained Intelligence with the *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, and with *Tusberè* the Prince of *Ægypt* his General, who ſent a Body of men, which he having received into the Caſtle, they put all the Garriſon to the Sword, and then received it from his Hands. After this the *Saracens* ranged up and down without controll. *Romanus* removed *Spondyles*, and put his Brother-in-Law *Conſtantine Carentenus*, lately ſaid to be ſent

He reſolves upon an Expedition into *Syria*.

The League with the *Abuſgians* renewed

thitherward with an Army, into his place, resolving to follow in Person and prosecute the War.

The *Saracens* of *Berræa* offer Peace, which is refused by the Emperour.

91. He was scarcely got on his way as far as *Philomilium*, when Messengers were sent to him from *Berræa* with Presents, to ask pardon for what was past, to promise him to return to their former obedience, and pay all the Tribute that was due. There were several excellent Warriours now with him in the Army, who earnestly advised him to hearken to them, and accept their Submission, and that for very weighty Reasons, alledging, that in the Summer time Water was much wanting in *Syria*, that the *Saracens* were accustom'd to them, and could very well endure both Heat and Thirst, but the *Roman* Souldiers could not, especially being burthened with their heavy Armour. But *Romanus*, what his Predecessour had done in the like kind, was so tickled with a fancy of the great honour he should obtain, that he would not listen to them, but held on in his Expedition, and entring *Syria*, incamped before a Castle called *Azaezium*, two days journey distant from *Berræa*. Now intent upon his business, he sent out *Leo Chorosphactes* a Patritian, Captain of the *Excubitores*, to scout about, to watch the motions of the Enemy, and find out some fitter place whereon to fix; but he fell into the Ambush laid for him in the Plain, and his Party was all defeated. Incouraged herewith, the *Saracens* hindred his men from foraging, and knowing well enough their greatest want, from fetching in any Water, which caused them out of mere necessity, and for vehement thirst, to straggle up and down, though with manifest danger of their lives, which usually they lost before they returned. To restrain and chastize their boldness *Constantine Delassenus* was sent with a convenient Power of men; but very sillily and cowardly managed the business, and ran back in great terrour to the Camp, which struck all the rest of the Army with such Consternation, that now no mention was made of any Battel, but every man considered how he might save one. And a Council of War being called, it was resolved, that the next day they should dislodge and march to *Antioch*.

Who marches on with his Army.

Which is consumed with Thirst.

And endeavouring to reach *Antioch* is shamefully beaten.

92. Accordingly when the day came, being the tenth of *August*, in the thirteenth Indiction, and the second year of *Romanus*, all the Gates of the Camp were open'd, and they set forward for *Antioch*, most of them being sick of the Gripes, and vexed with a violent Thirst. They were no sooner come into a place convenient, but the *Arabians* set upon them, against whom they never turned Head, nor made any resistence; but the gross of the Army running away most shamefully, some were taken, others killed, and more destroyed by being born down and trodden on by their Fellows, yet one Eunuch of the Emperours is said very stoutly to have demeaned himself in fetching off both his Servants and Waggons which had been taken, and as for the Emperour himself he escaped, but that with great difficulty, by the Courage of his Guards, to *Antioch*, as he had designed. At the same time was one *George Maniaces* Governour of a Province in these Parts, called *Telucha*. To him came about eight hundred of the *Saracens*, after this flight of the Emperour and his Army, told him the Emperour was taken, his Army utterly defeated, and used what Rhetorick they were able, to perswade him like a wise man to quit that Town, which he was not able to hold, if not, by Break of day he would be surrounded and miserably destroyed. He seemed to take their Advice in good part, and sent them out a great quantity of Meat and Drink praying them therewith to refresh themselves that Night, and promising in the Morning to come forth and deliver up *Telupha* and whatever was the Emperour's into their hands. They gave credit to his words, and setting their hearts at rest, made use of what he had sent them to excess, which being his Design, at Midnight he issued out and killed them all Drunk and asleep as they lay. Two hundred and eighty Camels he took loaded with the rich Plunder of the late Encounter, and causing the Ears and Noses of the slain to be cut off, he went and presented them to the Emperour, who then in his Retreat was come as far as to the House of *Phocas* in *Cappadocia*. He for a Reward made *George* Captain of the Lower *Media*. When he left *Syria* he made *Simeon* the Servant of *Constantine* his Father-in-Law Domestick of the Schools, and the Command of *Antioch* he gave to *Nicetas* a *Mistheia*, giving it in charge to these two, that by all means they should reduce the Castle *Menicus*, which *Musaraph* had built. They attempted what he had enjoyned them, but *Musaraph* breaking out upon them by Night, forced them to be gone, and burnt their Engines. This *Romanus* took in so evil part, that he created General with full power one *Theoctistus* the *Protospatharian*, one of his most trusty Servants, and the Captain of the Associates, having raised him a great Army of *Romans* and other Nations together, gave him instructions to joyn with

But the Baggage is re-taken by one *George*, who for a Reward is made Captain of the lower *Media*.

Theoctistus sent with an Army to take the Castle *Menicus*.

with *Pinzarach* the *Ameras* of *Tripolis*, who had lately revolted from the *Amermumnes* of *Ægypt*, and fled to his protection, and to take in the Castle *Menicus*, which most of all did discontent him.

Which he performs.

93. One *Tusber* a *Turk*, the General of *Ægypt*, did much distress *Pinzarach*, till hearing of the coming of *Theoctistus* he then returned home. And *Musaraph* durst not trust to his new Castle, but deserted it, and flying to the Mountains about *Tripolis*, was there found out and slain. The Castle was by his Brother's Son delivered up to *Theoctistus* with another called *Argyrolastrum* seated on a craggy Mountain, which done he returned back to *Constantinople*. At the same time one of his Brethren, a *Protospatharian*, *Orestes*, sent formerly by *Basilius* into *Sicily*, having no skill in matters of that Nature, for which he was sent, managed them with very ill success. His Army he suffered to be Idle and Luxurious, and when their Intemperance had cast most of them into Diseases of their Bowels, then did the *Saracens* (who had watched but for a convenient opportunity) set upon them and made great slaughter of them, to repair which loss the Emperour raised a great Army out of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and sent it into *Italy*, the greatest part of which also miscarried, through the unskilfulness of the General. This same year in the fifteenth Indiction to make his Estate more secure, he caused *Prusianus* to be shaven for a Monk, and removed his Mother out of the Monastery where she was into *Thrace*, and *Constantine Diogenes* being taken out of the Town, he also constrained to take the Religious Tonsure and Habit. A great Alteration indeed was now observed, if not in the Humour yet in the Actions of *Romanus*, which were changed much for the worse after his return out of *Syria*. To repair his Disgrace there sustained, instead of an Emperour, to use the Expressions of *Zonaras*, he turn'd an Exactour and bitter Inquisitour, requiring old and out-worn Debts of the Fathers from the Children, which the length of time, it was expected, had utterly buried in Oblivion, upon which account many were driven from their Inheritances, and from having good Estates were forced to beg their Bread. Yet did he not bring any of this Money thus gotten into the Treasury, but this and much more taken out of the publick Revenue he consumed, building a stately Monastery and a Church to the Honour of our Lady, thus chopping and changing, pulling down and building up again. To Monks also he was very profuse, assigning them whole Provinces and Cities, and these the most fat and fertile of all the Empire, which was not suitable to that sort of life which these men ought to lead, but more fit for Delicate, Effeminate, and Voluptuous Persons, as *Zonaras* observes.

An Army sent into *Italy* which miscarries.

Romanus much altered for the worse.

The League renewed with the *Ameras* of *Chalepe*.

94. In the fifteenth Indiction and the Month of *September*, came *Amer* the Son of the *Ameras* or Governour of *Chalepe*, with great Presents to renew the Peace for that place, with promise to pay the accustomed Tribute; which Accord to ascertain and ratifie, was sent *Theophylact* an *Athenian* and *Protospatharian*, who renewed the League with that People. *Zoe* the Empress now went suddenly into *Petrium*, and there shaved her Sister *Theodora*, and made her a Nun; there being no other way, as it was said, to put an end to her Plots and Discontents. *Romanus* Married his Brothers Daughter to the *Regulus* of *Armenia*, with a great Portion, and prepared for another Expedition into *Syria*. As he was on his way at *Mesenacta*, *Theophanes* the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, discovered a Plot to the Empress of *Constantine Diogenes* and *Theodora* her Sister, to fly into *Illyricum* and there to Usurp the Imperial Dignity, to which two Bishops were privy, the Metropolitan of *Dyrrachium* and the Bishop of *Peritheorium*. Hereupon both *Diogenes* and the Bishops were suddenly apprehended. *Diogenes* when in the Palace of *Blachernæ* he was examined, threw himself down headlong from the Wall, rather than he would discover his Friends, and was cast out unburied amongst such as laid violent hands on themselves: The Bishops were sent away to the Emperour, and by him were dismissed. On the eight and twentieth of *July*, being *Friday*, a blazing Star was seen to traverse the Heavens from South to North so big and shining, that it illustrated all the horizon. And a little after came News, that the *Arabians* had made an Inrode into *Mesopotamia* as far as *Melitenæ*, that the *Patzinacas* had passed *Ister* and invaded *Mysia*, and the *Saracens*, (*Arabians* they are also called, these Names being used promiscuously, had wasted all the Coasts of *Illyricum* with Fire and Sword, and were got as far as *Corcyra*. The Issue of these Disturbances was, that the two former sorts of these Enemies having done what they came for, returned home unhurt, but the *Saracens* were sorely beaten by the Inhabitants of *Ragusium*, and *Nicephorus* the Son of *Carantenus* then Governour of *Nauplium*, and

A Conspiracy discovered.

The *Roman* Pale infested by the *Arabians*, *Patzinacæ*, and *Saracens*, which last came short home.

and having lost the greater part of their Ships, as they returned, perished by Shipwreck in the Sicilian Sea.

A great Famine and Plague.

95. This very year so great a Famine and a Plague both raged through *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Armenia* and *Honorias* that the Inhabitants left their dwellings and sought out other Habitations, whom the Emperour meeting as he returned from *Mesanacta* composed them to go Home again furnishing them with Money and other necessaries; and they were much relieved by *Michael* the Bishop of *Ancyra* who omitted nothing in his power for their support. On the thirteenth of *August* happened a terrible Earthquake. On *February* the twenty eighth in the same year another Comet appeared passing from the North toward the South with a Noise and cracking, and was seen till the fifteenth of *March*, having as it were a Bow above it, in which Month also another Earthquake fell out. At the same time the *Saracens* of *Africk* with a Thousand Vessels and an infinite Number of Seamen and Souldiers aboard them fell upon the Islands. With part of which *Nicephorus Carantenus* ingaged, defeated them and sent five hundred bound in Fetters to the Emperour. This same year *George Maniaces* the *Protospatharian*, who commanded the Coasts upon *Euphrates*, by corrupting *Salamenes* a *Turk* the Governour of *Edessa* the City of *Osroena*, got it into his Hands, from which he sent a yearly Tribute of fifty pounds to *Constantinople*. So prosperous were the Affairs of *Romanus* abroad, whilst at Home *Basilius Durus* his Sisters Husband who had been deprived of his sight by *Constantine* now Plotted against his Life, though since his coming to the Government he had conferred on him the Dignity of *Magister*, and otherwise been very kind to him; for which he and his Wife were expelled the City. Not long after the Emperour incouraged by the Revolt of the *Ameras* of *Tripolis* whom he sent with a considerable Army into *Syria*, gave order to *Tecneas* a *Protospatharian* to make War upon *Ægypt* with his Fleet and invade the parts about *Alexandria* which he did with such success that he sunk and burnt many Vessels and returned loaden with very great Booty. In all other Quarters the Arms or fortune of *Romanus* was as prosperous though in one particular accompanied with a disastre. One *Alimus* a *Saracen*, Governour of a Fort called *Percris* near to *Babylon*, delivered the place up to the Emperour, but sent his Son to him expecting he should besides other gifts be sent back dignified by the Title of a Patritian. But it so happened By reason of the Indisposition of the Emperour that the young Man coming to *Constantinople* was wholly neglected, and no notice taken of him, which so inraged him that he returned to his Father and perswaded him, if possible to recover the Fort into his own Hands. This, by entring into a confedaracy with the Neighbouring *Persians*, and through the carelesness of *Nicolas Chryselius* a *Bulgarian* to whom the Custody of it had been committed, he easily did, and put to the Sword six Thousand *Roman* Souldiers that then lay in Garrison. Now *Alimus* thought himself sufficiently revenged, when shortly after *Nicetas Pegonites* a Patritian being sent into these Parts with an Army of *Romans* and *Rossians* lays Siege to the Place, and with such earnestness and constancy inforces it, that he carries it by strength, and therein kills both *Alimus* and his Son. The News hereof was the more welcome at Court because there it met with an address made by *Alda* the Widow of *George* sometime *Regulus* of the *Abasgians*, whereby she delivered up a very strong Castle call'd *Anacuphe*, for which *Romanus* invested her Son *Demetrius* with the Dignity of a *Magister*. And much about the same time *Carantenus* got another Victory over the *Saracens* six hundred of whom he sent bound to the Emperour.

A terrible Earthquake.

The *Saracens* of *Africk* infest the Islands but are beaten.

Ægypt invaded by the *Romans* who return with great Booty.

Percris near *Babylon* taken by them.

Another Victory over the *Saracens*.

96. But the joy conceived for all this good success was not long after allayed by the Terrour of an Earthquake which on the seventeenth day of *February* sorely afflicted the Cities of *Syria*. And so great a famine followed throughout the East, by reason of multitudes of Locusts which devoured all the Fruits of the Earth, especially in *Cappadocia*, *Armenia* and *Paphlagonia* that many of the inhabitants were forced to sell their Children and to seek out new Habitations, of whom multitudes came into *Thrace*. The Emperour distributed three *Nomisma's* to every man, and commanded them to return home, which by this time they might the better doe because a vehement Wind had driven most of the Locusts into the *Hellespont*, the shores of which were all covered with them. Now in a manner he wholly employed himself in Works of mercy and compassion towards his People. Such Hospitals as had been erected for Poor and diseased People about *Constantinople*

A terrible Earthquake and Famine which causeth *Romanus* to be very mercyfull and kind to his Subjects.

Romanus made away by his Wife *Zoe.*

stantinople and had been demolished by Earthquakes or other ways he reedified for the same uses. He repaired the Aqueducts by which Water was brought into the City; his Wife sent him to another World in such cares and employments being busied, after this manner. When he first arrived at the imperial Dignity, as Men tickled with Honour are wont to doe, he flattered himself with hopes of many years, though he had then arrived at sixty, and of Children therein to succeed him, though his Wife was nothing less than fifty. So desirous he was of having a Son, that at the first he very earnestly used all indeavours that way, omitting no Ointments nor other means to render himself lusty and her fit for conception. He caused her to wear certain Ge[illegible] about her as made to believe them very efficacious for fecundity, she refusing [illegible]ning of this Nature but farther using Charms and Inchantments; though all proved ineffectual: which he perceiving, afterwards scarcely ever cohabited with her, or ever made her a kind Visit, being both by Nature and Age in himself little Prone to carnal Imbracements. Some years she bore this humour though with much Regrets, but at length her lust and hatred of him arose to such violence as to practise against his Life, being exasperated by a violent passion she had conceived for another Person. *Romanus* had about him a certain Eunuch called *John* who had served him while he was yet a private Man, and after his coming to the Empire had been preferred to great Employments. This *John* had four Brothers; *Michael*, *Nicetas*, *Constantine* and *George*, whereof the two later were Eunuchs as well as himself: *Nicetas* was a stripling; but *Michael* was come to Man's Estate, and a most beautifull Person. Both of them dealt in Silver and Adulterated the Coin, as the other three had formerly used a Circulatory or rambling kind of Trade. *Zonaras.*

Who falls in love with *Michael.*

97. *John* by degrees procured for his Brothers access to the Emperour who preferr'd them all, and in particular made *Michael* Overseer of the *Pantheon*, and took him into his Bedchamber. With him *Zoe* the Empress fell most desperately in love, and her lust being more and more inflamed by the daily sight of him, though she extremely hated *John*, yet could she not forbear to talk with him, and in her discourse still seek occasion to ask questions and speak of his Brother. *John* being a crafty Man perceived by the great delight she took in talking of him, how matters stood, and giving him notice thereof charged him that if she applyed her self any way familiarly to him, not to be shie and bashfull but entertain her with all the Caresses that Lovers are wont to doe, to the very last point; which instructions he so observed that from looks they proceeded to dalliance, and lay frequently together. As Courtiers are quick to Espy, and the Women especially curious to pry and enquire into love matters, their entertainments how private soever could not be concealed, but from the Court to the City became the discourse of all, and in every place; the good old Emperour being the onely Man that was ignorant of it. At length from his Sister *Pulcheria*, and some others he received hints, which he onely made use of so far as to ask *Michael* the question, whether there was any such matter, and, when he denied it, to make him swear, which he having done, he thought he would not forswear himself, and thence concluded it a Calumny. Now for this perjury *Michael* was reported struck with a dreadfull disease, being at certain times seized with a Frenzy, a trembling and staring with his Eyes, which *Romanus* beholding pitied the Man and was the more confirmed in his incredulity, concluding his Wife could take no pleasure in the conversation of so miserable a Creature, who was not capable either of loving or being beloved. Others said that he knew very well what course of Life she led, but knowing her to be a most lascivious and insatiable Woman winked at what she practised with *Michael*, lest being hindred from his imbracements she should prostitute her self to more. However it was, she resolved to be rid of him, that what she now enjoyed by stealth and in fear she might openly and securely own, and for that purpose is said to have given him a slow working Poison which by degrees made an end of him. The Symptoms were a face much swollen, and discolour'd, short and quick Respiration, and the falling off of all his Hair, signs pregnant enough and of a violent suspicion. Yet he continued Languishing till the fifteenth day of *April*, on which having according to the Custome made the *Rogæ*, or paid Pensions to the Senatours, he went into a Bath and there by some thereto appointed to make more speedy work of it was stifled by holding his Head a sufficient time under Water, which done he was pulled thence and laid upon his Bed. He was speechless now but not quite dead, and the Rumour being spred that he was dying his Wife ran for haste amongst the rest and made great Lamentation for her dear Husband, who casting out of his Mouth some black matter

Being very close together.

Yet suspected by *Romanus.*

Who in a short time after is Poisoned by them.

matter presently departed the World, after he had Reigned five years and six Months in the second Indiction. *A. D.* 1034. In his Youth he applyed himself to learning, and was well seen in *Greek* Authours and the knowledge of the Civil Laws, although he boasted himself much more knowing than he was.

98. The same Night when the office of Christ's Passion was Sung, or the Service belonging to *Good Friday*, *Alexius* the Patriarch was sent for to Court, as it were by Command of *Romanus*, whither being come he found the Emperour Dead, and *Zoe* in the Golden Room Royally furnished for so worthy an occasion, produced *Michael*, and required him to Marry them together. The Patriarch amazed at the suddenness of the thing, was very backward, till *John* and she Bribed him by a present of fifty pounds to himself, and as much to his Clergy; by which overcome, he solemnized the Marriage. *Zoe* having thus introduced *Michael* the *Paphlagonian* (as for distinction he is styled from his Countrey) both into her Bed and Throne, therein purposed to use him but as a Drudge and Servant, and resolving to Govern her self, took into the Court such Eunuchs as had served her Father. But she was much deceived through the industry and craft of *John* her Husband's Brother, who sufficiently understanding her, and mindfull of *Romanus* his Fate, turn'd out all these Eunuchs, and removing from her all her most trusty Women, put into their places his own Friends and Acquaintance, by which and other means he so hamper'd her, that to her great grief she could neither doe nor act any thing, not so much as go into the Bath without his knowledge and permission. Having thus secured all in the Palace, he wrote Letters into all Provinces which signified the Death of *Romanus*, and how by his Will and Determination *Michael* had succeeded in the Empire and Marriage of *Zoe*. All Men seemed to be sufficiently pleased with the change, and wished prosperity to them, except *Constantine Delassenus* the Patritian, who took it in most high disdain that so obscure and ignoble a Fellow should be so preferred before Persons of most high Rank and Quality, of which at this time there were very many, *John* was much disturbed to hear how much he concerned himself, and resolved to draw him to their Party if possible, employing one *Ergodotes* an Eunuch, a Man very able to insinuate any thing, to him for this purpose, who offering him Oath for his Security, and requiring one from him for his Loyal deportment, was to bring him to the Emperour, where things should be concluded and made up betwixt them, to their mutual satisfaction. In the mean time he made the Senate his own by promoting all the chiefest of them and the leading men to places of Dignity and Revenue. And amongst the multitude as any be perceived to be in Capacity to doe mischief by preferments he took off, and obliging such as were fit to doe service, made all the People satisfied and at his Devotion.

Zoe and *Michael* Marry and are Crowned, succeeding *Romanus* in the Empire.

99. But all this notwithstanding our Writers observe, that such things happened at the very first beginning as manifestly shewed these devices how ever yet prosperous to have much displeased Almighty God. For on *Easter* day fell such a terrible storm of Hail that it brake down Trees, Houses and Churches in great numbers, and so destroyed the standing Corn that a great scarcity thereupon followed. And on the Lord's day following appeared so great a Comet that with the light it cast it obscured all the Stars, and some imagined the Sun was returning, though it was but the third hour of the night. And the Emperour was in a grievous manner tormented with his distemper, which would not be overcome by any either spiritual or temporal means that could be used: some affirming he was possessed, and those that judged most favourably accounting it no better than a Frenzy or Lunatick Disease. *Delassenus* was not so easily to be brought off by *Ergodotes* as they imagined, requiring greater caution than his bare Oath for his security, which given he signified by a Messenger of his own that he should not refuse to come to *Constantinople*. To him then was sent one *Constantine Phagitzes* an Eunuch, the Emperour's Countreyman, and confident with the wood said to belong to the Cross of Christ, the Linen Cloath that had his Image upon it and the Epistle which they believed he wrote to *Augarus*, with the Picture of the Blessed Virgin; by the Religious Opinion of which he was induced to accept of the Faith given him, and went with *Delassenus* to the Court, where being honourably received, and dignified with the Title of Proconsul, he was richly presented and ordered to live at his ease in his own House near at hand. Now we are told a strange Story, how the Locusts which by the Wind were cast upon the Shore of the *Hellespont*, revived and did great mischief to the adjacent Countries, especially in the Province of *Thrace* for three years, which ended, they perished about *Pergamus*.

A terrible storm of Hail.

A vast Comet appears.

The Locusts revived.

100. But,

100. But, *Michael* bearing onely the name, his Brother *John* exercised all the power of an Emperour, by virtue whereof he made his other Brother *Nicetas* Governour of *Antioch*. *Nicetas* going thither to enter upon his Charge the Townsmen refused to admit him, fearfull that he would with severity punish them for having lately in a Tumult killed one *Sallibas* who with too much rigour had gathered the publick Revenue. At length upon promise of pardon and oblivion they opened their Gates and received him, but when he had got possession without any regard to his promise he caused about an hundred Persons to be beheaded and fastned upon Poles, and sent eleven of the principal Citizens all of great Nobility (of whom *Elpidius* a Patritian was the chief) bound to *Constantinople*, having confiscated their Estates: and he wrote to his Brother *John* that the Gates had been shut against him not because of the Murther of *Salibas* but out of their Inclinations to *Delassenus*. He being formerly in suspicion, Credit was easily given to this suggestion and being brought before the Emperour on the third day of *August*, in the second indiction, he was condemned to Banishment in the Island *Prota*, against which breach of Faith *Constantinus Ducas* his Son-in-Law proclaiming and protesting, was for his Pains cast Prisoner into a Tower. The Estates of three very eminent and rich Men in *Asia* the less were upon this pretence seized and assigned over to *Constantine* the Emperour's Brother. And *Simeon* the *Protovestiarius* one of *Constantine* the Emperour's Ministers for disapproving these proceedings as injurious and Breaches of Faith was expelled both from Court and City, and made a Monk at *Olympus* in a Monastery of his own founding. This same year for forty days together the Eastern parts were terrified with an Earthquake by which many Men perished at *Jerusalem*, besides the ruine of Houses and Churches. In the Indiction following and the Month of *September* a Pillar of Fire appeared toward the East with its Head inclining Southward. And at the same time the *Saracens* took *Myra* and those of *Berræa* cast out the Governour whom the Emperour had sent to them: *Pancratius* the *Abasgian* to revenge the cause of *Romanus* his Wives Uncle broke the League and recovered such Castles and Forts as had formerly been in the hands of the Emperours: moreover the *Patzinacæ* having passed *Ister* wasted all *Mysia* as far as *Thessalonica*; and the *Saracens* of *Africk* by their Fleets, not a little indamaged the Islands *Cyclades*.

An Earthquake in the East and a Pillar of Fire seen in the Air at which time the *Roman* Territories on all sides are infested.

101. These matters were of very great consequence, but seemed nothing to *John the Governour of Orphans*, as he is styled, who ruled all, in comparison of the dangers which at home threatened them from *Delassenus*, whom imagining he would never securely enough keep, from the Island he removed him to a Tower, and that kept with a very strong Guard: and *George Maniaces* he removed from *Edessa*, and made him Governour of the upper *Media* or *Aspracania*, to prevent the growth of interest by favour and intelligence, sending to succeed him one *Leo Lependrenus*. *Nicetas* shortly after dying in his Government of *Antioch*, he would intrust none with it but *Constantine* the other Brother, and now did he promote to the place of *Protovestiarius* him that onely remained of the rest, for *Simeon* as we said had taken upon him the monastical course of Life. To make the Government of *Constantine* more acceptable to those of *Antioch*, their fellow Citizens were released out of Prison, and the Emperour farther to establish the interest of his Family or rather to gratifie the solicitude of his Brother, who seeing him so sickly was afraid if he died both he and his Family should be destroyed by the Empress, promoted *Michael* the Son of his Sister *Mary* to the Dignity of *Cæsar*. He attended now little but matters of Devotion bewailing to his last hour the Murther of *Romanus*, for which he thought to appease Almighty God by good Works and Liberality to the Poor, the building of Monasteries and other things which that Age esteemed the most valuable. But as our writers observe they profited him nothing. Indeed had he made Resignation of his ill gotten Empire which occasioned his Sin, had he put the Adulteress away which had provoked him, and in a private condition deplored his Crimes, they might have been Testimonies of his Repentance. But he still used the Company of *Zoe* and thought of parting with his Soul as much as the Empire. Out of ill gotten goods he made a shew of Liberality and yet vainly imagined he thereby expiated his former faults, and purchased pardon by the purses of other Men, the publick Revenue.

Ὀρφανοτρόφος

Michael promoted to the Dignity of *Cæsar* the Emperour being very Sickly.

102. This same year in the Month of *May* did the *Saracens* of *Africk* and *Sicily* infest the *Cyclades* and the maritime Coasts of *Thrace* with their Incursions, but the Governours so attended their motions that most of them came short home, five hundred being sent alive to the Emperour and were fastned upon Poles all

The *Saracens* of *Africk* and *Sicily* infesting the *Cyclades* are forced to make Peace.

all along the Coast from *Atramytium* to *Strobelus*. This so humbled the *Ameras* of *Sicily*, that he easily admitted of Peace which *John* offered him by one *George Probatas*, who was sent Ambassadour for this purpose. The *Ameras* whose Name was *Apolaphar Muchumet*, was honoured with the Title of *Magister*, and being attached by his Brother *Apochapsus*, sent to the Emperour for assistence, according to the Conditions of the League made betwixt them. To repress *Apochapsus* therefore *George Maniaces* was sent into *Lombardy*, together with *Stephen* a Patritian the Husband of the Emperour's Sister, and Commander of the Fleet, and *Constantine Chages*, who governed the *Cibyrreotæ*, gave the *Saracens* a notable defeat at Sea. In Winter happened a mighty Frost, which incouraged the *Patzinacæ* to pass the River *Ister*, and to harass *Mysia* and *Thrace*, as far as to *Macedonia*, and in Summer following vast quantities of Locusts did much damage to the fruits of these Countries. No fewer times than thrice in one year, did that People make Inrodes into the Territories of the Empire, where they destroyed all things in their way, and tortured all Persons to death they took without any respect had to Sex or Age, amongst whom were five Officers of Eminence. But it fell out well for the Empire, that much about the same time, *Nosisthlabus* and *Hierosthlabus*, two Princes of the *Rossians* died; and *Servia*, which after the Death of *Romanus* had cast off the Yoke, was now again in the third year of *Michael* recover'd to it. And the publick satisfaction for these things was no whit lessened by what happened in *Ægypt*, the *Amermumnes* whereof being dead, his Wife imbracing Christian Religion, together with her Son offered to make a Peace with the *Romans*, with whose desires *Michael* so far complied as to grant a Truce for thirty years.

The *Patzinacæ* harass *Mysia* and *Thrace*.

A Truce for thirty years betwixt *Ægypt* and the *Romans*.

103. The year following happened three several Earthquakes, whereof one was very terrible. The *Saracens* of *Mesopotamia*, uniting themselves laid siege to *Edessa*, which could not possibly have escaped their Hands, but that *Constantine* the Emperour's Brother, sent timely Succours from *Antioch*, for which Care and Industry he was rewarded with the Office of Domestick of the Schools of the East. The Summer was so dry, that no Rain fell for six Months together, for removal of which Judgment, Processions and Supplications were made, but nothing fell from Heaven but a great storm of Hail which did great mischief to Trees, and damage to the Tiles of Houses. A Great scarcity hereupon following at *Constantinople*, *John* procured Corn out of *Peloponnesus* and *Greece*, much to the Relief of the Citizens. In the mean while the two *Saracen* Brothers in *Sicily*, whom we lately mentioned, making War upon each other, *Apochapsus* who seemed to decline, craved assistence of the *Ameras* of *Africk*, who sent it on this Condition to have part of the Island assigned him, and jointly they defeated *Apolaphar*, *Maniaces* not yet being arrived with his Auxiliaries. *Apolaphar* hereupon betook himself to *Leo Opus* the Governour of *Lombardy*, who with such force as the shortness of the time would give him leave to raise, passed over into *Sicily*, where he grapled with the *Ameras* of *Africk*, and repressed him, but the two Brothers beginning to look towards an Agreement, lest strangers should deprive them of what they strugled for, and to plot against the *Romans*, he returned into *Italy*, and gave Scope to the *Ameras* to renew his Hostilities, which he did with all freedom, much to the loss of the Islanders. In the following year on the second of *November*, another Earthquake happened which lasted till *January*. And a great Famine followed throughout *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and all these Quarters as far as *Thessaly*, whereat the Bishop of *Thessalonica* taking advantage, and refusing to pay to his Clerks, both what he ought and what he was able to discharge, was caught, notwithstanding all his cunning by the Emperour. Being convict of Perjury (in swearing he had but thirty Pounds, though he was found to have three and thirty Centenaries of Gold in ready money) all this Wealth was seised to the use of his Creditours and the Poor, and he was turned out of his Bishoprick, of the Revenues whereof so much onely was assigned him, as was convenient for his maintenance.

Three several Earthquakes. The *Saracens* of *Mesopotamia* lay Siege to *Edessa*, which is relieved.

A Drought.

Another Earthquake. And a Famine in *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Thessaly*.

104. Now did *Pancratius* Prince of *Abasgia*, make War upon *Jasitas* Prince of the upper *Iberia*, whom the Emperour being obliged to succour, *John* sent against the Aggressour his Brother *Constantine*, Domestick of the Schools with all the Forces belonging to the East, yet supported by a promise, that *Delassenus* should with him be sent as Councellour and Assistant, which being not performed (so great a Jealousie was had of the Man) his Courage and Conduct failed him, and he returned home without having any thing performed. At this time *Zoe* the Empress indeavoured to poison *John*, which was discovered, and he punishing

nishing sufficiently the Conspiratours had a nearer regard both to her, and his own preservation, we must not forget (though our Authours seem to have done it all this while) that *George Maniaces* arriving in *Sicily*, to answer the request of the *Ameras* of that Island, the two Brothers made Peace betwixt themselves, and jointly made War against him, procuring out of *Africk* a great Power of Men for this purpose. Against these *Africans* he had such success, that a Brook is reported to have received a Tincture from their Bloud, and animated if not strengthned by this Success, he presently brought under thirteen Towns, and by Degrees conquered the whole Island. At the same time in the East matters were in a different posture, where *Edessa* escaped narrowly of being taken by the *Saracens*, in this manner. *Parasbatzes* an *Iberian* was Governour there ; to whom came twelve Men of the Principal of their Nation with five hundred Horse, and as many Camels carrying Boxes on their Backs, wherein were bestowed no fewer than twelve thousand of armed Men. The pretence was that the Camels bore Presents sent to the Emperour, but the Design was to get the armed Men into the Castle, and so to make sure of the Sentinels, as to master both it and the City. *Parasbatzes* the Governour kindly entertained the twelve Persons at a Feast, yet would not admit the Horsemen or Camels into the City, which refusal proved so fortunate, that the Conspiracy was discovered by an *Armenian* Beggar, who overheard one of those in the Boxes, discoursing and asking his Fellow where they were. The Governour secretly admonished by him to look to himself, lest his Guests at their Feast, and with a sufficient Number of Men going out of the Town, pull'd the *Saracens* out of their Nests, and killed them in the Place. This done he returned to his Company, the last course of whose entertainment was of the same sort; for he kill'd them all, except one of the chief, whom having deprived of Hands, Ears and Nose, in that Condition he sent him to make relation of their Success to his Countreymen.

Edessa like to be taken by the *Saracens*, but the Design is discovered and they are cut off.

105. In the mean time *John* who managed all things, was so in love with his Power and Domination,that his Jealousie and Fear to loose it, gave him but little quiet and contentment. His fear of *Delassenus* was grown to so great a suspicion,that he not onely broke his promise with his Brother, in sending him his assistant against the *Abasgian*, lest he improve any advantage put into his Hands; but thinking him too dangerous in the private Condition,as he was, resolved to deprive him of all Helpers and Abettours, and for that purpose sent into Banishment his two Brothers, and all his other Relations, being very desirous to rid himself of his whole Family. He was very cunning in his Contrivances, and not wanting to exercise his Wits for the hoarding up of Treasure, the usual Humour of Men of his Condition. No means he omitted, how indirect and unjust soever to accomplish this end. He raised the publick Revenue by greater Impositions upon Land,and other Courses unworthy as our Authours tell us to be related. In the mean time his Brother the Emperour,was vexed more than ever with his Disease,which notwithstanding all his Alms and Acts of Charity increased, and was more exasperated by accession of a Dropsie. At the same time his People were disturbed by almost continual Earthquakes,by one of which *Smirna* was made a miserable spectacle,and in some provinces the Quinzy raged so much,that the living scarcely sufficed to bury the Dead. In *Sicily*, the War renewed by the *Ameras* of *Carthage* against *Maniaces*, who watching his opportunity fell upon him with such violence and execution, that few of his Men escaped with their Lives, and he himself got away in a little boat into *Africk*. *Maniaces* to prevent his flight,in case he should be defeated,had before the ingagement given order to *Stephen* the Commander of the Fleet, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperour, to hover about the Coasts and intercept him; but through his Carelesness he escaped. This so far inraged *Maniaces*, and transported him, that assoon as he saw him he reviled him, and to severe words added as sowre blows, which he gave him on the Head with a Cudgel. This *Stephen* received with so great Indignation, that to be revenged he wrote to *John*, and accused him of plotting against the Emperour, to which his jealous Pate so far gave credit, that he ordered him to be sent Prisoner to *Constantinople*, where he was cast into close Prison, together with *Basilius Theodorocranus* a Patritian. The command of *Sicily* was given to *Stephen*, jointly with *Basilius Pedradites* an Eunuch, who so ordered their matters, that in a short space by their Rapacity, and negligence they brought all to nothing. It was *Maniaces* his course when he took any considerable Place, there to build a Fort to keep the People in obedience. Now the People perceiving the Careless humour of the two new Commanders, and provoked by their Exactions, privily pro-

The Emperour's Disease increased by accession of a Dropsie.

The War renewed in *Sicily*, which is wholly overrun by the *Ameras* of *Carthage Messana* excepted.

procured some Men to be sent over from *Carthage*, and falling upon these Forts, took them all with all the considerable Towns in the Island, *Messana* excepted, which was held by *Cataculo Ambustus* a *Protospatharian*, and Captain of the *Armenian* Legion, with three hundred Horse and five hundred Foot. To *Messana* now they lay siege, all that are capable of bearing Arms, being forced into the Field; *Stephen* and *Pediates* being fled into *Lombardy*.

106. For three days together *Cataculo* shut himself close up, and thereby caused the *Saracens* to believe him fearfull, and to despair of any way escaping the danger. They as fully secure and judging no otherwise, than that they had him as sure as a Bird in a Net, neglected all Discipline, stragling up and down, making merry, and giving up themselves to all Jollity and Drunkenness. On the fourth day which was *Whitsunday*, he having finished his Devotions, took the advantage offered him, and about Dinner time made a brisk Sally upon them, wherein first making to the Tent of *Apolaphar* their Commander, he killed him as he was drunk, and then made vast Slaughter of the ordinary sort, so as all the Countrey was overspread with dead Bodies, so unexpected was the Onset: And incredible Wealth the Souldiers got in the rifling of the Camp. To leave all *Sicily* now in the Hands of the *Saracens*, *Messana* excepted, and to return into the East, we find *Michael* the Emperour at *Thessalonica*, fixed at the Tomb of *Demetrius* the Martyr, by whose means he hoped to be freed from his Disease, and thence would he not stir without absolute necessity compelled him, neglecting all Affairs of State which were cast upon the Shoulders of *John* his Brother. And never did man manage them more to the disquiet and discontent of the Subject, whom he oppressed all ways and Methods he could, with whose cruel Actions other sad Accidents joyning, made them very miserable. For Earthquakes and violent Storms of Wind and Rain sorely distressed them, yet with this little comfort, that together with the Comets which frequently appeared, they seemed to predict the impending Fate of the Tyrants. Their Sister *Mary* the Mother of *Cæsar* as sensible of what was coming, having in a Journey to *Ephesus* observed several Acts of Injustice and Oppression, thereof certified *John*, and was earnest with him to prevent such things for the time to come, for which she was much derided, he calling her Fool, telling her she talk'd like a Woman, and understood not what belonged to Government. But while he thus pleased himself in his Craft of governing, a thing fell out which much disturbed both his Brother and him. To defray his Expenses at *Thessalonica*, *John* put ten Centenaries of Gold aboard a Vessel, which by a Tempest was split upon the Coast of *Illyricum*, and *Stephen Boisthlabus* Prince of *Serbia* (or *Servia*) who had lately made his escape from *Constantinople*, and turning out thence *Theophilus Eroticus*, had made himself Master of that Countrey, seized the Money to his own use.

To which the *Saracens* laying siege are by a sudden Sally cut off.

Michael the Emperor fixed at the Tomb of *Demetrius*. *John* his Brother exercising great Cruelties.

107. The Emperour when he understood that he had his Money, sent and made demand of it, threatning to recover it by force if fair words would not prevail, *Stephen* slighted the Threats, whereupon to make them good, *George Probatas* an Eunuch was sent with an Army, but by his Indiscretion and want of Conduct the Design miscarried, and having lost well nigh all his men in Straits and impassable places, he himself escaped with great difficulty. In the very same year the *Bulgarians* revolted upon this occasion. One *Petrus Deleanus* a *Bulgarian*, the Servant of a Citizen of *Constantinople* running away from his Master, in all places as far as *Morabus* and *Belegrade* (Castles of *Pannonia*, saith our Authour, beyond *Ister*) and bordering upon the Territories of the *Turks*) gave out that he was the natural Son of *Romanus* and Nephew of *Samuel*, by which he so moved the *Bulgarian* Nation, which having lately submitted unto the Yoke, was now again impatient of Servitude, that in *Naissus* and *Scupia*, the principal Towns, aswell as elsewhere, he was with lucky Acclamations proclaimed and owned as King; and as a Sacrifice to this new Idol the *Romans* were butchered whereever they were met with. As soon as this was known to *Basilius Synademus* the Governour of *Dyrrachium*, he judging it was the best way to suppress the mischief in the beginning, marched out with all the Forces of the Garrison against *Deleanus*, but coming to a place called *Debra*, a Quarrel fell out betwixt him and a certain Tribune in the Army, who taking the effectual way to ruine powerfull and popular men, accused him to the Emperour of Treason, whereupon he was turn'd out of Command, and clapt up close Prisoner at *Thessalonica*. The Tribune by Name *Michael Dermocaitas* could not for his good Service and Zeal receive a lesser Reward than the Command of the Malefactour, which he managed so extremely ill, that the People inraged by his Cruel Exactions, rose up against him as one man,

The *Bulgarians* revolt chusing *Deleanus* for King.

Cedreno Δελεάνος *Zona* ra Δολιάνος.

So do the Inhabitants of *Dyrrachium* chusing *Teichomere.*

man, and having driven him out of Town, and knowing how the matter would be resented by the Emperour, openly revolted, making choice for their King one *Teichomere* a Souldier amongst them of good note both for Valour and Prudence.

108. Now were there two Kings, and consequently two great Factions in *Bulgaria*, whereof when neither seemed able to prevail against the other by force, by cunning and slight the matter was easily effected. *Deleanus* wrote kind Letters to the other, inviting him to partake of the Sovereignty, and so counterfeited a contented and self-denying Person, that he prevailed with *Teichomere*, to come to him and join their Forces together. Having now gotten a convenient opportunity, he calls all the Souldiers together, and desired them that if they believed him to be descended from *Samuel*, and were satisfied in their Election of him to be their King, that they would remove *Teichomere*, or if such was their pleasure he would willingly surrender his Interest to him, forasmuch as it was not to be thought, that *Bulgaria* could bear two Kings together. This produced at first a great contest amongst the Souldiers, which ended yet in the choice of *Deleanus* to be their King, and the stoning to death of the unhappy *Teichomere*. *Deleanus* being now possessed of the Kingdom without a Rival, led an Army presently towards *Thessalonica* against the Emperour, who would not stay his coming, but in a confused manner ran away to *Constantinople*, leaving all his Baggage and Treasury behind to be brought after him by *Manuel Ibatza* one of his Domesticks, who carried it over to *Deleanus*. This Upstart so diligently managed his matters, that by Forces sent under Conduct of one *Caucanus*, he took *Dyrrachium*, and into *Greece* dispatched another Army under Command of one *Anthimus*. So much he prospered in his Enterprize, that the Province of *Nicopolis*, all except *Naupactus* gave up it self into his Hands, being impatient of the Domination of *John*, whose most cruel and exacting Officer they cut into pieces, and cast off the Yoke of Obedience. When *Basilius* conquered *Bulgaria*, he made no alteration as to Taxes, but contented himself with what had been paid to *Samuel* in kind, in this proportion, that whoever had a Yoke of Oxen paid a Measure of Wheat, another of *Milium*, and a Vessel of Wine to the publick. This *John* had changed into ready money, which they of *Nicopolis* took so very ill, that taking their opportunity they revolted from the Emperour, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. At this time a great Conspiracy was hatched against the Emperour by *Michael Cerularius*, *John Macrempolita*, and many others, which being detected they were banished, and their Estates seized. And against *Constantine* the great Domestick, a Mutiny was raised at *Mesanactæ*, for which *Michael Gabras*, *Theodosius Mesanyctes*, and other Centurions lost their Eyes. And *Gregory Taronita* a Patritian, the Principal contriver was covered with a raw Hide all over, but where space was left for breath and sight, and in that manner sent up to *John* to *Constantinople*.

Teichomere removed and slain by the Wiles of *Deleanus* who alone governs *Bulgaria.*

Leading an Army towards *Thessalonica.*

Takes *Dyrrachium*, and most part of the Province of *Nicopolis.*

A Conspiracy discovered and punished.

Alusianus run to the *Bulgarians.*

109. In the Ninth Indiction, the Month of *September*, *Alusianus* the Patritian, the second Son of *Aaron* so often mentioned, and Governour of *Theodosiople*, fled secretly and betook himself to *Deleanus* upon this occasion. Being accused of some unjust proceedings, the Emperour or rather his Brother was so incensed against him, that before his Cause could be heard, he was forbidden the Court, or to come to *Constantinople* without leave, and more than this *John* scrued out of him Fifty pounds of Gold, and which vexed him most took from him a very beautifull Woman, which he kept in the Countrey. Being not able by all his solicitation to procure a redress of these grievances, he took the *Armenian* Habit, and passing for a Servant of *Basilius Theodorocranus*, got undiscovered to *Ostrobus*, where *Deleanus* then lying with an Army, very joyfully received him in appearance. He was sufficiently sensible how despicable both his counterfeit Person and Interest was in danger to prove at the appearance of one of the true Family, but perceiving all the Souldiers out of respect to his Lineage to bear him hearty affection, he saw there was no other way, but to offer him to share in the Sovereignty of the Countrey. *Alusianus* was wiser than to neglect so fair a beginning, and being admitted his Collegue was presently sent with forty thousand Men against *Thessalonica*, which then was held by *Constantine* the Patritian, the Emperour's Kinsman, who so manfully defended himself, that *Alusianus* having with all sorts of Engines attacked it for six Days together, perceived there was no other Course to be taken, but to starve them out. But the Defendants resolving to frustrate his expectations, made a General and unexpected Sally, and forced him to raise his Siege with such loss, that fifteen thousand of his Men are said

Is admitted Collegue with *Deleanus.*

Besieges *Thessalonica.*

But is beaten and his Army routed.

said to be slain, and the rest ran away with him to *Deleanus*, the Victory being ascribed to *Saint Demetrius* the Martyr, whom some of the *Bulgarians* swore they saw fighting, like a young Man at the Head of the *Roman* Troops, and destroying those against whom he fought by Fire which proceeded from him, so powerfull had been the Prayers of the besieged at his Sepulchre, and efficacious the Ointment proceeding from his Tomb.

110. This defeat of *Alusianus*, increased the Jealousies already conceived betwixt him and *Deleanus*, and ripened their Hatred and Designs; for *Deleanus* would not be convinced but it was out of Treachery, and the other was rendred more peevish and out of humour by the apprehension of his Malice, and of the disgrace he had received by the overthrow. Now they thought of nothing, but how to circumvent and destroy each other, nor plotted any thing but how to get advantages to doe it. But *Alusianus* was before-hand with his Collegue, whom having invited to a Feast, when he was drunk he caused his Eyes to be put out, and not trusting to his own Interest or the Humour of the *Bulgarians*, then sent to the Emperour and offered to return to his obedience, provided he might be accepted, and receive rewards due to his Loyalty, which was granted, and he repaired to *Michael*, then lying at *Mosynopolis*, who conferred on him the Dignity of *Magister*, and to make sure of him sent him to his Brother *John* to *Constantinople*. *Michael* was before this resolved in Person, to make an expedition into *Bulgaria*, upon hearing that that Province had revolted, having this saying frequently in his Mouth, that *It was a shame for him who had added nothing to the Empire, to lose any Portion of it.* The Dropsie had already so far prevailed, that he was advised by those about him to altar his purpose, which was farther urged by the Principal Senatours, but he by this opposition was the more quickened to undertake the Journey. And when on a certain Night he seemed overpowered by his Disease, and no hope there was, that he could proceed in his March the following day, to the great wonder of all Men he was in the Morning seen at the Head of his Men, and very stoutly led on into *Bulgaria*, where designing to fall upon the Revolters, and reduce them by force, this opportunity was presented of getting the Victory without fighting. For of their two Princes, the one being deposed, and the other revolted, the *Bulgarians* without an Head, and here and there dispersed, very easily returned to obedience. *Deleanus* having got into his Hands, he sent to *Thessalonica*. Then piercing into the more Inner Parts of the Countrey, he came to the wooden Rampart made formerly by *Manuel Ibatzes* at *Prilapus*, to restrain the Emperour's Incursions, but this he broke down, and having dissipated some *Bulgarians* who began to unite themselves, he took *Ibatzes*, with whom and *Deleanus* he returned in Triumph to *Constantinople*. Having done this work, and perceiving his time to be but short by the prevalence of his Disease, he cast off all Cares of State, and forsaking the Palace betook himself to a Monastery of his own building, and there putting off the Purple and all Ensigns of Majesty, was shaven for a Monk. He gave himself up to Religious Exercises, wholly refusing to admit the Empress to his presence, and perpetually bewailed his Sins, especially the Murther of *Romanus* the Emperour, till such time as his Dropsie oppressed his Vitals, which was on the tenth Day of *December*, in the tenth Indiction, after he had Reigned seven years and eight Months, or thereabouts. He of himself was mild enough in his Government, though the contrary Humour of his Brothers made his Reign be ill spoken of. The onely Crime laid to his Charge is, that about *Romanus* his death; which yet most ascribe more to his Brother *John* than him.

Alusianus circumvents *Deleanus* and returns to the Emperour.

Who marches towards *Bulgaria*.

Reducing it into obedience returns in Triumph to *Constantinople*.

Is shaven.

Dies.

111. By the death of *Michael*, the Empire was again devolved upon *Zoe*, as by hereditary right. *Michael* sirnamed *Calaphates* his Nephew by his Sister, the Wife of *Stephen*, who ordered matters so ill in *Sicily*, was as we said promoted by him to the Dignity of *Cæsar*. Yet afterward, as if he repented of what he had done, he was ordered to live out of *Constantinople*, and forbidden to come to Court without licence first obtained. But when *Michael* was gone into the Monastery, his Brothers wrote Letters as in the Emperour's Name, whereby he was recalled into the Palace, but his Uncle *John* gave him his Lessen, which was by all means to please *Zoe*, and doe nothing without her approbation. Thus instructed, they bring him into her Presence, where he falls down at her Feet, and putting her in mind how she had adopted him for her Son, at the time of his Advancement to the Title of *Cæsar*, and ingage most solemnly to her, that upon the Death of his Uncle he should onely enjoy the Name of Emperour, but

The Empire devolved upon *Zoe*.

but ſhe all the Power, whom as a Slave bought with money is wont to do his Lady and Patroneſs, he would obſerve and obey to the utmoſt. She being of her ſelf very eaſie, and finding the buſineſs of Government more troubleſome than ſhe had imagined, after three days deliberation complied with them, and (adopting him for her Son, ſaith *Cedrenus*, though others write that this was done before) cauſed him to be adorned with the Imperial Diadem, of which he was unworthy, not ſo much in reſpect to his obſcure Birth and Family (his Father's Trade having been to pitch Ships) but to his diſpoſition and manners, though before the Trial he was reputed active and induſtrious. As an ill Omen, of what a giddy humour he would prove, at his Coronation he was taken with ſuch a *Vertigo* and Miſt before his Eyes, that he had like to have faln into a ſwoun, and with Ointments and Perfumes, could hardly be recovered. But thus did *Michael Calaphates*, the fifth of that Name, become Emperour of the *Romans* in the Tenth Indiction, *A. D.* M. XLI. Before his Admiſſion, *Zoe* would ſecure ſome matters her ſelf. Firſt *John* his Uncle, ſhe removed into a Monaſtery. Then *Conſtantine* the Domeſtick of the Schools, ſhe deprived of his Command, and confined him to his Houſe, as ſhe did alſo *George* the *Protoveſtiarius*.

Who makes *Michael Calaphates* Emperour.

112. It's obſerved of the Reign of *Michael*, that during its continuance, there was ſtill an Earthquake in one part or other of the Empire. Such were his Actions, that they quickly produced an Alteration in his Fortune. He was deceitfull and highly ingrateſull, having no regard either to the obligations of Nature or Friendſhip, of ſo laviſh a Tongue, that never regarded what he ſaid, his Heart and Lips never agreeing: In adverſity moſt baſe and ſervile, and born to puniſh the Crimes of his Uncle *John*, and to procure the Ruine of all his Family. For ſome time however his Uncle had been outed by the Empreſs, yet he uſed his advice, gave him great Titles and moſt fair words; but either to pleaſe the Empreſs, or rather to gratifie his own Humour by degrees, bore himſelf to him after a quite contrary Faſhion; being ſo far from giving him any reſpect, that he took all occaſions to croſs and to affront him. The onely Perſon of his Kindred to whom he bore any reſpect was his Uncle *Conſtantine*, whom he prevailed with *Zoe* to have recalled from his Confinement: on him he conferred the Title of *Nobiliſſimus*, and would have him near him, ſuffering him to affront his Brother *John* in his Preſence without any reprehenſion, which cauſed *John* to depart at a good diſtance from the City. Hereupon *Michael* broke out into open Enmity againſt him. He had formerly ſent for him to Court, but when he was to come, on purpoſe abſented himſelf at the Theatre, to behold the *Circenſian Games*. Now again he ſent a Gally for him to give an account of his proud Carriage, and when he was come near the Palace, ordered him to be carried away into Baniſhment: And thus he rewarded him, by whoſe Craft and Deſign he had both received the Dignity of *Cæſar*, and the Imperial Power. Having thus removed him, he dealt no better with his other Relations, many of whom not onely men in Sex, but bearded by reaſon of their Age, nay both Husbands and Fathers he cauſed to be gelded, and made Eunuchs. He had now obtained the Conqueſt over his own Kindred, but another Triumph remained, which required more than Herculean pains. This was to reduce the Empreſs *Zoe* to a private Life, and this he reſolved upon by the advice and aſſiſtence of his Uncle *Conſtantine*, and firſt attempted it by theſe means.

His Character.

Zonaras Tom. 3. in Michaele Calaphato.

Diſgracing and uſing ill all his own Relations.

113. This moſt Ignoble (adoptive) Son cauſes odd rumours to be ſpread (ſay our Authours) againſt his moſt Noble Mother, reporting her guilty of many Crimes, particularly of witchcraft and ſorcery, and that ſhe Plotted to take away his Life. Having thus made his way he caſts her out of the Court, baniſhes her into the Princes Iſland, cauſes one who had ſo well deſerved of him to be ſhaven, and inſtead of the Purple which had deſcended to her from her many Anceſtours, to put on the Habit of a Nun. *Cedrenus* writes that before he did this he reſolved to try how the affections of the Citizens of *Conſtantinople* ſtood, after this manner. The next Lord's day after *Eaſter* he ordered a ſolemn Proceſſion to be made to the *Church of the Apoſtles*, in which he appeared with his Diadem on his Head, and waited on by all the Senate. All the People ran to the ſhew, and thoſe that lived in the Streets through which he paſſed from the Palace adorned the Walls and Windows of their Houſes, as is uſual, with the beſt and richeſt Hangings they had to Grace the Solemnity, and were not wanting to follow him with uſual Acclamations. This the vain and miſerable Man concluded to proceed from their intire af-

And depoſing *Zoe* the Empreſs.

fection

fection to him, and in the night following put his device in practice in the manner formerly related. " The day following he caused a writing pub-
" lickly to be read by the Prefect of the City to this purpose, that he had
" banished *Zoe* because she was an Enemy to his Government, and removed
" *Alexius* from the Patriarchate for consenting to her Designs, promising
" his People all protection and all good things if they remained firm in their
" Duty and Allegiance to him. As the Prefect was concluding, some one a-
" mongst the multitude was heard to say, *We will not have* Stauropta Cala-
" phates *for our Emperour, but we will obey* Zoe *our Mother to whom the Em-*
" *pire is justly descended by hereditary right*, to which presently all the Peo-
" ple acclaimed as with one voice. *Let* Calaphates *his Eyes be pulled out.*
Then with stones and all other things that came to hand they fell upon the Prefect (this was *Anastasius*, a Patritian, formerly one of the Ministers of *Zoe*'s Father) and had certainly kill'd him had he not speedily got away.

Upon which a tumult arises in the City of *Constantinople.*

114. *Zonaras* writes that *Michael*, after his deposing of *Zoe* accounting himself secure, fell to his pleasures and former delights, and therein was suddenly surprized. For at what had happened to the Empress all the People was affected no otherwise than each one is wont to be at his own Calamity and misfortune: the Men bethought themselves of what her Ancestours had performed, and the Women concerned for her Sex as well as Birth failed not to contribute their passions for making up a publick discontent. The whole City out of a discontent broke out into a publick Rage and sedition, and every Man resolved to venture his Life in vindication of her to whom the right belonged. The Patriarch out of fear of being deposed had taken up his residence in the great Church, where hearing the joyfull News of those commotions he expected to hear of the deposition of *Michael.* Thither repaired all the Eunuchs that had belonged to the Father of *Zoe*, with *Constantine Cabasilas* the Patritian, and now they durst shew themselves to all the rest of the Senatours, who with Unanimous consent sent for *Theodora* out of *Petrium* and in the Church saluted her Empress together with her Sister *Zoe.* Then with all the multitude they made to the Court, thence to expell *Michael*, who at first was little sensible of the danger wherein he stood, till seeing the People so much bandy together and his Guards out of conscience incline to the side of the Women, he was then very much affrighted. His Uncle the *Nobilissimus* to provide both for his own security, and his Estate, sent and fetcht back *Zoe* into the Palace, and against the Nobility opposed some Companies of Souldiers who restrained their violence a little though with the loss of many Lives, till they brought her to the Theatre and there shewed to them their Lady and Mistress, having devested her of her vail and restored to her all the imperial Ornaments. They imagined this would quiet the People, but so far was it from it that the sight of two together, so divers as to their Birth and Education, the more inraged them, which they testified not onely by most reproachfull words but by casting of Stones and all other expressions of Fury and Indignation.

Cedrenus.

Theodora sent for and saluted Empress together with her Sister *Zoe* who is brought back into the Palace.

115. *Michael* now despairing to doe any good resolved to depart into a Monastery, and there take the Religious Habit, but his Uncle would not permit him, telling him an Empire was not so easily to be parted with, that it was manfully to be defended, and to be parted with by a generous and resolute death worthy of so great a Prince. Resolution being taken accordingly, all that were in the Court were Armed, and it was esteemed very good fortune that *Catacalo Ambustus* was lately arrived out of *Sicily* with the welcome News of what had happened at *Messana*, whose presence and Assistence not a little incouraged the Emperour. The multitude Attacquing the Court in three several Parties, the defendants were also divided into so many, who being well Armed killed many of the unarmed People, who with Stones, peices of Wood or any thing they could light on ingaged with the Souldiers and three Thousand Men are said to have perished in this Attempt. But however the Citizens at length by their Numbers prevailed and breaking into the Palace made Booty all the Treasure, and what else they could there find, tore in pieces the Rolls of the Tributes and sought diligently how to take *Michael*, who seeing that there was no more contending nor striving against so great a stream, took a Pinace, and with the *Nobilissimus* fled to the Monastery of *Studium* where they both took the Religious Habit, and so this contest ended after three days and as many nights. *Zoe* who was left in the

The Citizens attacque the Court.

And force the Emperour to fly in his Pinace to *Studium* where he takes the Religious Habit.

the Palace having now recovered the Sovereign power disdained to think that her Sister should Reign with her, but the Senate and People would needs have it so, and she was forced to acquiesce in their Resolution and admit *Theodora* into the Palace. Then from an high Place did she make a speech, first to the Senate, and then to the People, giving them thanks for their great kindness expressed to her and her Family, wishing and promising them all returns of kindness, and she desired to know their opinions what should be done with the Emperour, for such he was, and according to the Rules of the Government for such he could not be denied.

116. The Universal Cry was that the wicked wretch as they Termed him, should be made away; some named the nailing him to a Pole, others to a Cross, and others more mercifull, propounded the saving of his Life by the loss of his Eyes. *Zoe* pitied the Man (as a Creature it's likely of her own making, for we naturally love those to whom we have been in the place of Parents or Benefactours) and was for sparing him; but *Theodora* full of Animosity for her long confinement, and desirous to vent her Anger against any one, gave order to *Capanares*, one who was lately made Prefect of the City, to goe speedily and pull out the Eyes of him and the *Nobilissimus*. His Errand and Voyage being known, the multitude followed him to the Monastery, where the two Princes upon notice of their coming betook themselves into the most secret Recess of the Church of St. *John Baptist*, but the People the more insensed for the death of so many of their Relations and Neighbours dragged them out by the Heels through the *Forum* to the place called *Sigma* above the Monastery of *Peribleptus* and there pulled out their Eyes, *Constantine* bearing it very patiently, but *Michael* with Reluctancy and Lamentation desiring them to doe it to his Uncle first who had been the Authour and cause of all the Evils of which they complained, and he had the favour to close his Eyes with the sight of that Spectacle. After the blinding of them they were both banished, *Constantine* and others of his kindred to several places and *Michael* to *Elegnis* on the twenty first day of *April* the tenth Indiction after he had Reigned four Months and five days. The two Empresses (or rather *Zoe* alone) being thus made sure of began to settle the Commonwealth and their own Estate by bestowing Honours upon the Senatours, and distributing Money amongst the People as the case required: and commands were sent into all the Provinces that no Offices of Magistracy should be sold which before had been the ordinary course, and all Acts of Injustice and Oppression were severely forbidden. There being great occasion for Money, the *Nobilissimus* was fetch'd back to the Court, and being questioned concerning the publick Treasure, was by threats brought to discover three and fifty Centenaries of Gold hid at his House, which being found he was returned to the former place of his confinement. Then was *Nicholas* the president made Domestick of the Schools of the East having been the Eunuch of their Father, and of the West, *Constantine Cabasilas* the Patritian. And *John Maniaces* whom *Michael* had dismissed out of Custody from a Patritian was honoured with the Dignity of *Magister*, and with full Authority sent General of an Army into *Italy*.

Michael and the *Nobilissimus* have their Eyes put out and are banished.

Zoe and *Theodora* being Empresses.

Πρόεδρος.

117. Though matters were thus well ordered, yet the State seemed not settled except an Emperour was created, which all Men wished, and that should be lawfully married to *Zoe*. And she being as desirous of an Husband as they were of an Emperour had already cast her thoughts and affections upon several. The first was *Constantine Delassenus*, who was sent for to Court as upon some other occasion; but he spake so roughly and seemed so intractable that he was rejected. The next was one *Constantine Catapano* the Husband of another Woman, though her Paramour; but his Wife not enduring the thought that she should part with him in that manner chose rather by Poison to send him to another World, that neither of them might enjoy him. Being thus prevented as to him she resolved upon one *Constantine Monomachus*, whom *John* having banished to *Mytilena*, because a rumour was spread that he should Reign, she had recalled, and while she yet thought of Marrying, the other *Constantine* had made Pretor or Judge of the *Greeks*. He was a Man both Noble as to his extraction and very handsome. His first Wife dying he married the Niece of *Romanus* the Emperour by his Brother, but by that Alliance got not any preferment; yet coming by that means often to Court he had opportunity to be in the Empress's sight and became very familiar with her, and she was so kind to him (as to say truth her humour was ever free and generous) that from her bounty he received great summs of

Δικαστὴν ἑλλήνων προσηγορεύετο.

of Money. This made some suspicious and credulous Persons talk hardly of them and *Michael* the Successour of *Romanus* out of mere jealousie though for some pretended Crimes confined the Man to *Lesbus* where he continued all his time, and found not the other *Michael* that followed more favourable to him. Being now sent for to the City he was stopped at the Church of St. *Michael* in *Damocrania* and *Stephen* of *Pergamenus* an Eunuch of the Chamber meeting him adorned him with Purple and brought him in a Pinace to *Constantinople* where he was Married to *Zoe* by one *Stypes* a Priest of New *Rome*, as *Cedrenus* calls him, for *Allexius* the Patriarch refused to solemnize the Nuptials because of the third Marriage, so terrible a matter in those days, yet did he set the Crown on his Head the day following. Thus did *Constantine* sirnamed *Monomachus* obtain the imperial Dignity on the eleventh day of *June* in the tenth Indiction. *A. D.* M. XLII. And the power of the two Sisters became extinct after it had continued scarcely three months which though it pleased the People, out of respect to the Nobility of their House and their hatred to *Michael*, yet to the prudent sort seemed very uncouth and indecent. For odd they thought it to see two Women sit together upon the Tribunal, to have all Royal Ceremonies performed to two of that sex at the same time, incircled with the usual Guards and attended by the Senatours and principal Magistrates: to see causes debated before them, all affairs of State handled in their presence; to behold them giving audience to Ambassadours, presiding in the Senate and the other publick and solemn Assemblies of the Empire.

Constantine Monomachus married to *Zoe*, and chosen Emperour.

118. The general satisfaction for having an Emperour was no whit diminished by the first Observations made upon the Carriage and Demeanour of *Monomachus*. For the Senatours he immediately obliged by preferring them to places of Dignity and profit, and the People by distribution of Money, as he thought he had Interest and Opportunity. For satisfaction of the Provinces he sent abroad his Edicts, by which giving notice of his Promotion, he promised all good Offices, and the removal of all Grievances whatsoever. *John* the Great Actour in the days of his Brother, he removed into *Lesbus*, *Michael* his Nephew, lately deposed, into *Chius*, and *Constantine Nobilissimus* into *Samus*, whereby he farther pleased the People. But Wise men and such as pried nearer into his Actions and the Methods of his Government observed, that without any Prudence or grave consideration he conferred Dignities, and bestowed Money, aswell the unfit as fit, the unworthy as worthy receiving his Favours; and he never regarded whether there was Money or no Money in the Treasury. But this could not hinder him from being Popular, or not obvious to the eyes of the Vulgar, to whom other things did farther commend him. For he frankly and freely forgave such from whom he had received Injuries when a private man; and he was so wise as to give content at home, making himself acceptable to the two Women by a Pleasant and Debonnair Carriage, and he little cared to perplex himself and soure his humour by much and difficult business, but rather indulged his Pleasures and took his case. He seemed to Countenance men of Ingenuity and Learning, though of the latter he scarcely had received any taste. But the Provinces were in no good condition, however matters stood at Court and in the City. On the sixth of *October* in the eleventh Indiction a Comet appeared traversing the Heavens from the East to the West, and kept on its Course as long as that Month continued, being afterward esteemed to forerun and predict those Calamities which shortly after happened. *Stephen Boisthlabus* who, as was said, escaped from *Constantinople*, had seized on the Mountains of *Illyricum*, of the *Triballi* and *Servi*, and thence like a Beast of Prey fell down upon the adjacent Territories of the Empire, and did very great mischief to the Inhabitants. Hereupon the Emperour sent Orders to *Michael* a Patritian the Son of *Anastasius* the *Logotheta*, and then Governour of *Dyrrachium*, to raise what force he could out of the adjoyning Provinces, and hunt him out. But it's both the weakness and grievous punishment of the folly of a Prince, to chuse unfit Persons for the management of business. This *Michael* had not the least skill in Martial Matters, was an Effeminate and Dissolute Person, brought up in Idleness and Luxury and now ordered his Affairs like such a General, with sixty thousand men he marched into the Territories of the *Triballi*, and that through such difficult, rough, steep, and narrow ways, that onely two Horsemen could ride abreast. The *Servi* living at those Straits, observed his motion and suffered him without Interruption to pass them into the Champion Countrey, and there to burn and plunder at his pleasure, but watched his return and possessed themselves of all the Straits and difficult Passages. And when loaded with booty and without fear or wit he re-entred, they fell upon

He obliges his Subjects.

And acceptable to the Empresses.

He sends an Army against the *Triballi*.

Which is destroyed at its return through the Straits.

on him and his Army with Stones, Earth, Darts, and all other things convenient from the higher ground, that of the miserable Souldiers who could not in the least defend themselves nor stir any way forty thousand were slain. The rest passing the Holes and Valleys which were now filled up with the Carkasses of their Fellows got up to the Mountains as they could, and by Night together with their Prudent General escaped.

119. At the same time a great danger threatned the Emperour from *Italy*, where *George Maniaces* usurped the Sovereigntv for these Causes and upon these occasions. When first this *George* was by *Michael* sent into *Italy* to assist *Apolaphar* the Prince of *Sicily* against his Brother and the *Africans*, he took to his assistence five hundred *Franks* Commanded by one *Arduin* the Lord of a certain Region subject to none other, and by their assistence did he obtain all his Trophies in that War. When he was removed from his Charge, *Michael Doceanus* the *Protospatharian*, a silly Man, omitted to pay these *Franks* their monthly Wages as he had been wont; and when their Captain came to him, and desired him to be more courteous to the Souldiers, and not defraud them of their Wages, he contumeliously beat him, which caused the *Franks* to Revolt. He to chastize and reduce them would not use all the Force he might, but ingaged them with the *Opsician* Legion, and a part of that of the *Thracians* upon the River *Ausidus* at *Cannæ*, and there lost the greater part of his Army, where the *Romans* long before had been ignominiously beaten by *Hannibal*. Yet did not this experiment teach him any wisedom, so as sufficiently to furnish himself for another Ingagement, but onely rallying together such as had been lately beaten with some *Pisidians* and *Lycaonians*, wheih made up the Legion of the *Phoberati*, he fell rashly upon the *Franks* again, now strengthned by considerable Supplies, and from them received a great Overthrow. *Michael* the Emperour having Information of his Conduct, sent one *Boioannes* to succeed him, a Man of much repute for matters of War, Descended from *Boioannes*, who under the Reign of *Basilius* reduced all *Italy* as far as *Rome* to his obedience. But he having none but beaten and discourag'd Men to lead against the Enemy, was so far from driving them out, that he could not defend his own Posts, but was defeated at *Monopolis* and taken Prisoner; after which the *Franks* so bestirred themselves, that they brought under *Italy*, four Cities onely remaining to the *Romans*, (our Authcurs mean the Emperour) *viz. Brundusium*, *Hidriis*, *Tarentum* and *Baris*.

Italy taken from the Emperour by the *Franks* except four Cities.

120. Now *Michael* the Emperour being dead, and *Calaphates* deposed, *Maniaces*, as we said, was sent into *Italy*, and there, though he laboured under the same difficulty of want of Men as those before him had done, yet so far exceeding them in the Art of a General, that he drove the *Franks* from *Capua*, *Beneventum* and *Naples*, and brought the Countrey into a reasonable good condition. Whilst he employed himself there in his Command, *Romanus Sclerus* who was his Neighbour where his Estate lay in the Eastern Parts, who bore him mortal hatred for an Injury he thought done to him, did him such mischief as forced him upon an Attempt, the Issue of which proved destructive to him. The Sister of this *Sclerus* was the Emperour *Monomachus* his Mistress, who on her so doted, that besides all other things she desired, he preferred her Brother to be *Magister* and *Protostrator*. Puffed up with this advancement, and now thinking he might doe any thing, he both injured him in his Estate and Lands, and lay with his Wife very licentiously. *Maniaces* having notice hereof, boyled with Rage; and by no means could digest the Affront, but as he was thinkng how to be revenged for these Injuries his thoughts were farther employed by another, for *Sclerus* procured him to be turn'd out of his Employment in *Italy*. This made him desperate, for he could not but expect still worse at Court where his Enemy had so great an Interest, and drove him into a Resolution of Usurping and taking Arms against the Emperour. He killed him that was sent to succeed him, one *Pardus* a *Protospatharian*, a Fellow not at all fit for such an Employment, but onely because he was known to *Monomachus*, and then took the Diademe with other Ensigns of Majesty, and was by the Forces of *Italy* which he easily cajolled to this Service, saluted Emperour. Putting his Army Aboard he passed over into *Bulgaria*, with the News whereof they were so struck at *Constantinople*, that Letters were written to him in the Emperour's Name, which promised Pardon to him and his Followers for all that was past, besides good Rewards, if they would return to their former obedience. But he continuing fixt in his Resolution, an Army was got together, and committed to the Conduct of *Stephanus Sebastophorus*, who brought the tidings of his Promotion to *Monomachus* when he met him at *Damocranea*. At a

Maniaces usurps in *Italy*.

Entring *Bulgaria*,

 place

Is met by *Stephen* the Emperour's General, and in Battel wounded, of which he dies.

place called *Ostrobus* they met, and then *Stephen* had the worst of it, *Maniaces* leading on his own Men, and fighting stoutly in the Head of them. And all now received and acknowledged him for Emperour in the Field, when suddenly he fell dow dead from his Horse, having it seems received a mortal wound in his Breast, though not known from what Hand. Now was the Scene quite changed: they who a little before did him reverence as Emperour, now railed at him as a Traitour, and his Head being cut off, his Men submitted to the present Power. *Stephen* for his great Conquest returned in triumph to the City, where for a shew the Head of *Maniaces* was carried on the point of a Spear, and some of those whom the Death of their General, not the valour of *Stephen* had subdued, to encrease the Pageantry followed it as a Trophy upon Asses; the worthy Conquerour bringing up the Rere on a Milk-white Steed.

An account of *Constantine*, with *Scleræna* his Doxy.

121 But into so great danger was *Monomachus* brought by his Mistress, a Lady so considerable, that *Zonaras* thinks it not a thing below the Dignity of an History to give an account of their Amours; he having Buried two Wives, had no mind to Marry a third, but it seems judging Fornication better than a breach of that humour so much applauded in those days, used the company of this Woman, being a Widow, and the Kinswoman of one of his Wives, at first privily, but afterwards without any dissimulation. She was Young, very Beautifull, and descended of the Noble Family of the *Scleri*, which attracted his Affections to her, but she was not at all in his debt; the testifications of her Love to him were full as large and significant. They could neither of them be at quiet if they were not together; and when he was Banished she followed him, not able to live but in his company, where by all her Arts she endeavoured to make his condition as easie as might be, both with her society, advice and supply of his wants, so far as her Estate would allow, having a strange fancy all along that one day he would arrive at the Sovereignty. And when at the Sovereignty he arrived, at the height of his Prosperity he forgot not her that had been his chief comfort in his distress, but got the consent of the Empress that she might be sent for to Court and provided for, with which *Zoe* was well enough content, the greatness of her Age having now mortified Jealousie in her, together with her experience of the misfortunes which this life affords. Now was *Scleræna* removed from *Mitylena* to the City, where at first she was in no splendour either as to House or Attendance, but by degrees was served like an Empress, and her House turned as into a Court. For *Monomachus*, where she lay built very sumptuously both for her convenience, and that under pretence of overseeing his Workmen he might have oftner occasions to make her Visits. At first he was shie and cautious of being discovered in his Amours, but at length cast off all dissimulation, and used her not as a Concubine and Vice-wife, but as one to whom he had been lawfully Married. Now all the Treasury is at her Command, and not enduring her absence hardly for a moment, he obtains the consent of the Empress for bringing her into the Court, where by his endeavours a great friendship was contracted betwixt them, so as *Zoe* grudged her neither the Name nor Honours of an Empress, and contented her self with his company when she knew he was not with his Mistress. Thus lived he and his *Scleræna* together, hoping still for a nearer conjunction, at least which would more satisfie the World, when on a sudden death prevented it, snatching her away, to his great discontentment, a little before the Civil War of *Maniaces*, occasioned by his Power and Intercession for her Brother, as some write, though by a Sedition there happened upon her account it appears that she lived longer.

The Island *Cyprus* reduced to obedience.

122. But the Civil War raised by *Maniaces* was not all the Difficulty wherewith the Emperour strugled at the same time. *Theophilus Eroticus* the Governour of *Cyprus*, a man greedy of Novelty, when he heard of the Death of *Calaphates*, and the confusion which thereupon happened, thinking it a seasonable time for putting in practice what he had designed, put all the Inhabitants of the Island into a Tumult, and excited them to the Murther of *Theophylact* a *Protospatharian*, a Judge there, and the Chief Collectour of the Tributes. But it succeeded well that *Constantine Chages* a Patritian being ready at Hand, without any more trouble to the Emperour or much adoe, seduced the Island, and therein taking the Rebel brought him to *Constantinople*, where a Woman's Coat was put upon him, and therein he was shewn at the *Circensian* Games, which done, and his Estate confiscated, he was then dismissed. On the second of *May* following the Eyes of *John* the Brother and Great Minister of *Michael* the *Paphlagonian* were put out, some say by command of *Theodora*, but as most affirmed by order of *Monomachus* himself, out of revenge for his long Confinement, which misfortune he survived

vived but eleven days. In the month of *July Stephen Sabastophorus* was accused of Conspiring against the Emperour, to prefer *Leo* a Patritian to his Place, and make the Son of *Lampus* Governour of *Melitena*; for which *Stephen* was condemned to a Monastick life, having all his Estate seized, and *Lampus* was cruelly tortured, shewed up and down the *Forum*, and deprived of his Eyes, after which he soon died. At the same time, the same month the *Rossians* again took Arms, who had for a long time held so good correspondence with the Empire, that there was mutual commerce,and the Merchants went to and fro without the least Interruption. Now it happened that at *Constantinople* there was a quarrel amongst the Trades-men, and it so fell out, that one of those *Scythian* Merchants was killed. The Prince of the Countrey, *Bladimer* by Name, a passionate Man and restless, took the matter so heinously, that without any delay he raised all his Subjects that were fit to bear Arms, and besides procuring many Auxiliaries out of the Northern Nations, an Army of a hundred thousand Men he put into their usual Boats, whereof each was made of one Tree, and so proceeded against the City. The Emperour assoon as he knew of his Design sent to him, and offered all reasonable satisfaction if he would lay down Arms, and pressed him much not for slight causes to break that Peace which for so many years had been preserved inviolable betwixt the Nations; but he returning a sawcy Answer, and treating the Messengers with much disrespect, he then provided for his own security. All *Scythian* Merchants and others that were spread up and down the Empire he caused to be secured for fear of any Conspiracy. Then got he ready all the Gallies and Vessels he could compass, and putting aboard as many Forces as the time would permit him, he himself in a Pinnace led them against the Enemy, whom he found in the Straits about *Pharus*. Besides his Fleet a strong Party of Horse waited and attended his motions all along the Shore.

The *Rossians* break the League with the Empire.

123. There the Fleets faced each other, but neither would begin the Fight; the *Scythians* keeping themselves within the Haven, and the *Romans* attending what course they would Steer. The time being spent, and Night approaching, the Emperour sent to *Bladimer* the second time to move him to Peace, but he as peremptorily and sawcily as ever, rejected his offer, declaring he would not lay down Arms except he should have paid down three Pounds of Gold for every Man he had with him. This Answer being so insolent and Extravagant, *Monachus* prepared himself to Fight. He gave order to *Basilius Theodorocranus* a *Magister*, with three swift Gallies to make a gentle onset to skirmish with the *Rossians*, and provoke them to Fight, to see how they would order their matters. But he instead of skirmishing passed into the middle of them, burnt with Wild-fire seven of their Vessels, sunk other three with all the Men in them, and took another, having either killed or driven out all those that were aboard. Then did the Emperour make up to them with his whole Fleet, which perceiving, they concluded that if they could not sustain the violence of three Gallies, they should never be able to endure the whole shock, and therefore shifted for themselves as they could, ran upon the Rocks and Shelves, and lost most of their Vessels; and such as escaped to the Shore the Emperour's Horse fell upon and killed so many, that fifteen thousand of their dead Bodies were afterwards found upon the Shore. The *Scythians* being thus defeated, after a farther stay of two days the Emperour returned to *Constantinople*, leaving a sufficient Power under command of *Nicholas* one of the Chamber, and *Theodorocranus* with orders to look well to the Maritime Coast, not to suffer the Barbarians to land, and that the whole Fleet should be still in the Bay of *Pharus*. But however it happened, twenty four *Triremes* separated from the rest of the Fleet, pursued the Enemy so far till they passed the Bay wherein they lay, and were driven beyond them. The *Scythians* perceiving this, and how Wind and all things served, resolved to intercept their passage, which they easily did in the Straits, by lying thick from one shore to the other. There being no way to escape, *Constantine Caballarius* a Patritian, the Captain of the *Cibyrræotæ* with his and other Gallies endeavoured to make a passage, but was killed as he manfully fought, and his Ship with four others, together with the Men fell into the Hands of the *Rossians*; the other Ships were split upon the Rocks or run ashore. The Men were some drowned, some killed or taken by the Enemy, and such as escaped came in much shame and consternation to their Friends. The *Rossians* having beyond all expectation done so much mischief, made the more comfortable Retreat. But being forced to return aswell by Land as by Sea (so many of their Vessels had miscarried) they fell into the Territories of the Government of *Catacalo*, *Besta Ambustus*, who then commanded the Coast about *Ister*, and

Are met by the Emperour's Fleet, and defeated.

But some of the Gallies pursuing too far, are destroyed by the Enemy.

and were most of them killed and taken, of the later of which he sent five Hundred bound in Chains to the Emperour, having, to his great Commendation when first these *Scythians* arrived, been very watchfull in his Charge, so as to hinder their landing, and destroy many of them. And his Care and Industry, he continued to this very last.

124. In the twelfth Indiction the Month of *September*, the second year of *Monomachus*, so great a Tempest happened, that in a manner destroyed all the Grapes of that year. On the Ninth Day of *March* following, which was consecrated to the Memory of the forty Martyrs, the Emperour being about his Devotion, was stopped by a Sedition of the People. Going on Foot in Procession accompanied with his Guards, and followed by the Acclamations of the People, from the Palace to the Church of our Saviour in *Chalce*, he there took Horse to pass on to the Church of the Martyrs, when from amongst the Multitude this Voice was heard. *We will not have* Scleræna *be Empress, nor our Sovereign Ladies* Zoe *and* Theodora Porphyrogenita, *to die upon her Account*, which cast all into Confusion and Tumults, wherein the Rabble demanded the Life of the Emperour, and they had taken it had not the two Empresses shewed themselves to them from an high place, and by good words appeased them. But the Emperour was frighted from his Procession, and was glad in an whole Skin to escape into the Palace. The following year, he thought himself concerned in honour to make challenge of a City which he found belonged to the Empire upon this occasion. At such time as *George* Prince of the *Abasgians*, made War upon the *Romans*, he was assisted by one *Jobanefices*, the Lord of a City called *Anium*. But when *Basilius* the Emperour invaded *Iberia*, and was too hard for *George*, then *Jobanefices* fearing he should be punished for what he had done fled to the Emperour, and gave up himself with the Keys of the City into his Hands, which rendition *Basilius*, accepting, honoured him with the Dignity of a *Magister*, and made him Governour of *Anium* and *Armenia* the Great for his Life, with this caution of writing, that after his death it should revolve upon the Empire as Part thereof. But *Basilius* being dead, and many years after him *Jobanefices*, his Son *Cacicius* entred upon the Government, and it being not observed kept his Fathers Territories in good Peace and Friendship with the *Romans*. Now *Monomachus* finding the writing in the Archives, was resolved to make demand of the Restitution of *Anium*, and all the Great *Armenia* as the Heir of *Basilius*. *Cacicius* professed himself the Friend and Servant of the Emperour, but seeking for Excuses and Delays, *Monomachus* resolved to recover his Right by Force of Arms, and committed an Army to the Conduct of *Michael Besta*, *Jasites* newly designed Governour of *Iberia*, with order to make War upon *Cacicius*.

A Tumult in the City of *Constantinople* concerning *Zoe* and *Theodora*.

Constantine challenges the City *Anium* and *Armenia* the Great as belonging to the Empire.

125. *Cacicius* considering into what straits he was brought, made all preparations he could for defence, and had rather the better of *Jasites*, to whose aid then was sent *Nicholas* Domestick of the Schools, formerly of the Chamber to *Constantine* the Emperour with a great Army, to suppress *Cacicius* by mere Numbers if nothing else will doe it, and moreover the Emperour wrote Letters to *Aplespharius* the Governour of *Tibium*, and that *Persarmenia* which lies upon the River *Araxes*, to fall upon him on his side the Countrey. *Aplespharius* wrote back again, that on this Condition he would doe it, if the Emperour would under his Hand make a grant to him of whatsoever he should take from *Cacicius*, which he did accordingly, an Instrument being written and confirmed by the *Golden Bulla*. He having received this, applied himself to his work, and took many Castles and Forts belonging to *Cacicius*, who being thus beset on all sides, and despairing to extricate himself out of such difficulties, made Peace with *Nicholas*, and by him giving up himself and the City to the Emperour, afterward went to him, and from him receiving the Dignity of a *Magister*, with Ample Revenues from *Cappadocia*, and elsewhere, lived thenceforth a quiet and peaceable Life. Now did *Monomachus* demand the Castles and Forts, which *Aplespharius* had taken as part of the Dominion of *Anium*, which he refusing to surrender, and alledging the *Golden Bull* whereby they were granted to him, Command was sent to *Nicholas*, with the *Roman* and *Iberian* Forces, and those that had belonged to *Cacicius* to make War upon him, and recover them by Force. *Nicholas* accordingly sends *Jasites* to lay siege to *Tibium*. *Aplespharius* being a very good Souldier, and knowing himself not in a condition to grapple with the *Romans*, keeps himself within the Walls, and beforehand lays all the Ground adjoining under Water by Sluces made from the River, and he places in the Vineyards which were on

And sending thither an Army hath them delivered up.

Then they lay Siege to *Tibium*.

on higher Ground a Number of Archers, whom he bid expect the sign he should give them by Trumpet, and in this posture expect the coming of the Enemy. The Officers of the *Romans* finding him close in the Town, and the Grounds under Water, concluded it was out of fear and desperation, and hasted without order to get to the Walls by the ways that were left passable, and take possession of what was already their own. Then did *Aplespharius* give the sign to those he had placed in Ambush, who from the Vineyards with Arrows, Darts and Stones, made great slaughter of these unwary Men, who were so intangled in Thickets, Ditches and Water, that not able to defend themselves or fly, an innumerable Number of them there perished, and *Jasites* with some other Officers, escaped with the News of the Adventure and Success to *Nicholas*. The Emperour having notice of the Defeat, put both *Nicholas* and *Jasites* out of their Offices, and in place of the latter made *Ambustus* Governour of *Iberia*. In the Room of *Nicholas* he made General one *Constantine* Captain of the great *Sodality*, as it was termed, an Eunuch descended from the *Saracens*, but most faithfull to him, who had much served him when yet in a private Condition. These coming sufficiently furnished into the Province, thought not fit to lay siege to *Tibium* the principal Town, but took in several Forts belonging to *Anium*, very strong and situate on Craggy Rocks, which *Aplespharius* often attempted to relieve; but in vain. Thence they removed to a strong Castle near to *Tibium*, called *Chelidonium*, about which they drew a Trench, and had taken it or starved out the Defendants; but that the Usurpation of *Tornicius* in the West, obstructed both this and other Proceedings.

But by an Ambush are all cut off.

Μεγάλης ἑταιρείας ἄρχων.

126. This *Leo Tornicius* being formerly Governour of *Iberia*, had upon a surmize of a Conspiracy for advancing himself been turn'd out of Command, been shaven and put into a Monastery, though the Emperour's near Kinsman by his Mother. His dwelling having been at *Adrianople* (formerly called *Orestias*, from *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*) he had the *Macedonians* much at his Devotion, who exceedingly esteemed him, for he was a Man both beautifull and of excellent parts, and had a certain way peculiar to himself of gaining love from those with whom he conversed: but what got him most Reverence, a Report or Prophecy went about, that in time he should come to be Emperour. These and other things caused *Monomachus* his Kinsman much to distaste him. On the other side, *Eupropia* the Emperour's Sister used him with great respect: being a Woman indeed of a very generous mind, very noble and rich, but not at all acceptable to her Brother, who stood in awe of her, because of her eminent Wisedom. And to be even with him, she neither received any thing from, nor frequented the Court, but when she met him was wont to carry it very high towards him, would rebuke and chide him, and when he fell into passion for her so doing, would by silence contemn and dissemble it. He perceiving her great affection to *Tornicius*, on purpose to separate them made him Governour of *Iberia*, where all things prospering under him, and he flourishing in great repute, thence some took occasion of calumniating him to the Emperour, who caused him to be shaven and to take the Habit of a Monk. But the *Macedonians*, as was said, being much addicted to him, carried away by Night out of *Constantinople*, and at *Adrianople* saluted him Emperour, whither great Confluence there was made of Souldiers from all those Parts, either through desire of Plunder and Innovation, out of love to him or hatred to *Monomachus* who had much distasted, and as much distrusted of late the military Men. Thus incouraged, he resolved with all speed to march for *Constantinople*, which he had great hopes would instantly be put into his Hands by the Citizens, who for certain Causes bore neither at present any good will to the Emperour, and the Armies of the East had their Hands sufficiently full in those Quarters. With these hopes he incamped before the City, with intention to use violence if fair words would not prevail. The next Morning coming up with his Army to the Walls about *Blachernæ*, he summoned the Town, and by great promises invited those that kept the Gates to open them; but they not onely refusing, but reviling him with ill Language, he then gave the Onset.

Zonaras.

Leo Tornicius usurps.

Laying Siege to *Constantinople*.

127. The Emperour all this while was very solicitous, not being (at least as he thought) sufficiently provided for so surprizing a Mischief. In the first place he sent into *Iberia* to *Constantine*, to come to him with all the speed he could make, whatever his business at present should be. But for making effectual opposition against the Enemy now endeavouring to scale the Walls, he brought the Citizens and others together, not exceeding a thousand Men. Now as to the Management of this affair, accounts

counts are very different. *Cedrenus* writes of his going out into the Field, with a contemptible Number in respect of the Enemy, and how his Men were beaten back, and driven into the Trench, he himself with difficulty escaping into the City, which might have been taken with the greatest ease, had the Usurper prosecuted his Victory; not onely the Gates, but the Walls themselves about *Blachernæ*, being left desolate. On the other side *Zonaras* tells us, that the Emperour never went out of the City, but in his *Imperialibus* shewed himself upon the Wall, thinking thereby to strike some awe into the Rebels. But the *Macedonians* on the contrary, being accustomed to scurrility, with bitter Invectives reviled him, singing Songs, and using Gestures, chosen for such an occasion, and such as issued out with Loss and Ignominy they beat in again, or else killed or drowned them in the Trench before they could there arrive. But this opportunity which now in a manner begged his acceptance, *Tornicius* did not improve, pursuing those that sallied to the Walls, but never considering whether he could goe any farther. *Monomachus* seeing this, laid hold of the Advantage to bring the Citizens upon the Wall again, and to re-inforce the City, having narrowly escaped the shot of an Arrow, which fell upon one of the under Servants of his Bedchamber, though without any hurt. The day following, *Tornicius* renewed the Assault, but had no more any such advantage, for he was both repulsed, and was nigh being killed by a Stone of a Talent weight, which was cast out of an Engine, by which danger he was so affrighted and discouraged for want of Success, and above all when he perceived, that his Men began to fall off from him to the Emperour, that fearing to be delivered up into his Hands, he raised his siege and retreated to *Arcadiopolis*, where he joined Forces with *John Batatzes*. All the Cities of *Macedonia* and *Thrace* had submitted to him, *Redestus* excepted, which now he sent several of his Captains and Kinsmen to besiege, and afterward followed with all his Army, but attacked it without Success. By this time the Eastern Forces were arrived, and the Emperour sent them directly into *Thrace* against him, under Command of *Michael Jasites* the *Magister*, who incamping himself against him at *Arcadiople*, would not suffer his Men to doe any Injury to the Countreymen, such of *Tornicius* his Souldiers as he took he used very civily, and by good words and promise of Pardon, endeavoured to draw away all the rest. Now Winter was at hand, and the Arts of *Jasites* had such influence upon them, that they began to consider, that they could not undergo both the Incommodities of the Season, the want of Provisions, and sustain the Violence of so powerfull an Enemy all together, by degrees they fell off to the *Magister*. For some time, notwithstanding, *Tornicius* would not quit his hopes, as long as obscure Persons onely revolted. But when the great Commanders of his Army fell off, then with *Batatzes* who alone stuck by him, he consulted how to escape, and when that could not be they betook themselves into a Church, whence *Jasites* caused them to be fetcht, and sent them bound to the Emperour. On *Christmas*-Eve by his Command their Eyes were put out, such as were most eminent in the Rebellion, were ignominiously led about the *Forum*, then banished, and their Estates confiscated. The ordinary sort were all sent away into their own Countries.

But not pursuing his Victory is forced to raise the Siege.

And retreat to *Arcadiopolis*.

There he is deserted by his Followers, and punished for his Rebellion.

128. Thus was *Monomachus* happily delivered from this Civil War, but another from abroad now fell upon him, to the Empire the most mischievous of all others, because made upon it by the *Turks*, who in conclusion by their furious and victorious Arms put an end to it, and erected one of their own in its Place. The *Turks*, say our Authours, were an *Hunnish* Nation, inhabiting the Northern Parts of the Mountain *Caucasus*, most populous and free, as having never submitted the Neck to the Yoke of any Person or People, but laid one of their own upon several others by Degrees, and first upon this occasion. After such time as the *Saracens* had overturned the Kingdom of the *Persians*, and had not onely subdued *Persia*, but *Media*, *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Egypt*, *Africk*, and no small Part of *Europe* it self, they began to fall out among themselves, and their vast Empire was divided into several Portions, so that *Spain*, *Africk*, *Ægypt*, *Babylon* and *Persia* had their several Princes, and these Wars one with another. At such time as *Basilius* was Emperour, *Muchumator Mahomet* the Son of *Imbrael*, was Prince of *Persia*, the *Chorasmi*, *Oretani* and *Media*, having War with the *Indians* and *Babylonians*, and put hard to it sent to the Prince of the *Turks* for assistence, desiring three thousand Men, which he accordingly sent him under Command of *Tragelipax*, or *Tangrolipix Mucalet* the Son of *Michael*, hoping by this means to have a Passage opened into *Persia*, which was hitherto stopped by the several strong

The *Turks* make War upon the Empire.

Tangrolipix a *Turk* assists the *Saracens* against the *Arabians*.

strong Forts which stood upon the River *Araxes*. *Mahomet* making use of these Auxiliaries easily mastered *Pisastrius* Prince of the *Arabians* whose Men could not endure the force of their Arrows. After this he would have used them against the *Indians*; but they desired to be dismissed and to have the Garrison removed from the Bridge of *Araxes* by which they must of necessity pass, and when he refused, and went to offer violence, they revolted and betook themselves to the Wilderness of *Carbonitis* and the Mountains, not daring to abide a Battel because they were so small a Number. Upon the *Saracens* they fell down continually, and did much mischief to the adjacent Parts, so that to destroy them *Muchumet* sent an Army of twenty Thousand Men commanded by ten of the most Noble of his Nation. The Captains thought it not safe to enter the Desart being not provided of necessaries for so desolate a place, but incamped themselves at the entrance, which *Tangrolipix* understanding fell upon them by night when they little expected it, easily defeated them, and finding in their Camp many Chariots and Horses with much Money, now would not like a Fugitive practise Robberies and make incursions by stealth, but openly shew himself as a fair Warriour. And all Malefactours and discontented Persons that could, now came in to him from the Neighbouring Countries, especially such as loved to maintain themselves by Rapine and Violence, so that in a short time his force was increased to fifty Thousand Men.

But refusing to fight with the *Indians*. He revolts.

129. *Mahomet* inraged at the defeat put out the Eyes of the ten Commanders and threatned such Souldiers as had escaped to lead and shew them abroad in Womens Cloaths, which caused whem now when he prepared to renew the War to run from him to *Tangrolipix*, who now came and offered *Mahomet* Battel. He notwithstanding the revolt of these Men had got another Army together of *Saracens*, *Persians*, *Caberians* and *Arabians*, of about five hundred Thousand and with an hundred Elephants bearing Turrets on their backs gave Battel to his Enemy in a place called *Aspachan*, which was fought with much vigour on both sides, but he riding about to animate his Souldiers chanced to fall from his Horse and broke his Neck, whereby the Quarrel was decided, for his Army then submitted and *Tangrolipix* by universal consent was declared King of *Persia* and all *Mahomet*'s Dominions. *Tangrolipix* thus promoted presently cleared the Bridge of *Araxes*, and then his Countreymen in great multitudes flocked to him, wherewith having sufficiently strengthened himself he took the Title of *Sultan* (by which *Absolute Emperour or King of Kings* is meant) and inslaving the *Saracens* and *Persians* divided all the Countrey amongst the *Turks*. Having here settled his Affairs he resolved to make War upon the Neighbouring Princes and first overthrew in several Battels and killed him of *Babylon* whose Dominions he then seized into his hands. After this he sent *Cuthimuses* (his Brother's some call him, others his Uncle's Son) against the *Arabians* from whom he received a notable defeat, and in his flight asked leave of *Stephen* a Patritian the Emperour's Governour of *Media* (at that time called *Baspracæn*) to pass through that Countrey, which he denying, he made his way by force and worsting *Sephen* who opposed him took him Prisoner, and in his passage through *Trabrezium* sold him to the Lord of the Place. Returning to the *Sultan* he excused himself of the blow received from the *Arabians*, whom he would undertake to subdue if he might but be sent the second time; and by the way he spake of *Baspracæn*, how fertile a Countrey it was and easie to be Conquered being held by Women, as he termed those *Roman* Souldiers with whom he had fought.

And defeating *Mahomet* is declared *Sultan* and King of all the Dominions of the *Persians* and *Saracens*.

Seizes on the Dominions of *Babylon*.

130. But the *Sultan* was so inraged at him that he designed to put him to death for the loss in *Arabia*, and as for *Media*, he feared to make War against the *Romans* being awed by the fame which the Emperours *Nicephorus*, *Zimisces* and *Basilius* had obtained in the World, and concluding with himself that the valour and power of the Empire was still the same. But while he deliberated hereof *Cuthimuses* for fear, fled and seized on a City in the Countrey of the *Chorasmii* called *Pasar*, a very strong place. When now the *Sultan* was moving against the *Arabians* who had the same success against him, as his Kinsman, and he returned home with the like disgrace. This should have made him have better thoughts of *Cuthimuses*, but he beneged him in *Pasar*, whence he made many sallies, and did much damage to the *Sultan*, who now besides this Iron in the Fire made himself still more work by sending an Army of about twenty Thousand Men to Conquer *Media* under command of *Asan the Deaf* his Brother's Son. *Asan* entring the Countrey destroyed all things in his way, sparing neither Sex nor Age. The Countrey was then Governed by *Aaron Besta* the Son of *Bladisthlabus* and Brother of *Prusianus*, who finding himself too weak to grapple with the *Turks* wrote

But is beaten by the *Arabians*.

Then he sends an Army into *Media*.

wrote to *Catacalo Besta*, *Ambustus* the Governour of *Axium* and *Iberia* to come to his aid with all the speed he could make, which he accordingly did, using great expedition. When they came together and it was propounded whether they should fall upon the *Turks* by night or openly give them Battel by day, *Catacalo* was pleased with neither but advised to have the Camp left with the Baggage and carriage Beasts and to lie in Ambush till the *Turks* should be busie in the Plunder of it. The Device took so well that *Asan* coming to give them Battel and perceiving there was no body left in their Camp, presumed they were fled out of fear, and boldly bad his men enter and seize on the Booty. Then did the *Romans* about vening rise from their Ambush and taking them in so much disorder killed most of them with their Captain, very few escaping through the Mountains into the Cities of *Persarmenia*.

Which is cut off by the *Romans*.

131. The *Sultan* was grievously perplexed at the News yet to repair his loss by better success he got together of an Army an hundred Thousand Men consisting of *Turks*, *Caberi* and *Limnitæ*, which he committed to *Abram Alim* his half Brother for a second attempt upon *Media*. Upon notice of their coming *Aaron* and *Ambustus* again united their forces and Councils. *Catacalo*'s advice was to fight them e'er they came into the *Roman* Territories while they were weary, a great part of them wanted Horses, and such Horses as wanted shooes whereas the *Roman* Souldier was full of courage animated by his late success. On the contrary *Aaron* affirmed that they ought by no means to hazard a Battel against such a multitude, but that all the strong places were to be fortified, and all they had was to be put within the Walls till they could send to the Emperour, and from him receive orders what to doe in so difficult a case. This course was taken, and having put all the Women and Children and all their best things into the strong places they two sent to the Emperour, and withdrew into a plain of *Iberia* by the Natives called *Osurtru*. The Emperour wrote back to them that they should attempt nothing till *Liparites* Prince of part of *Iberia* should joyn with them, to whom he sent as he was a Friend and Ally of the Empire not to fail it at this time. *Liparites* at his Leisure raised his Men when in the mean time *Abram* having entred *Media*, and perceiving that the *Roman* forces had out of fear withdrawn themselves *Iberia* into resolved to march after them with all speed, and fight them e'er they should be increased by Accession of new supplies. The Captains having notice hereof, lest they should be surprized before the coming of *Liparites* wrote to him to hasten, and betook themselves to a place, very difficult of Access. *Alim* not being able to come at them, went to *Artze* a Village of great capacity wherein lived a great Number of Merchants and Tradsmen not onely of the Countrey, but *Syrians* also, and *Armenians*, and of other Nations, and the inhabitants trusting to their Numbers though they had no Walls stoutly defended themselves, by stopping up the Passages, and from their Houses casting down Stones, Wood and Darts upon the *Turks*, whom thus they held in play for six days together. This coming to the Ears of *Ambustus* in the *Roman* Camp he most earnestly urged that they might not stay for the Loitering *Liparites*, but take this advantage while the *Turks* were thus busied at the Village, and fall upon them: but *Aaron* refused to joyn with him affirming he would doe nothing but what he was warranted by the Emperour.

Another Expedition into *Media*.

Laying Siege to *Artze*.

132. *Abram* finding what he did not expect, so great resistence, and that he could not by force of Arms Conquer one Village, the Wealth of which he most vehemently thrisled after, resolved to consume all he could not get and set it on fire, by which the inhabitants being forced out; (though an hundred and fifty Thousand are said to have perished partly slain by the Sword and partly burnt in the fire, into which many it's reported cast themselves) he found much Silver and other things that were not combustible. Besides he got many Horses and other Cattel, and so led away his Army well inriched in quest of the *Romans*. *Liparites* being by this time come to them, they were come down into the Plain, and had pitched at the Foot of an Hill on which stood a Castle called *Capetrum*. The *Turks* now marching in no order but running in Herds together, *Ambustus* moved that in this condition they might fall upon them; but now *Liparites* refused to fight out of a superstitious humour, because it was *Saturday* which he reckoned amongst unlucky days, being the eighteenth of *September* and the second Indiction, in the seventh year of *Monomachus*. But *Abram* understanding by his Scouts where, and in what condition the Enemy lay, marched up to them in due order of Battel, which they perceiving, put themselves how unwillingly soever into the like posture to receive them: *Ambustus* led the Right and *Aaron* the

Which is burnt and Sakc't. by the *Turks*.

They meet and ingaging the *Roman* Army are defeated.

the Left Wing; the middle of the Battel being left to the Conduct of *Liparites*. To *Ambustus* was opposite *Abram* himself, to *Aaron* another of the *Turkish* Commanders called *Chorosanites*, and to *Liparites* one *Aspam Selarius* the half Brother of *Abram*. The fight began a little before Sunset, and both *Ambustus* and *Aaron* defeated their Opposites, and pursued them till Cocks crow. But *Liparites* inraged for the loss of a Kinsman, to be revenged ingaged more desperately than prudently and was taken Prisoner, being much expected by his Friends who returning from the pursuit and lighting from their Horses gave God thanks for the Victory in these words, singing, *What God is so great as our God*? Expecting with great longing to hear what was become of *Liparites* whom at first they concluded to be in pursuit of the Enemy they were at length put out of all doubt by the coming of one that had served under him who affirmed him taken and led away bound to such place as he that took him pleased. The *Roman* Captains notwithstanding their Victory were so struck with the News, that passing that night without sleep, in the Morning they consulted what was to be done; and all resolved to depart home. Thereupon *Aaron* with his Men returned to *Ibane* the *Metropolis* of *Baspracan* or *Media*, and *Catacalo* with his went back to *Anium*. But *Abram* overjoyed that he had taken *Liparites*, and thereupon thinking himself the most happy Man alive, omitting all other business conveyed him himself five days Journey, and then sent him away to the *Sultan* who made a shew of joy for the taking of so considerable a Man; but envying his Brother, the good fortune, as he had formerly Stomached *Cutlumusus* for his bad, resolved to make him also away, and for that watched his opportunity.

But take Captive *Liparites* one of the *Roman* Generals.

Sending him to the *Sultan*.

133. The Emperour having News of the Captivity of *Liparites* desired above measure to have him freed, and for that purpose sent one to the *Sultan* with Presents of the value of his Ransom offering also to make a Peace and Alliance with him. The *Sultan* that he might seem a generous Prince rather than a Man of violence and Robbery sent him *Liparites Gratis*, receiving the Presents that were sent him, but he gave them all to his Prisoner, advising him to have him in his mind, and no more to bear Arms against the *Turks*. And he sent in Ambassage to the Emperour their *Seriph*, who had the same Relation to their *Calisph*, as the *Syncellus* at *Constantinople* in old time had to the Patriarch, succeeding him in ordinary course when he died. The *Seriph* at his audience speaking many things arrogantly and boastingly according to their fashion required, that the *Romans* should become Tributaries to his Master, and when the Emperour would hear of no such matter returned home. This Hint caused *Monomachus* in expectation of War to provide for the security of the Provinces, when violence was offered to them by an Enemy in another Quarter, the *Patzinacæ* a People of *Scythia*. This People being of that sort of *Scythians* then termed Royal, the most powerfull of them all was divided into thirteen Tribes, which though they all made up one Nation, yet each received Denomination from its own Prince. They possessed beyond *Ister* the Champion extending from *Borysthenes* to *Pannonia*, not being any where fixt but wandring from place to place, and always dwelling in Tents. Their Prince at this time was *Tyrach* the Son of *Kilter* a Man of Noble extract, but very Lazy and heavy. But there was one *Kegenes* the Son of *Baltzar*, by Birth obscure, but of great fame for Arms which he had obtained in his Conduct against the *Uzzian* Hunnish Nation whom making incursions he had often repulsed with great loss, *Tyrach* not daring to shew his Head, but lurking in the Fenns about *Ister*. The People reverencing *Tyrach* for his extraction, but much more admiring the other for his valour, he grew so jealous of him that he resolved to take his Life, which often attempting secretly without success, at length he openly sent a Company to seize, and kill him. But *Kegenes* having timely notice of their coming made his escape into the Fenns of *Borysthenes* whence he sent and procured his Friends and his own Tribe called the Tribe of *Belemarne* with another which had the name of *Paguman* to revolt from *Tyrach*.

But by presents is redeemed and sent Home, and with him an Ambassadour from the *Turks* to the Emperour.

Tyrach Prince of the *Patzinacæ*.

From whom *Kegenes* Revolts.

134. With these two Tribes he Ingaged and Fought *Tyrach*, assisted by eleven, being oppressed with multitudes and being defeated, resolved the onely means of his safety, was to go over to the Emperour. He went to *Dorostolus*, and there passing into a River Island with his Men to the Number of twenty Thousand, sent to *Michael* the Son of *Anastasius* Governour of the Countrey to let him know who he was, and the reason of his coming, which was to put himself into the Emperour's protection, whose interest he doubted not very much to promote. The Governour having communicated his desires to the Emperour received orders to receive him courteously with his Men, to provide them of all necessaries and send him to *Constantinople*

Putting himself under the Protection of the Emperour.

where he was entertained with all the kindness he could expect. He promised to be Baptized and to perswade his Countreymen also to turn Christians, and was Honoured with the Dignity of Patritian: then were assigned to him three Castles with large Grounds on the Bank of *Ister* and he and all his Men received Baptism. When he was conveniently setled he made frequent inrodes into the Territories of *Tyrach*, where he killed all the Men, and sold the Women and Children to the *Romans* for slaves. Hereupon *Tyrach* sent the Emperour to expostulate for that being a Friend and Ally of the *Patzinacæ* he had received their Enemy and Fugitive, and required that he would not any more afford him any assistence for the invasion of their Countrey; otherwise he denounced War against him. Of this message the Emperour made very light, and laught at it as unreasonable, whereupon the Messengers departed as they came. He wrote to *Michael* and *Kegenes* to look narrowly to the Bank of *Ister*, and to send him word in case any considerable Army made any attempt to pass that River, to prevent which he sent an hundred Gallies to hover about those Coasts. But to render these Gallies useless, *Tyrach* expected the coming of Winter and a Frost, which having crusted over the River to the thickness of fifteen Cubits, he then passed over with all the Power he could make, and with his Numbers, which amounted to eight hundred thousand Men, overwhelmed, as it were, the *Roman* Provinces. The Emperour having speedy notice hereof, as speedily sent away to *Constantine Arianites* the *Magister* and Governour of *Adrianople*, and to *Basilius Monachus* the General of *Bulgaria*, with the Forces of *Macedonia* and *Bulgaria* to join themselves with *Michael* and *Kegenes*, which accordingly they did. The *Roman* Armies being united, *Kegenes* as he saw his advantages, being better acquainted than any other with the humour of his Countrey Men, made many Assaults upon them, who having on this side the River light upon Wine and Drinks made with Honey, of which before they had never tasted; thereof drank so intemperately, that great multitudes of them died every day. This being made known to *Kegenes*, he prevailed with the other Captains to fall upon them now when they were distressed by Cold and Sickness; though with some Reluctancy, to ingage in Fight with so great Multitudes.

Upon which War is denounced against the *Romans*.

135. A sudden and fierce onset being made upon them, they were so much therewith affrighted that this added to their other distress, they threw down their Arms, and yielded aswell *Tyrach* and the most Noble, as the rest of the multitude. *Kegenes* very vehemently urged that they should all be put to Death, which he executed on many upon whom he light, with this saying, that *A Snake is to be killed in Winter while he cannot move his Tail, lest when Summer comes (animated afresh by the heat of the Sun) he doe more mischief.* But the *Roman* Captains abhorring so great cruelty, thought fit they should be bestowed in the Desart places of *Bulgaria*, a Tribute put upon them, by which a good Revenue would accrue to the Emperour, and he might be furnisht with Souldiers against the *Turks* or other Enemies. They prevailed against *Kegenes*, who yet to doe what lay in his power, killed all he had taken except such as he could make Money of, and went his way. The rest of the multitude *Basilius* the Governour of *Bulgaria* dispersed through the Plains of *Sardica*, *Naisus* and *Eutzapelus*, taking from them all their Weapons lest they should afterward attempt any thing. *Tyrach* and an hundred and forty others were sent up to *Constantinople*, where they were kindly entertained by the Emperour, Baptized, had Honours and Wealth conferred on them, and lived with greater content and pleasure than formerly. But by this time the *Sultan* displeased by the Answer to his Message, had gathered Forces out of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and renewed the War: *Monomachus* upon notice, besides other preparations caused fifteen thousand of the lately Conquered *Patzinacæ* to be Armed, and giving them four Commanders of those who abode at *Constantinople*, whom he richly presented and adorned with costly Armour, sent them into *Iberia* under Conduct of *Constantine Hadrobalanus* a Patritian. They went on their way as far as *Melitena*, but drawing near to *Damatrys*, and consulting what to doe with themselves, they abhorred so much the thoughts of going into *Iberia*, by the Advice of *Catalune* one of their Officers they resolved to return back to their Countreymen, and following his example in taking the Sea with his Horse, swom over it being narrow, for they had no Boats, and by a prodigious adventure got back to *Traditza*. There arming their Companions as they could they did much mischief to the *Roman* Territores, and some of them removing to the River *Osmus*, and the Countrey lying about *Ister*, thence they made excursions into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, having the better of such Captains as opposed them, till at length they made a Truce with the *Romans* for thirty years.

Wherein *Tyrach*, the King and the whole Army of the *Patzinacæ* are defeated and taken.

The *Sultan* renews the War upon the Emperour, who sending fifteen thousand *Patzinacæ* against him, they return back into their own Countrey.

After which a Truce with them for thirty years.

136. In

136. In the mean time the *Sultan* was with all his Force entred into *Iberia*, where the Inhabitants had shut up themselves and their Wealth in the strong Towns, so that being come as far as *Comium*, and there understanding that the *Roman* Army was to Rendesvouz at *Cæsarea*, he would not venture to proceed, but returned in great wrath because he could perform no greater things. Passing into *Baaspracan* or *Media*, and there finding all in the same posture, in Indignation he was resolved to attacque some of the Garrisons, and fell upon a City called *Mantzikierte*, situate in a Champion Soil, fortified by a triple Wall, and furnished largely with Water and all other necessaries, of which the Inhabitants had timely provided themselves. Thinking because of its situation with ease to become Master of it, he attacqued it with all sorts of Engines for thirty days without intermission; but nothing could he gain upon it, the valour and industry of *Basilius* a Patritian the Governour, a very prudent Person frustrating all his Attempts. Wearied with the frequent Repulses he received, he purposed to raise his Siege, when *Alcan* the Captain of the *Corasmii* begged of him but to continue it one day longer, and commit it to his management, which was readily granted. By break of day *Alcan* having his men and all things in readiness, placed the *Sultan* and the most eminent Persons about him on an Hill near the Eastern Gate to be Spectatours of what should follow; and then to that Gate applied all his Engines and Devices, because in that place the Wall seemed lower, and the place where he should stand somewhat higher, so that it afforded advantage to doe execution upon those within the Walls. The Army he divided into two parts, whereof the one he ordered to stand upon that Ground to shoot into the Town, the other with Forks and other rustical Instruments to bear up a sort of Engine called *Læsa*, and bear it to the Walls. This *Læsa* was a kind of Hurdle or Tent made of Boughs, and above covered with an Ox Hide, born with Feet or Pillars which stood upon Wheels. This they were to thrust to the Walls, which under covert of it they were to demolish; for he concluded that all Arrows or Darts would be kept off by the Hide above, and they might work at the Walls as he pleased, especially seeing his Archers placed upon that advantageous Ground would not permit any to appear upon the Battlements. But *Basilius* perceiving what he aim'd at, gave order to such as were to defend the Walls not to appear nor shew themselves, but to have in readiness great Stones, Arrows and Darts, and expect the sign, which was, *Christ help us*; and he had prepared some very great Beams which were sharpned at one end. Now *Alcan* seemed to himself by his showrs of Arrows, to have driven all from the Battlements, and therefore the *Læsæ* were put to the Walls, which being come so near that they could not go back, *Basilius* gave the watch-word, and out came they that had the guidance of the Beams, and let them fall upon the *Læsæ*: then did others plye them with great Stones and other things, whereby the Tops of them were quite broken, and they within were exposed to all Arrows, Darts and other things that came to Hand, and all perished, amongst whom *Alcan* himself: he being known by the goodness of his Armour, two Young Men issued out and by his Hair drew him in at the Gate, which done, *Basilius* caused his Head to be cut off and shot amongst the *Turks*. At the sight of it the *Sultan* was much troubled, and broke up his Siege, pretending he was called away by more urgent Affairs, and threatning the next spring with greater Forces to make another Journey into the *Roman* Territories.

The *Sultan* is repelled every where.

And laying Siege to *Mantzikierte*.

Is forced to rise and go Home.

137. The Emperour being solicitous about his return, and desirous to be Revenged of *Aplesphar*, who having broken the League made with *Constantine*, had invaded his Dominions, gathered all the Forces of the East together, and over them appointed for Commander one *Nicephorus* an Eunuch, and formerly his Chaplain when a private Man, but who since had for love of the World renounced his Orders. Him he now graced with the Title of Governour and General of the Camp, and sent him into the East, not because of any valour or skill he had, but because he knew him faithfull to him. This *Nicephorus* proceeding as far as the Iron Bridges, as they were called, and *Cantzacium*, light not upon the *Turks* (for they upon hearing what Preparations were made against them under Command of *Abimilech* the Brother of *Cutlumusus*, were returned Home) but forced *Aplesphar* within the Walls, and wasting the Countrey, compelled him again to make Peace, and renew the League, for confirmation whereof he gave up as Hostage *Artasiras* the Son of *Phatlum* his Brother, Prince of the Region of *Cantzacium*, whom having received, *Nicephorus* as having performed enough, returned to *Constantinople*. In the mean time the *Patzinacæ*, as we hinted, passing over *Hæmus*, and viewing the Plain which lay betwixt it and *Ister*, and extends it self as far as the Sea; and perceiving how

The *Patzinacæ* make fresh incursions into the Empire, upon which *Kegenes* is sent for to *Constantinople*,

well it was Wooded and Watered, there sate down (the Inhabitants called it, *An hundred Hills*) and thence made Incursions into the Dominions of the Empire, the subjects of which they not a little molested. Upon this occasion *Kegenes* was sent for by the Emperour to Consult, and lying with his Forces in a Field near to the City, while as yet he knew not wherefore he was sent, three of the *Patzinacæ* his Countreymen made an attempt upon his life, and wounded him by Night though not mortally, for some of his Guard coming timely in, they struck not courageously, but endeavouring to escape, as much more Assistence came in with *Baltzar* the Son of *Kegenes*, they were taken. They appealed to the Emperour; whereupon *Baltzar* put his Father into a Chariot with four Wheels, and after him drew them bound, and so with all his Horse, he himself, together with his Brother *Gulin* followed on Foot, and entred the City till they came to the Cirque, then leaving there the rest, he himself went to the Emperour. At sight of him the Emperour demanded why he had not at first put to Death the Assassinates, to which he answered, because they had appealed unto him. Hereupon *Monomachus* grew suspicious, and sent immediately for the Men, who being asked the cause of the Attempt, affirmed they did it for his sake, and for the Empire and City, to which *Kegenes* was a Traitour, having a design by break of Day to have entred, killed all, and with the Plunder to return to his own Countreymen.

And is there kept Prisoner.

138. Now whereas the Emperour should have made strict Inquisition, and sifted out the matter, he gave credit to the improbable and ill coherent tales of these Fellows, and causing *Kegenes* to be brought to Court, under pretence of Cure and Physick, kept him close up, separated his Sons the one from the other, and pretending great kindness to his Men, and flattering them with large allowance of Meat and Drink, endeavoured by degrees, and as he could to disarm them, and commit the principal of them to custody, giving free leave in the mean time to the Assassinates to go where ever they pleased. Yet thought he for all this to cover his design, though the *Patzinacæ* proved far more cunning, and deceived the Deceiver as he thought himself. They took very thankfully what he sent them, and made shew of much contentment and obedience; but considering all these particulars they were well satisfied as to their Inclinations, and by Night got them away from the Camp, and travelling hard on the third Day by great Journeys passed the *Hæmus*, and joined themselves with their Countreymen. Now being all united and having Arms sufficient, they came over the Mountain to a Castle called *Aula*, not far from *Adrianople*, and thence wasted the Countries adjacent, which assoon as *Constantine Areianites* the *Magister* and General of the West understood, he drew out some Forces against them, and lighting upon some Straglers and Parties had at first the better of them; but Ingaging their main Body near a Fort called *Dampolis*, there he was defeated, with the loss of many men; and returning to *Adrianople* gave notice thereof to the Emperour, signifying that there was necessity of bringing another Army into the Field, and that no good could be expected from those who had been already beaten against so resolved and numerous an Enemy. The Emperour had had notice of the defeat before his Letters arrived, and had sent to *Tyrach* and the other Noblemen of the *Patzinacæ*, then residing at *Constantinople*, whom having richly Presented they engaged by Oath to pacifie and quiet their Nation. He sent also for all the Forces of the East, which having passed over from *Abydus* and *Chrysopolis*, he then assigned them *Nicephorus* the Rectour for their Captain, to whom he joyned *Catacalo* the General of the East, and *Erbebius* a *Frank* Captain of his Countreymen, yet so as to be obedient to his Orders. *Constantine* marching with his Army over *Hæmus*, came to a place called *Diacene*, and there incamped and fortified himself, purposing the day following to leave all his Baggage there, and so with the Army disintangled from all Incumbrances to Fight the Enemy, whom he so contemned as not fearing to have the better of them, it onely perplexed him how to prevent their running away, and escaping his Victorious Arms. Nay the Souldiers being as confident as their Captain, some of them had prepared Ropes and Thongs wherewith to lead away their Prisoners.

But his Followers return to their Countreymen, making fresh Incursions.

Upon which an Army is sent against them.

139. In the mean time *Tyrach* and the rest of the Nobility whom the Emperour had dismissed were come to the *Patzinacæ*, and conspired with the rest for the best promotion of the Affairs of their Countrey, so far were they from accomplishing what they had sworn at their departure. *Constantine* consulting what was fittest to be done, *Ambustus* was for falling on them while they were yet dispersed and out of order, which the General out of Gallantry refused, saying that

Ingens Cedreni Lacuna ex Historia Scylitzæ Curopalatæ suppletur.

They

They would run away into the Woods, and for his part he had no Dogs to Hunt them out. But this fault was quickly amended, for the *Patzinacæ* drew up in order towards him, and then the next Morning he prepared to give them Battel. He himself led the middle Battel, *Ambustus* the Right, and *Francopullus* the Left Wing; but without much labour they lost the day, the *Romans* ignominiously betaking themselves to their Heels, onely *Ambustus* and those about him fighting manfully were slain: the *Patzinacæ* durst not make any considerable pursuit, for fear of Ambushes, hardly imagining they could be earnest in running upon so little provocation. The Emperour at the News was much netled, but not able to recall what he had done in the choice of a General, resolved if possible to repair the loss the following year. In the third Indiction, and the eighth year of his Reign he sent for his Army out of the Eastern Parts, which he committed to the Conduct of *Constantine* Captain of the Friends or Associates, and commanded him to joyn with the Forces still in *Thrace*, and chastize (if possible) the obstinate *Patzinacæ*. He went to *Adrianople*, and there uniting his Forces, incamped himself within a Rampart; and the *Patzinacæ* hearing of his coming, shortly after came up to him on the eighth day of *June*. While he was in a Council of War consulting what to doe, *Samuel Burtzes* one of his Officers without any orders led the Foot he Commanded, he set upon the Enemy, who far exceeding him in numbers sore distressed him; so that he sent several Messengers to the General for Assistence, who though he could have wished him punished for his rashness, yet considering it was the Emperour's business, concluded he must not neglect it, and so was constrained to give the Signal for Battel.

But is put to Flight.

So that more Forces are raised.

Ἐπιλεκτοῖς.

140. He went in to the Succour of *Burtzes*, but could not prevail against the obstinate Enemy, who much animated by vanquishing the Foot already, easily discouraged the Horse, so that Horse and Foot both ran ignominiously within the Rampart, and there secured themselves, after the Loss of many Men and several Persons of Eminence, as *Michael Doceianus* a Patritian, and *Constantinus Areianitus* the *Magister*, who died on the third Day after of his Wounds. The *Patzinacæ* besieged them in the Rampart, and had certainly taken it, but that they were discouraged by an accident, an arrow out of an Engine killing one *Sultzus*, and his Horse under him, when at the same time it chanced, that *Glabas Nicetas* drew near with some Succours from *Adrianople*, which they imagining to be *Basilius* with the Forces of *Bulgaria*, would not abide his coming, but dispersed themselves. While matters went thus abroad, at home in the City, a Conspiracy was discovered against the Emperour, whereof were Authours, *Nicephorus* and *Michael* the Sons of *Nicephorus*, with others of their Relations. Inquisition was made after all Offenders, but none were punished, but *Nicephorus* whose Estate was seized, and then he sent into Banishment. *Monomachus* rid of this Danger, set himself wholly to vindicate the Honour of the Empire against the *Patzinacæ*. *Kegenes* he took out of Prison and sent him to them, he ingaging to take them off from their outrageous Courses. All the Forces he could raise out of his own Subjects, and his Allies he caused to be got together, in particular the *Franks* and *Barangi*, over every Nation he appointed for Commander some Eminent Person of their own, and over all made General *Nicephorus Bryennius* a Patritian, whom upon this occasion he called *Ethnarch*, and sent him against the *Patzinacæ*; who now very much despising the *Romans*, freely and without any fear laid all waste they could come at in *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Their Cruelty they exercised more than ever, not sparing the Infants that hung at the Breast, and some of them were so bold as to come as far as *Catasyrtæ*, not far distant from *Constantinople*, and were paid well for their boldness. For the Emperour set out a Party against them, collected out of his own Guards, and others under Command of *John*, sirnamed *Philosophus* a Patritian, one of the Eunuchs belonging to the Chamber of *Zoe* the Empress, which falling on them by Night when drunk and sleepy, made an end of them all, and sent up Cart-loads of their Heads to *Monomachus*.

Which are also defeated.

A Conspiracy at home, but discovered and punished.

Kegenes released out of Prison.

The whole Force of the Empire ingaged against the *Patzinacæ*.

Who had the boldness to come near to *Constantinople* but pay for it.

141. But in the mean time *Kegenes* to perform his promise made to the Emperour, came near to his Countreymen and sent to them to let them know his mind, to which they returning this Answer, and confirming it by Oath that they would be governed by him, he trusted and went to them, but was no sooner come, but they cut him to pieces, and those very small ones. *Bryennius* coming to *Adrianople*, took care for preservation of the Countrey; for the Emperour thinking not yet enough done, sent after him *Michael* a Patritian, and *Acoluthus*, or Captain of his Guards, with a new supply, and to have the chief Command, but

but with Order to be carefull how he ingaged in Battel, and in the first place to repress the Incursions of the Enemy, into the poor harassed Countries. He accordingly, having joined with *Bryennius*, set upon them as they ranged in Parties. One he cut off at a Place called *Goloa*, and another near a Castle named *Toplitzus*, which so discouraged them, that they dared no more to appear in the Countrey, lying at the Foot of *Hæmus*, but transferred all their Power and Rage into *Macedonia*, which they wasted with a select Party, able if need were to resist all oppofers they could expect from thence. *Bryennius* and *Michael* having notice of this their Cunning, by Night discamped, and keeping their Design very close, by great Marches came to *Chariopolis* which they entred, and as the *Patzinacæ* merily returned home in the Evening from their Plunder, to their Camp not far from the City, in which they did not think any Army at all could be, fell upon them as they lay sleeping and secure, and easily put them to the Sword. This defeat so awed them, that for the two following years they did not range about so licenciously as formerly, but very cautiously and as it were by stealth.

Several of their Parties being cutoff they make not their Incursions so openly as heretofore.

142. The Emperour was in some measure freed from his apprehensions of them, but in the mean time perceived not what danger he was in from a Snake he had taken into his bosome. There was one *Romanus Boilas*, who being an obscure man served in the Wars, of a ready Tongue, *Cedrenus* tells us, but *Zonaras* will have him a Stammerer, not able to speak plain, which defect having received partly from Nature, he had increased by affectation and custome, thinking it seems it would make the more notice to be taken of him. With this man the Emperour, assoon as he came to the Knowledge of him, was wonderfully taken, pleasing himself exceedingly with his trifling and insignificant Wit, so as he had constant access both to him and to the Women when he pleased, and was not wanting to himself, but made use of his time and opportunities to hoard up much Wealth. This so far imboldned him, as from a mean Condition to procure the Dignity of a Senatour. But his ambition disdained such moderate bounds; mean men when got into Power usually carry their Heads and Noses high, and snuffing up much of the upper Air, cannot once be brought to think of their former Friends or Condition, till an Ebb of Fortune discover their Folly to them again aswell as their Original and Principles. Being Senatour he was never quiet till he became the moit inward Councillour, and chief Minister of the Emperour, to which having arrived, what wanted there now but to be Emperour himself, and for this vast preferment as he wanted not opportunity, (having continual access both into the Bedchamber, and other the most secret retiring Rooms) by the death of the present Prince to bring his ends about, so he thought himself abundantly meriting the Dignity, and had a Conscience large enough to bear any thing that might make for that purpose. Being then possessed with a vehement desire of reigning, he cunningly attempted all he knew to be dissatisfied with the Emperour. To such as abhorred the thought of making him away, he pretended abundance of Love, as having onely tried their Loyalty and good Affection to their Prince, to whom he would not fail to make it known. But such as approved of the thing he incouraged to the utmost, nay obliged them to it by Oath, and watched for a convenient opportunity to put it in Execution. And to Execution he had put it, but that he was detected by one of the Conspiratours, as he had the very Sword in his Hand, which should have done the deed. Hereupon much Inquisition was used for conviction of his complices, whose Estates were confiscated, and their Persons banished; but no other punishment was inflicted upon himself, but that the Emperour for some time shewed some aversenes or dissatisfaction in his Company, which in a little time wore off again, and he returned to his wonted Trust and Familiarity.

A Conspiracy at home but discovered and punished.

143. In the mean time (to return a little into the East) the *Sultan* as we said bearing a mortal Spight to his Brother *Abram*, continually sought occasion to take away his Life, which he perceiving fled to *Cutlumusus* his Kinsman, with whom he joined Forces and Interest to make War upon the *Sultan*. They gave him Battel at a Place called *Pasar*, but there *Abram* was taken Prisoner and put to death. *Cutlumusus* with six thousand Men, and *Melech Abram*'s Son sent to the Emperour, desiring to be received into his Protection, and in the mean time till an answer should be returned, laid siege to a Town in *Persarmenia* called *Carse*, which he took, the Castle excepted. But the *Sultan* with an Army pursuing him came into *Iberia*, whom to avoid he fled as far as *Saba* and *Arabia the Happy*. In *Iberia* the *Sultan* laid all waste before him, to stop whose progress the Em-

Civil Wars among the *Turks*.

Emperour recalled *Michael Acoluthus* out of the West, and sent him into that Province, who there in *Chaldia* gathering together the dispersed *Franks* and *Barangi*, used his indeavours to repress his Motions and Hostilities. The *Sultan* having News of his sudden Arrival, concluded with himself that he meant to fight, and considered that should he ingage and overcome the Emperour's Servant and Officer, it would not at all redound to his Honour, and should he be beaten by him it would tend exceeding much to his disrepute, whereupon he departed with all his Forces to *Tabresium*. At the same time *Michaelas* the Son of *Stephen*, and his Successour in his Principality over the *Triballi* and *Serbi*, entred into the League with the Emperour, and receiving from him the Office and Dignity of *Protospatharius*, was admitted a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* Empire. At the same time the Prince of *Ægypt* courted him with Presents. But nothing gave him or could give him satisfaction, so long as the *Patzinacæ* still went unpunished, to chastize whom he now again raised, and got together all the Force he could make both out of East and West, over which he appointed General *Michael Acoluthus*, and besides this he commanded *Basilius Syncellus*, with the *Bulgarian* Army, to join with him in the Expedition. The *Patzinacæ* having notice of the Contrivance, incamped themselves at a Place called *Great Prischlava*, which they fortified by a deep Trench and a Bulwark, resolving therein to endure a Siege. And the *Romans* besieged them till they were weary, and began to be in distress for Necessaries, which drove them into a Consultation what was to be done. It was resolved that the Siege should be raised, and accordingly a deep silence being injoined late at Night they departed. This was not unknown to *Tyrach*, who sent out a great Number to stop the ways through which they must pass, and then did he set upon them as they went at their backs whereby great Multitudes were killed, when she fled from him the other receiving, and killing them in the narrow or unknown Passages. Amongst others fell *Syncellus*; those that escaped got with *Michael* to *Adrianople*. The Emperour exceedingly afflicted for the perpetual Loss and Disgrace received from this People, made yet once again Preparations so great, that he resolved if possible to root them out of the Earth, making new Levies, and hiring Souldiers whereever he could. They from a Fugitive understanding his Resolutions, to divert so great a storm as was gathering, sent and desired Peace. And he condescended to a Truce for thirty Years.

Another Expedition against the *Patzinacæ*.

But with great Loss to the Empire.

At last a truce for 30 years is concluded.

144. The Truce was very seasonable, considering into what condition his great Expence had brought him. Whereas the great Charge of his Wars should have made him frugal and circumspect in other matters, it was so far from it, that the more he expended out of the Necessity, the more he would profusely and vainly cast away, the certain Argument of a weak and easie Prince. He had an ambition to appear bountifull and liberal, but in it was not the least Skill or Discretion, not being able to distinguish betwixt Magnificence and Prodigality. In bestowing the publick Treasure, he never observed any Rules of *to whom*, *when*, or *how much*, and so plunged himself into so great Necessities, that by honourable or dishonourable means, by right or wrong he must have Supplies. That which was taken notice of most to beggar him, was the building of a Monastery to St. *George* in *Mangana*, as it was thought chiefly, that under pretence of visiting and overseeing the Workmen, he might have opportunity more frequently to visit his *Scleræna*, who followed several Games, and particularly that of Hunting in these Parts. Hereby and by his other Courses, the Treasury was quite drained, to recruit which he invented several mean, sordid and unjust Courses, employing most rapacious Fellows in the gathering the Revenue, who exacted it without any respect had to Right or Equity. And one thing there is, which makes him guilty of the Decay and Ruine of the Empire; to be sure the East was lost through his Miscarriage in this profuse way. For whereas certain Provinces, those upon the Boders especially, were free from Tribute and Impositions for this Reason, because they maintained so many Souldiers to keep the Straits, to watch the *Roman* Pale, and secure it from the Incursions of Barbarians, he disbanded these Souldiers, and dissolved the Garrisons of such Parts, particularly the Army of *Iberia*, so necessary for resistence of the *Turks*, consisting of fifty thousand Men, they were disbanded by *Leo Serblius*, on purpose to raise a Revenue out of that Countrey: an Act of most pernicious and infamous Consequence, which sets a Mark upon him to all Posterity, as a dreadfull warning to all profuse Princes. *Zoe* the Empress dying at Seventy Years of Age, he howled and roared for her, and behaved himself much unlike a Man, compared her with Angels, and when out

Constantine the Emperour is very profuse.

He disbands the Souldiers upon the Frontiers to the Ruine of the Empire.

Zoe the Empress dies.

out of the moisture of her Tomb a Mushrome sprung up he affirmed it an evidence sent from Heaven that she was there received amongst the intelligent Powers. But his love was so great to her that presently after her Death he made choice of another object inamoured of the Daughter of a certain *Alan* Prince, which then lay as an Hostage at *Constantinople*, that he brought her into the Palace; called her *Augusta*, gave her Royal maintenance, and had it not been for the Awe and respect he bore to *Theodora*, or especially for the Infamy of a fourth Marriage he had made her Empress and given her a Diadem. But the Domination of this new Lady was not long lived. For after his death, she was reduced into the State and condition she was in before, except she made use of her time and saved any thing, the short space that her Beauty ruled.

145. For now *Monomachus* grew towards his end, being almost quite spent by the Gout, which presently after his advancement so seized on his Limbs that he could neither stand nor go, but was held up or carried when ever he had occasion to stir. Afterward his intemperance toward Women increasing the distemper, the humour fell also into his Hands and upon his Shoulders, and at length tormented him throughout both in all his Joynts, and inwardly in his side, so that he could not but with great pain and trouble fetch his Breath. His case now seeming desperate both to himself and others, those that were about him consulted about a Successour. The chief Man now in favour and power was one *John* the Principal *Logotheta*, an Eunuch and otherwise a pityfull fellow, of obscure Original, and as despicable as to his parts, utterly as unfit for business as to write or speak according to true *Grammar*; but him the Emperour intrusted with all and designed him Prince of the Senate, having removed from the place of chief Minister one *Lictrudes* a Person of quite different Qualifications because he was wont to deal plainly with him, and oppose any thing he knew contrary to reason. This *John* together with *Constantine* the *Protonotarius Dromi*, *Basilius* the *Caniclei Præfectus* and others, perceiving him drawing on, put him in mind of setling matters and recommended to him *Nicephorus* the Proteuon (or Primate, as one might call him, but that this Title is appropriate to Ecclesiasticks) as the most fit Person to succeed him, to which he assenting they sent notice to him then being at his Government in *Bulgaria* secretly as they thought and without the knowledge of *Theodora*. But she wanted not Friends to let her know their contrivance how private soever, and leaving *Monomachus* dying in this new Monastery she entred a Pinace and accompanied with several that were faithfull to her went to the great Palace in *Constantinople* where she was published, declared and owned Empress by all, as right Heir to her Ancestours. This News thereof brought to *Monomachus* increased his distemper and he lived little longer than to testifie his sorrow by a sigh, with which he ended his days after he had Reigned twelve years and eight months. That we may not dismiss him without his due commendations as well as tax him for his faults, the provision he made for the Poor, for the Aged and Strangers in his Monastery is applauded by our Writers. And whereas the Revenues of the great Church were so lost and diminished that Service was there onely said on the Lord's day, he so provided for it that Mass was there every day celebrated, and for the Communion he largely supplied the Altar with Plate, adorned with Gemms and Pearl very richly. Yet his Reign is ill spoken of for the reasons above alledged, and was more taken notice of by the People for some ill Accidents that happened toward the end thereof. For in the seventh and eighth Indictions so great a Plague there raged in the City that the quick could scarcely Bury the Dead. And in the Summer of the seventh so great Tempests, that they killed both much Cattel and some Men.

Constantine Monomachus dies, *Theodora* is declared rightfull Empress.

146. *Theodora Porphyrogenita* having got possession of what the People granted to be her Inheritance, first punished those that had been for the promotion of *Nicephorus*, by the Confiscation of their Estates and Banishment. Then to her Eunuchs did she distribute the greatest Places and Offices in the Empire. *Theodorus* she makes Domestick of the Schools of the East, and sends him thither to restrain the inrodes of the *Turks*, taking away from the Magister *Isaacius Comnenus* the Mastership of the Camp. For *Monomachus* had Transported all the *Macedonian* forces into the East under *Macedonian* Captains, amongst which was also *Bryennius*, a certain Rumour or Prophecy running abroad, *that the* Turks *should be suppressed by such an Army as* Alexander *the Great used in Conquering the* Persians. She made *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi*, *Manuel* the *Drungarius Biglæ*, and for his great abilities she employed *Leo Strabospondylus* as her Master of State, who had formerly served the Emperour *Michael*. Assisted by these and other Officers though she was very,

She settles her Government.

very old, yet would she govern her self, and refused to make any Emperour. To *Leo* she committed the chief management of all affairs; but she her self would sit upon the judgment seat, give Audience and answer to Ambassadours, create Magistrates, pronounce Laws, and interpose her Opinion and Resolution both in publick and private matters: and her Government succeeded well enough. For against her no man opposed himself, nor disobeyed her, and she maintained her Authority seizing the Estate and banishing *Bryennius* because upon hearing of the Death of *Monomachus* he had with the *Macedonians* under his command removed to *Chrysopolis* without her orders. No Nation made War upon her, neither did any publick Calamity happen in her time, the seasons of the year being all good and natural. Though old as she was yet being of a strong constitution and able enough for business, she promised her self many years. But though herein she flattered her self and was flattered into this belief, it's said, by a Monk, yet e'er two years came to an end she found she was deceived, being seized with the *Iliack Passion*, a disease always dangerous, and which caused the Physicians to despair of her recovery. Then did those about her consider whom to prefer to the Government by whom these happy days might be continued. They pitched upon *Michael Stratioticus* one of *Constantinople*, innocent and harmless, but utterly unfit for such an employment both in respect of his ignorance, for from his youth he had onely been used to War; and his great Age, for he was very Decrepit. But the Eunuchs and *Leo* judging him fit for their turn because they could govern him at their pleasure, they perswaded *Theodora* to make him Emperour, which she did by adorning him with a Diadem, after he had given his Oath to doe nothing without their knowledge and consent. These matters finished *Theodora* ended her Life when she had Reigned one year and nine months about the end of *August*.

Naming *Michael Stratioticus* for her Successour dies.

147. *Michael Stratioticus* by her death became Emperour and Monarch, and was for such declared on the last day of *August* in the ninth Indiction, *A. D.* M. LVI. As soon as the News of his promotion came to the Ears of *Theodosius* the President, the Cousin German of *Monomachus* he was thereby so much disturbed as not considering the difficulty of the thing he undertook nor what danger he incurred, he got together his dependants, Servants and such of his Friends laid things little to heart, and in the Evening with that Train at his Heels passed up the Streets from his House toward the Palace, crying out that he was injur'd, and that the Empire of right descended upon him as being next in Bloud to the late Emperour. Coming to the *Prætorium* he broke open the Prison, and let out the Malefactours to assist him, which he did also at *Chalce*. In the mean time the Eunuchs in the Palace having received the Alarm made what Preparations they could to suppress him, both by Land and Water, which he understanding turned from the way leading thither and went to the great Church where he hoped to be received and owned by the Patriarch and Clergy. But things fell out quite otherwise; for when he came to the Church, they shut the Doors upon him; and though upon occasions of Innovation many people used to flock and run together, yet none now appeared, and on the contrary such as had appeared for him began by degrees to desert him and fall off. So that at length being by all deserted he betook himself with his Son to the Church, not as a Prince but a suppliant, and was thence taken away very speedily and confined to *Pergamus* as a place of Banishment. After which sort the chiefest of those who had taken part with him were punished. And for his folly he became a Song to the ordinary sort.

Michael Emperour.

Against whom *Theodosius* the President sets up.

But is punished for his folly.

148. *Stratioticus* thus freed from this rash Adventurer was Emperour without the contradictions of any. To shew that he was govern'd by those that rais'd him, such things as they understood he did very well, but in such matters as he himself had been continually versed none did ever worse. The Senatours as they were Men of interest and influence he promoted, such generally as were not fit for so great Employments as those to which he preferred them; using the same course and method to Men of more ordinary Rank. But as to military Men, he acted quite otherwise, his own Companions, nay his equals once, Men of considerable commands in the Armies. To these Officers when they came into the City he did not shew the least respect either by act or deed, and the two principal he much disgusted, Men both of them of great Nobility, bearing the Title of Magister, and by their skill and actions having as much Reputation as their places were usually capable of. These were *Isaacius Comnenus* and *Ambustus Catacalo*, the latter of which in a meeting of Officers in *Easter* (when the Emperour's bounty was wont to appear towards Men of this quality and Employment) he deprived of his Government of *Antioch*, and into his place immediately put *Misha-*

el his Kinsman whom at the same time he preferred to the Dignity of a *Magister*, giving to him the sirname of *Uranus* that he might seem to derive his Descent from that Noble Family. *Catacalo* he accused as having very badly discharged his Office, in that the Numbers of Souldiers were diminished in his time, and he gave no content to those that had business with him; and when the most Ancient and most eminent Officers of the Army stood up in his Defence he fell into opprobrious Language both against him and them, wherein he did not spare *Comnenus*. This carriage very much discouraged some and provoked others of the Army, who could hear of the Liberality of this new Emperour unto others but not receive so much as one good word from him themselves, though Men of his own Profession; yet did they not thence conceive so great Indignation as to Plot or design any thing against him till another Tryal. So Writes *Zonaras*, from whom *Cedrenus* differs in this that he gave *Comnenus* and *Catacalo* ill Language, for he Writes that he gave them two good words, but would not gratifie them in any thing they desired. And he farther instances in others he disobliged. *Bryennius* he recalled out of Banishment, gave him the command of the *Cappadocians*, and with the *Macedonian* Legions sent him against the *Turks*, a Commander of whom *Samuch* by name, now much infested the Borders of the Empire. But when he earnestly desired him to have his Estate restored which *Theodora* had taken from him he refused, and when still more importunately he urged him to it, he put him off with that Common saying, *that Wages are not to be required till the work be done*, whereby he so exasperated him that he expected but an opportunity to be revenged.

The *Turks* infest the Borders of the Empire

149. Imprudent also was his carriage to *Francopulus Erbebius* who had done very good service under *Maniaces* in *Sicily*, and studied the Interest of the Empire. He desired of him to be Honoured with the Dignity of a *Magister*, which he not onely refused to confer on him, but with Scoffs and much scorn rejected him, which Affront being a Barbarian (saith our Writer) and impatient in his nature, he took so heinously that not thinking what others were attempting, to be revenged he got him Home into *Armenia*, and drawing over to him three hundred of those *Franks* that served the Emperour went into *Media* and joyned himself with *Samuch* the *Turk* to make War upon the *Romans*. For some time they accorded, but at length as commonly it happens differences arose, and were multiplied betwixt the two several Nations, and they began to Plot, and contrive means how to affront and at last to destroy each other. *Samuch* seemed to carry it fair, but *Erbebius* never trusted him, but dayly expected the *Turks* would make some attempt upon him and his Men, whom he charged ever to look to themselves, not so much as to Sleep or Eat but with their Weapons at Hand. At length the thing broke out and the *Turks* set upon the *Franks* as they were at Dinner who aware of their coming and having their Horses ready, instantly mounted, fought with and defeated them, killing the greater part; the rest escaped into a Town not far off called *Chlear*. *Erbebius* after the pursuit was earnest for returning to their Camp, but it happening that there being a League and friendship betwixt him and the *Ameras* of that Town, his Men would needs go thither to refresh themselves. He most vehemently endeavoured to dissuade them, urging that they were by no means to trust those that were of a different Religion and Nation, who would make no difficulty at all of breaking their Oath, they counting it a matter of Piety and Merit to kill as many Christians as they could. But there was no good to be done, they continued obstinate, and he was forced to go with them into the Town, all he could doe was to beg of them to be vigilant and carefull, always to be upon their Guard. But they once got in fell to their Baths and Cups which invited *Aponasar* the *Ameras* to take the advantage offered him, so that Communicating his Design with *Samuch* and the *Saracens* living thereabouts, he gave secret orders to those that lodged the *Franks* to lay hold of and bind fast their Guests, or if that could not be done to kill them. The sign being given, some accordingly they make fast and others they kill; the rest escaping by leaping down from the Walls. *Erbebius* was taken and kept as a Prisoner. This advantage the *Ameras* made of what he had done to curry favour with the Emperour. He sent him word he was at his service and in Testimony of the Reality thereof, had destroyed those that had been Traitours to him, and at present had their Captain fast in Prison.

Erbebius Revolts to the *Turks*.

But is suppressed and taken by the *Ameras* of *Chlear*.

150. But *Stratioticus* his rough and crabbed Carriage produced such effects in a short space that he had but small cause to rejoyce at the Calamity of the *Franks*. The Eastern Officers being rejected by him as was said now betook themselves to *Leo Strabospondylus* the *Protosyncellus* and chief manager of affairs under

under him desiring his mediation in their behalf that they might not be the onely Men that must be neglected, and not taste of his Liberality, which they could not but take notice was very large towards others, who had neither watcht nor fought as they had done, and endured all manner of hardships from their very Childhood. *Leo* heard them and had so much of the Courtier as to commend every Man a part and speak of his valour and Merits; but did nothing of their business, submitting to the Emperour's humour who would neither allow them good deeds nor good words, which at a small expence he might have done. This made them outrageous so as first to revile *Stratioticus* one to another, and from reproachfull words to pass to exhortations to stand by one another, and revenge so great Injustice, which Combination they confirmed by Oath secretly in the Church. By the advice of *Ambustus* they Communicated their Design to *Bryennius* as one who could assist them with a numerous Army, and easily gained his concurrence. When they consulted whom to prefer to be Emperour, *Ambustus* had all their suffrages, as one who by his Age, valour and experience excelled all others, but he really adverse to the burthen; named *Isaacius Comnenus* as the fittest Person they could chuse, and to him they all assented; which done and confirmed by Oath they received Provisions from the Emperour and departed each to his Quarters as was imagined. Amongst the rest *Bryennius* went to his charge and with him was sent *John Opsaras* a Patritian with Gold to pay his Souldiers. *Bryennius* at the Muster required so much to be given to every Souldier, which *John* refused, affirming he would fully obey the Emperour's Orders, and contending together about this matter *Bryennius* grew so Angry that he fell upon him and pulling him down to the Ground by his Hair and Beard soundly bufferted him, which done he committed him to Custody and afterward distributed the Gold to his Souldiers as he pleased. At that time it happened that *Lycanthes* a Patritian who commanded the *Licaonians* and *Pysidians* was near at hand with his Forces, and hearing what had happened, concluded with himself that none but one who Aimed at the Sovereignty it self would have committed such an Arbitrary and Insolent Act, and being utterly Ignorant of what the other Commanders of the East had resolved, with a sufficient power fell upon the Camp of *Bryennius*, took him and delivered him into the Hands of *Opsaras* whom he had set at liberty, who colouring his Revenge with a pretence of Loyalty put out his Eyes and sent him to the Emperour together with the Relation of what had passed.

Michael's unkindness to the Souldiers makes them conspire against him.

151. But the chief Officers of the Eastern Parts, such as *Romanus Sclerus*, *Burtzes*, *Bataneiates*, the Sons of *Basilius Argyrus* and the rest understanding what had passed, having hitherto concealed their Inclinations, and expected the time when to stir, when they heard what had befallen *Bryennius* concluded that upon Examination he would reveal the conspiracy, and therefore thought it safest to prevent such a discovery by a timely rising. They all went into *Paphlagonia* to *Castamo* the House of *Comnenus*, and compelled him to goe along with them to a spatious Plain called *Guvaria*, whither from all parts adjacent they sent for the Souldiery, and then by universal consent saluted him Emperour on the eighth day of *June* in the tenth Indiction. Having taken the Title he incamped himself as strongly as he could in the place, expecting the forces of the rest of the Conspiratours, especially of *Ambustus*, at whose slowness he conceived some diffidence, which was shortly changed into a supposed certainty by a Message he received that he had changed his mind, broken his (unlawfull) Oath; and resolving to adhere to *Stratioticus* was gathering together an Army for suppression of the Confederates. This mightily perplexed *Comnenus* when he considered how dangerous an Enemy he should have at his Back, and therefore fortifying himself in his Camp he resolved not to stir till he heard farther. But *Ambustus* had not changed his mind, but mistakes caused disorder on both sides. For *Ambustus* in his way from *Constantinople* meeting one of the Emperour's Messengers had sent a blunt message by him to *Nicetas* the *Logotheta Dromi* which sufficiently discovered the Design; and when he came into the East and found not *Comnenus* stirring or as it seemed at all concerned, he imagined that he and the rest had changed their Resolutions and would declare nothing, so that he should be left to shift for himself alone, and be condemned out of his own Mouth. Therefore he was much concerned how to avoid the Danger; for he neither had any Army in readiness, those Forts he had being unable to graple with the Emperour, neither had he had any Communication as yet with the other Souldiers of the Eastern parts that lay about his Government, therefore not knowing how to trust them he had been very slow and wary in Preparations, and this was the cause of his Delay. Besides, there lay near him in their Winter

Saluting *Isaacus Comnenus* Emperour.

Quarters, two Regiments of *Franks* and one of *Rossians*, of which he stood in great fear, lest upon discovery of his Design they should seize him, and send him to the Emperour. But when by Degrees he thought he had secured himself, then first he broke his mind to his Servants and Dependants, and having got about him about a thousand Men, then he try'd the Inclinations of such as he could less trust, first to bring over the Officers and Governours, and then the ordinary sort. He counterfeited Letters as from the Emperour, by which he was ordered with three Regiments of the Associates, and two of the *Coloniensis* and *Chaldeans*, to go against *Samuch*. Those with their Officers, he either by Promises or Threats procured to take the Military oath to him, and having furnisht himself with an Army of several Nations, then marcht towards *Comnenus*, having sent to let him know he was on his way.

152. *Comnenus* distrustfull and much out of heart before, was much elevated by this Message, and having joined his Forces with his, now set about his Work as being out of Danger. Yet did he commit his Wife and his Treasure, to his Brother *John* to be kept in a Castle called *Pemolissa*, seated on a Rock near the River *Alys*. He having taken order for raising of Money throughout the East, and appointed his Receivers, passed the River *Sangarius*, and being every where received with applause and acclamations by slow Journeys moved toward *Nice*, which he desired to get into his Hands to be a Receptacle for him upon occasion, and therefore he gave time to those that had adhered to the Emperour to remove from it, which they did assoon as they heard of his coming, the Souldiers to their particular Homes to look to the Safety of their Houses, Wives and Children, and the Officers to the Emperour with News of what happened, amongst whom the most eminent was *Lycanthes*, Captain of the Eastern Troops, *Theophylact Maniaces* and *Pniemius Iberus*, Captains of the Troops of the *Charsiani*. *Stratioticus* having Intelligence of the Revolt made by almost the whole Force of the Empire, yet refused to offer any Conditions of Peace, but prepared for a vigorous resistence. All the Western Regiments he sent for, and gave the Command of them to *Macedonians*, Persons of greatest Quality and Experience in matters relating to War, and now most wisely he Courted both Officers and Souldiers, presenting them with good Gifts. In the same manner he treated the *Charsiani*, and such of the Eastern Forces as had not revolted, of whom he appointed Commander *Theodorus* the Domestick of the East, the Eunuch of *Theodora* the Empress, joyning with him *Aaron Ducas* the *Magister*, Brother to *Comnenus* his Wife, a Man of a very great experience. These being sent against the Revolters came to *Nicomedia*, and thence sent some to break down the Bridge of *Sangarius*, that *Comnenus* being forced to go about, they might be sure not to miss him. From *Nicomedia* they removed to the Mountain *Sopho*, and there incamped themselves, and prepared for Fight. *Comnenus* having notice hereof immediately got into *Nice*, and there left all his Baggage and Carriages, and having strongly fortified the City, removed and incamped himself some twelve Furlongs distant from it towards the North. The Armies being near together, several Parties of them knowing one another used Arguments on both sides to draw off their opposites, these of the Emperour's side reviling *Comnenus* as a Traitour, and they of his Party despising the Emperour, as a despicable doting old Man, ruled by Eunuchs.

Who marching towards *Nice*.

Causeth *Michael* the Emperour to send for the Western Forces to engage him.

153. The Captains on both sides at first incouraged this Discourse, but when *Comnenus* found that it did no good, he would not permit his Men so freely to go abroad, which the Domestick and the *Macedonians* especially judged to proceed from fear, and therefore resolved to give him Battel. The rest assenting, they removed and pitched at a Place called *Petroa*, some fifteen Furlongs distant from the Enemy. *Comnenus* his Men now calling for Battel aswell as they he led out, and prepared to fight. The left Wing he committed to *Ambustus*, the right to *Romanus Sclerus*, and he himself led the middle Battel. The Domestick and *Aaron* in forming their *Battalia* committed their left Wing to *Basilius Trachaniotes*, then Captain of the West, and the most eminent of all the *Macedonians*, and the right Wing *Aaron* led himself assisted by these Officers, *Lycanthes*, *Pyemius* and *Randulph* the Patritian a *Frank*. They fought in a Place called *Ades* by the Inhabitants, and at first *Aaron* seemed to have gotten the Day, for he beat the opposite Wing, took *Romanus Sclerus* Prisoner, and drove them back as far as their Camp, which he might have taken, and obtained a full Victory had he not been too cautious, for *Comnenus* had also the worst of it, and had thoughts of flying back to *Nice*. But *Ambustus* bore down all opposite to him where he fought, and

Whom a Battel ensued.

In which *Comnenus* had the better.

and pursuing them to their Camp broke into it, and having plundered their Tents cut them down, which sight so animated *Comnenus* and his Souldiers, and on the contrary discouraged the Souldiers of *Aaron*, that the Emperour's Party was defeated, a great Multitude falling in the Fight, and especially of *Macedonians* both Officers and Souldiers; and not a few were taken Prisoners. This ill Success so perplexed *Michael*, that he had sent to *Comnenus* and offered to lay down, if those about him had not kept him from it, and urged him rather to dye than quit the Supreme Dignity. However certain of the chiefest Senatours, and Men of the greatest Wisedom were sent to treat with him, *viz. Constantine Leichudes*, *Theodorus Alopus* who had both the Title of *Proedri* or Presidents, and *Constantine Psellus* chief of the Philosophers, who offered him to be adopted *Cæsar*, and Pardon and Indemnity to all his Followers. The Souldiers would not hear of this, nor permit as they said, that their General should be seen in an Habit inferiour to what he wore at present, which yet they were thought to speak more out of Flattery than Design. However *Comnenus* took the Messengers aside and told them as a secret, that he should very willingly admit of their Proposals, provided the Emperour would indulge him some of his Power, so as to be able to reward those that had served him.

The Emperour offering Conditions to him.

154. And *Zonaras* reports, that to deceive his Souldiers he gave them two several Answers in Writing, of which that which was made known, with Scorn rejected the Conditions, but the other accepted them. The old Man was overjoyed to hear of his Acceptance, and returned, that it should not be long before he took him to be his Collegue in the Empire, though for some Reasons at first he must defer it. With which Message he sent the Senatours back together with Promise of Confirmation of what had been granted before, and of establishing the Officers of *Comnenus* in their present Employments. *Comnenus* and all the rest liked well enough of it, and required a Confirmation by a Golden Ball; onely *Ambustus* opposed, who would by all means have the old Man deposed, and contended that whom they had already depriv'd by Oath, they could not without Perjury re-admit to the Throne, and he urged that if they laid down their Arms, the Issue would be that *Comnenus* would be poyson'd, and they for their shares should have their Eyes pull'd out of their Heads. And to this *Cedrenus* adds, that the Senatours themselves did prevaricate and perswade *Ambustus*, that he should thus oppose the Articles of the Treaty, and moreover made *Comnenus* to believe, that the People at *Constantinople* did greatly affect him, where should he but once shew his Face, the old Man would quickly be deposed, and he be put into his place with universal satisfaction and applause. While thus the Negotiation was disturbed, the Emperour himself by his false and underhand dealing, went about to prevent what he had so readily promised, and by endeavouring to keep by deceitfull means lost all. By gifts aswell as good words and promises, he now endeavoured to oblige all the People, and having so made his way caused both Senatours, and the Citizens to subscribe a Writing, and take an Oath with direfull Imprecations, that they would never give to *Comnenus* the Title of Emperour, nor own him for their Sovereign Lord, which they took being overpowered, and *Comnenus* far distant as yet from the City. But he being now come nearer, and lodging at *Damatrys* within less than a Days Journey, by break of day several Senatours and others came to the great Church, and required the Patriarch to come to them to consult of an important Affair. The Patriarch shut his Doors, and refused to come to them, but sent two of his Kinsmen to know their business, on whom the Company by this time much increased laid hands, and threatned to strangle them except he would come down. Hereat he came down in *Pontificalibus*, as he pretended unwillingly, though some were of opinion that he did but counterfeit, and they compassing him about required him to go from them to the Emperour, and demand back again the Writing which they had subscribed, for seeing he had declared *Comnenus* should be his Successour, they must either incur Perjury or very much danger by opposing him. The Patriarch bid them be of good chear, and gave them good words, and this appeared also to be a pretended and feigned business. For omitting this they shortly after declared by Common consent, *Comnenus* to be Emperour, and all that opposed him should lose their Estates, and be accounted Enemies of the *Roman* Empire. This the Patriarch procured and decreed in the Church, and sent Messengers both to *Comnenus* and *Stratioticus*, to the one that he would haste to the City, and to the other that he would resign, and depart from the Palace which did not belong to him; whereby he shewed that he had been the

But not intending to perform them.

But is forced to it by the Revolters and the Patriarch.

the Authour and Principal cause of the Revolt. The Bishops or Metropolitans, as *Cedrenus* calls them, that went to *Stratioticus*, delivering their Message, he demanded what the Patriarch would give him in exchange for the Empire, to which they replied *The Kingdom of Heaven*, whereupon he put off the Purple and Violet shoes, and took the Habit of a private Man; although *Cedrenus* idlely thinks the Patriarch's promise to have been scarcely valid, except he had returned to a private Life at the beginning of the Defection, and thereby prevented the effusion of so much Bloud as had been shed before his constrained Resignation; as if a lawfull Prince was bound to give way to an Usurper. *Stratioticus* being departed to his own House in the Castle, after he had Reigned one year, *Ambustus Curopalates* by order of *Comnenus*, the next Day being the last of *August*, in the Tenth Indiction, *A. D.* M.LVII. together with many Noblemen took possession of the Palace. At Evening *Comnenus* himself made his Entry, and the next Day being the first of *September*, in the Eleventh Indiction, going in a solemn Procession to the great Church, and there being on a Scaffold crowned by the Patriarch, was declared Emperour of the *Romans*. Here the History of *Cedrenus* leaves him and us.

Upon which *Michael Stratioticus* resigns, and *Isaacius Comnenus* assumes the Government.

155. *Isaacius Comnenus* having obtained the Empire, is said to have ascribed it not to Almighty God but himself, and his military skill, which they thence gather, because he immediately caused Money to be stamped with his Image, holding a drawn Sword. But such Men as had assisted him he largely rewarded, and took care when they had their Money that they departed home, lest being together in the City they should devise some new thing, and make any Commotion amongst the People. The Patriarch he exceedingly Reverenced, and highly preferred his Nephews. Whereas the provision of things for the Church formerly belonged to the *Oeconomus*, and Keeper of the Vessels, whom the Emperour was wont to Name; for his sake left the Disposition of these matters absolutely to the Patriarch. His Wife he now named Empress, and to his Brother *John* gave the Offices of *Curopalates* and *Grand Domestick*. Whereas he took notice that his Predecessours ever since the time of *Basilius Porphyrogenitus*, had ill distributed and employed the Revenue, making odd Assignments, as of some to Monasteries and the rest to the gratifying of their pleasures and Appetites whereby the Treasury was ever kept empty, he would doe this not by degrees, as a good States-man imitates a skilfull Physician, but on a sudden and all at once, as if he had stamped the Sword in his Hand upon the Coin, not so much to signifie what a Fighter, but a Reformer and Cutter of ill Members and Distempers from the Commonwealth he meant to be. The Acts of *Stratioticus* he abrogated without destinction, took away all he had given, and not onely his, but the Acts of other Emperours he rescinded, therein sparing neither the Senatour, if concerned nor those of the Common sort. Daily in those courses he grew more severe, and at length fell upon the Monasteries to which he assigned onely Necessaries, and took the rest of their Revenues to his own use. By these means he incurred the *Odium* of all sorts, and forgetting on what Rock his Predecessour had split of Souldiers as well as of the rest, no advice, reprehension, fear or hatred being of power sufficient to restrain him. As for reprehensions he wanted them not, the Patriarch being very insolent in that Point, that if he had not what he asked he would not onely upbraid him, but threaten as he had set him up to pull him down again, which he not brooking, and to prevent mischief Banished the Prelate together with his Nephews, whom yet he restored to their former Dignities again, when shortly after their Uncle died. He preferred to be Patriarch *Canstantine Lichudes* the President and *Protovestiarius*, but not till such times as he had wrung out of his Hands the Charter of Privileges and Immunities granted by *Monomachus*, to his Monastery of *Mangana*.

Zonaras.

He is very severe.

156. He had some Bickerings with the *Hungarians* and *Patzinacæ*, both of whom without much trouble asked Peace. But as he lay at the end of *September* at *Lobrius*, so great a quantity of Rain and Snow fell, that he and his Army were both in danger to miscarry, and he was just but removed from under a great Oak when the Tree fell, for which to testifie his Deliverance he built a Church to St. *Theila*, on whose Day he escaped the Danger, but such a Building as testified the meanness of his Spirit, which his Cousin and Successour *John* the Son of *Alexius* afterward repaired most Magnificently, in the Name of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*. Not long after *Comnenus* devested himself of the Empire, which how it came about, Writers do not agree. Most said that as he was Hunting he was blasted with a Wind or with Lightning, and thence contracted such a Distemper.

He had some Skirmishes with the *Hungarians* and *Patzinacæ*.

Comnenus lays down, and chuses *Constantine Ducas* for his Successour.

Distemper, that despairing of Recovery, and sensible how he came by his Power, to Obliterate his Offence in some manner, he laid down what he had unjustly taken up. And in the choice of a Successour he would not be swayed by any carnal report, neither making choice of *John* his Kinsman, *Theodorus Docianus* his Sister's Son, nor his Daughter's Husband, but pitched upon *Constantine Ducas* the President, whom he thought very fit and able for the discharge of so great a Place, and then retired into a Monastery, where he discharged all the meanest Offices, and lived the remainder of his Days, after he had Reigned two years and three months. A Man, to speak of his good aswell as bad qualities, very Stout, arrogant in his Disposition, very quick in dispatch of Business, and most skilfull in Military matters; not Learned himself, but a lover and encourager of Learned Men. A Man exceeding Chast, insomuch as being from Home falling ill, and told by Physicians that the Company of a Woman would relieve him, he refused utterly to meddle with any other than his own Wife, whose Name was *Aecatharina*, a Lady very Vertuous and Religious. When his Ambitious affecting the Empire was objected to him, he said, that, *He could not bear the Reign of a Fellow-Servant who denied him his just Reward.*

Constantine Ducas Emperour.

157. *Constantine* (*Ducas*) the Twelfth of that Name, thus without any trouble became Emperour of *Constantinople*, in the thirteenth Indiction, *A. D.* M.LX. He began his Reign with a Promotion of several Persons, and Restitution of those whom *Comnenus* had spoiled of their Dignities. Yet was his Life presently laid at by some Conspiratours, who to make him come by Boat out of the Countrey where he was diverting himself, made a story be told him that there was an Insurrection in the City; and then had corrupted the Masters of his Gally, called *Protocarabi* to Drown him. He hearing of the Tumult hasted indeed to *Constantinople*; but it happened that his Gally was not then at Hand, so as he took another Boat, and the Conspiratours meeting it resolved to run over his Boat, and so to sink him, which they were attempting, when those in the Vessel with him by their loud cries and warning so affrighted the Rowers, that they had no power but to obey. Yet upon Discovery of the Treason, he contented himself onely by confiscating the Estates of the Traitours. He boasted himself to be Descended of the Family of the Ancient *Ducæ*, *Andronicus Pantherius* and *Constantine*, but that Family when *Constantine* affected the Empire, was subverted in the Reign of *Constantine* the Son of *Leo* the Philosopher, yet under Age, no Heirs Male being left; so that his Ancestours were said to claim from a Woman, and he was thought no Genuine and true *Ducas*, but as it were such by adulteration, and therefore by most was by way of Diminution not called *Duca* but *Duciza*. But he was a Man Pious towards God, of good Morals, and a lover of Justice: of none of the quickest Wits, but a lover of plain dealing and sincere Men, but loved Money exceedingly; and it was his care how to invent ways of encreasing his Treasure. Two things therefore he especially employed himself in: in encreasing the Publick Revenue, by selling Places, and new farming out the Customs: and in hearing of Causes and deciding Controversies, wherein he did not always observe the Prescript of Laws, but sometime used his Will for Law, and otherwhiles had respect to Persons. And as he was hard and tenacious, this was his Maxim, "By no means to make War, but by fair means to take off all Nations "from their Hostilities, both to save the great expence of Expeditions, and that "he might not be diverted from attending the Trade of getting Money. This caused him to neglect his Musters, and even to Disband the most Valiant and fit for Service, as it happened, whereby the Barbarous Nations grew more bold, and got Ground of this *Roman* Empire.

A Conspiracy against his Person, but punished.

He is exceeding Covetous even to the almost ruine of the Empire.

158. In the East some of the Provinces were harassed, and some subdued by the Neighbouring Nations: neither were those of the West in a good condition, because the Souldiers were both few and lazy. The *Uzi* a *Scythian* People having Beaten and taken Prisoners *Magister Nicephorus Bataniates* and *Magister Basilius Apocapes* passed the River *Ister*, and having wasted all the Countrey near to it, proceeded into *Macedonia*, and thence into *Greece*, making havock of all things, which though it much troubled the Emperour, yet that he might not spend any thing would he not raise any Forces, saying, that *The Enemy could not be Beaten back*, but endeavoured by Gifts to take off their Captains. But being reviled for suffering the Empire out of his miserableness to miscarry, he marched out of the City against the Enemy, but as is reported, with no more than an hundred and fifty Men, and for getting more, and Conquering the Barbarians, betook himself rather to his Prayers than any other means, and they so well succeeded, that

The *Uzi* infest the Empire.

that when he was considering how to raise an Army, News was brought, that there was no Enemy left against which to send it; for the *Patzinacæ* and *Bulgarians* had fain upon the *Uzi*, wearied and weakned, and had utterly cut them off; their Captains hardly escaping over *Ister*. This happened in the sixth year of his Reign, preceded by a great Earthquake which happened on the twenty third of *September*, by which many Churches and Houses were overturned. In the month of *May*, the fourth Indiction appeared a Comet, following the Sun, at first of the bigness of the full Moon, but as its Tail encreased, so the Body of it seemed to diminish: it was seen for forty days with its Tail turned toward the East. By this time the Emperour had contracted a Disease, which made him despair of life, and to apply himself to settle matters relating to the Government and Succession. By *Eudocia* his Wife he had three Sons, whereof *Michael* and *Andronicus* when a private Man, but *Constantine* after he was Emperour, who upon this account was the onely *Porphyrogenitus*, and for that cause was first adorned with Ensigns of Empire. Afterwards he named Emperours the other two, and left the Empire to them all, but Named his Wife their Empress and Lady, and left the management of Affairs to her, for which she seemed to him fit, aswell as for the Education of her Children: but first he took an Oath from her committed to Writing, and left with the Patriarch, that she would not Marry again: as he exacted the like from the Senatours, that they would admit none but his Sons for Emperours. He had made his Brother *Cæsar*, and used him as his Councillour and Assistant in his most important and secret business. Though he himself was unlearned, yet he reverenced Learned Men, being wont to say, that *He had rather been enobled by Learning than Sovereignty.* For such as Conspired against him he said he would use them no worse than to use them for Slaves, the Laws having deprived them of Liberty. Dying after a Reign of seven years and six months, leaving (as we said) the Administration to his Wife, so that as we began the Second Part of our History with a *Constantine*, we conclude this with one; and as we began this Part with a Woman, at the Time of *Charles* the Great, so now we end at one in the Year M. LXVII. the year following the Conquest of *England* by Duke *William* the *Norman*.

But are destroyed by the *Patzinacæ* and *Bulgarians*.

Constantine being Sickly appoints his three Sons, *Constantine*, *Michael* and *Andronicus* under the tuition of their Mother *Eudocia* to succeed him.

And dies, *A.D.* M. LXVII.

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